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VOL. XIII

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH CORN MARKET

FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY

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TO MY MOTHER

PREFACE

THE following essay, based upon a study of printed materials and manuscript sources in the English archives, had its beginning in a class thesis and in its present form is an expansion of a doctoral dissertation submitted at Harvard University.

Such an extended treatment of the early corn (grain) trade of England as is here presented is not to be justified on the ground of a lack of general information concerning the subject. The use, however, of new manuscript materials and the adoption of new points of view seem to form an adequate basis for a fresh study of the subject.

The chief of these manuscript sources are the communications between London and the central government in the Tudor and Stuart periods, the account books of various London companies, and the national customs accounts and port books. From the second and third of these sets of documents have been compiled statistics of corn prices and of the corn trade, both foreign and domestic.

In the compilation of these statistics, as indeed in other parts of the work, I have had in mind both the old interest in corn legislation, to which one chapter is exclusively devoted, and the new interest in market development, with which the other chapters deal at length.

The main contribution of this work to the study of the corn laws is the interpretation of them from the standpoint of the actual condition of the corn trade itself. To accomplish this the evidence of corn production, exchange, and consumption has been examined, and detailed facts of exports, imports, and coast transportation have been worked out. Even in the treatment of this topic, hitherto the chief object of investigation, the ulterior purpose has been to pave the way for a study of market evolution.

The marketing system of the manor has been briefly sketched to furnish the necessary perspective to the systems of exchange

involved in the rise of small urban communities and of large metropolitan centers. Especial attention has been given to the development of the metropolitan market and the chief result of this study has been to emphasize, in my mind, the place of the metropolis in the scheme of economic stages. Further investigation of other aspects of the metropolitan marketing system is necessary, but it already appears that in the evolution of economic organization, metropolitan economy should be substituted for the national stage as the successor to town economy. I proffer the suggestion that the conception of national economy, which has hitherto been unchallenged, owes its position to the old and in many ways pardonable confusion between politics and economics. Even Bücher attempting in distinction from Schmoller, to base economic stages on a consideration of purely economic factors, did not free himself from the nationalistic prepossession.

To the genetic economist, if I may use the term, the rise of towns and the growth of metropolitan centers are two of the most far-reaching movements in all history. This conclusion has been strengthened by the investigations which have resulted in this book, the primary object of which is to contribute, however inadequately, to a better understanding of economic evolution.

I am indebted for help to many persons on both sides of the Atlantic. First among these should be mentioned Mr. Hubert Hall, through whose assistance I gained access to many documents otherwise not available; also, Mr. Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Record Office, Mr. Henry Atton of the London Customs House, Dr. R. R. Sharpe of the London Guildhall, the authorities of the British Museum and London Livery Companies, as well as those of several provincial towns, especially Lynn. It was only by the help of Mr. J. M. McEvoy and the late Lord Strathcona that I was admitted to certain valuable collections of manuscripts in England. My work in America has been made lighter by the coöperation of the officials of the libraries of Harvard College and Clark University.

For counsel and advice I am deeply indebted to Professor C. H. Haskins, Professor R. B. Merriman, Professor Leo Wiener, and Professor H. L. Gray, of Harvard University.

For assistance in the final stages of the manuscript, I am under obligations to Professor W. F. Tamblyn of the Western University and Miss E. B. Demarest of the Carnegie Institute of Technology.

A good deal of the burden of compilation and arrangement has been shared by Miss E. G. Culbert of Victoria University.

To Professor E. F. Gay, however, I am most deeply indebted, for it was at his suggestion that this work was undertaken and with his help in all the stages of preparation that it has been completed. To the stimulus of his lectures and conversation, I owe more than I know how to acknowledge.

N. S. B. G.

Worcester, Mass.,
August, 1914.

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EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH CORN MARKET

ABBREVIATIONS IN FOOTNOTES

Br. M. .....British Museum
K. R. .....King's Remembrancer
R. O.....Record Office

EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH CORN MARKET

CHAPTER I

MANORIAL MARKETING, FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1. Inter-Manorial Organization

Many phases of the medieval manorial system have been carefully investigated, such as manorial origins, the legal status of the various classes on the manor, and the agricultural methods at various times in use. In the study of such problems the focus has usually been upon the manor as a unit, but here the interest lies in the manor in association with other manors and with the town, for it is in such a relationship that we find the earliest evidence of the regular movement and exchange of corn within England.

When the manor comes into view for careful study (1000–1300), it is not always an isolated community, but frequently a member of a group of manors held together, not by topographical contiguity, but by subordination to a common lord.

At the Conquest and after, we find this situation.[1] The king

[1] The number of manors in *Domesday* has been computed as follows: —

Total	9,250	Roger of Busli	174
King (ancient demesne)	1,422	Ilbert de Lacy	164
Earl of Mortain	793	Wm. Peverel	162
Earl of Bretagne	442	Rob. de Stadford	150
Bishop of Bayeux	439	Roger de Lacy	116
Bishop of Constance	280	Hugh de Montford	over 100

Ellis, *Domesday Book*, i, pp. 225 f.; H. de B. Gibbins, *Industry in England*, pp. 70 n., 81 n.

The possessions of Burton Abbey are said to have numbered 72 manors before the Conquest and 32 in the early twelfth century. Introduction to *Burton Chartulary*, William Salt Archæological Society, v, pt. 1, p. 1.

The episcopal estates of Winchester included nearly 40 manors in the early thirteenth century. St. Paul's in the late twelfth century derived food-farms from 13 manors.

was the possessor of a large number of manors in about thirty different shires. These were not unchanging, for, while the king was constantly granting manorial fiefs to his supporters, other manors were constantly escheating to him. At the other extremity was the lord of one or two manors. But most interesting and most significant to us was the group of a dozen, or even a score or more, manors in the possession of the lay or ecclesiastical lord, and of the religious foundation, monastic or capitular. In general these groups, though not contiguous, lay in one section of the country, in two or three counties.[1]

To the mass of the people and to the central government the object of the manorial system was protection and order. To the lord the great service of the manor was undoubtedly to supply him and his household with food. To enjoy this food, however, the lord had originally to go to the place of production. This, as is well known, was a common custom among both lay [2] and ecclesiastical lords [3] in the thirteenth century, and doubtless far back into the Anglo-Saxon period. The manor was, from this point of view, a huge storehouse for the possessor to visit and feast upon. Here his agents, his servants, and his dogs were found sustenance, and his king made welcome and feasted.

It is obvious that such a system often pre-supposed conditions not always existing. The lord might not find his manors con-

[1] The 174 manors of Roger of Busli are said to have been all in Nottinghamshire, the 164 of Ilbert de Lacy chiefly in Yorkshire, the 32 of Burton Abbey in three shires, the 30 odd of the bishopric of Winchester in at least seven shires.

[2] " Every year, at Michaelmas, when you know the measure of your corn, then arrange your sojourn for the whole of that year, and for how many weeks in each place, according to the seasons of the year, and the advantages of the country in flesh and in fish, and do not in any wise burden by debt or long residence the places where you sojourn, but so arrange your sojourns that the place at your departure shall not remain in debt, but something may remain on the manor, whereby the manor can raise money from increase of stock." *Rules of St. Robert* (Grosseteste), *Walter of Henley*, p. 145. (1240 or 1241.)

Compare also the inquisition of Crovdin, Wales: Item dicunt quod quelibus Westua solebat pascere dominum cum familia sua quater in anno et Weysenteylu venatores cum canibus domini falconarios cum avibus suis per suos adventus quod quidem servicium vocatur Weest et extenditur illud Weest in qualibus Westua ad quatuor Marcas per annum solvendas ad quatuor terminos anni ut supra pro equali porcione. Summa xvi li. Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, app. 121 (8 Ed. I).

[3] Cf. *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*, pp. 3, 31, 45, 59, 75.

veniently situated for this perambulatory feeding,[1] or he might prefer to live at one manor and to have his supplies sent there. We find, indeed, the practice of sending to one center the corn surplus of outlying manors, partly rent and partly the product of the demesne. It seems probable that such a practice should first arise on ecclesiastical estates, chiefly on those of conventual bodies, because in their case, from the very first, prandial perambulation would have been impossible.[2] It might later, as its convenience became manifest and the transportation service became organized, be extended to other manorial lords. But the evidence illustrates chiefly the monastic and capitular economy. At the close of the twelfth century, St. Paul's, London, received forty-five "food-farms,"[3] each of thirty-five quarters of wheat, barley, and oats from thirteen manors situated in the nearby counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Hertfordshire, and Essex. In all, about 1575 quarters came annually direct from these manors in support of the cathedral establishment. The

[1] A study of some manorial groups shows that such was the case.

Professor Vinogradoff notes, however, an arrangement of manors in small groups: "the Royal manors in Domesday are combined in groups, in order to levy the necessary quantity of victuals, or to pay a corresponding sum of money. In Dorset, Dorchester, Fortitone, Sutton, Gelingeham, and Fromme combine to render a farm of one night." *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, p. 350.

[2] Miss Elizabeth B. Demarest, in an essay about to be printed ("The Domesday Hundred") presents an interesting thesis bearing upon this subject. The hundred, which was originally territorial (the land settled by, say, a hundred families), came to have a fiscal meaning, first as a unit supplying the royal farm, and later as the unit for the danegeld, the hundred being one hundred hides. The second stage, that of the hundred as a unit for the royal farm, is of prime importance here. The king as political head drew food-farms from all manors not directly in his hands, such as those belonging to the church and to lay lords, and as landlord he collected others from his own manors. All the contributions to this farm within the hundred went to some one royal manor within the hundred, the hundred-manor. Thus the fiscal system of the country was built upon a primitive local unit and was decentralized since it was focused in the hundred-manors, to which the king went to enjoy and to use his regular income. The later danegeld was based upon the hundred also, but its collection was centralized.

If this thesis be correct, then, there seems to be no reason why sending corn to a central manor, a royal organization, should not be almost as old as the manor itself. That is, this may be as ancient as the monastic organization referred to in the text.

[3] *Domesday of St. Paul*, pp. xlviii f.; Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, i, pp. 44–45; Neilson, *Economic Conditions on the Manors of Ramsey Abbey*, p. 19.

corn itself was consumed, not sold, about two-thirds being used for brewing, while the remaining third was baked into bread. Such a system involved the *regular* — weekly or fortnightly — carriage of corn from outlying places to the manorial center.

Much information about the general prevalence of the practice of sending corn to one center comes from a study of the services provided for this transportation. Although millstones, cloth, wool, wood, wine, salt, fish, and provisions [1] were transported by the carrying services of tenants, it is only the carriage of corn that is of special concern here.

The carrying was done by a man on foot,[2] by cart,[3] by wain,[4] or by boat,[5] but by far the most typical service was by sumpter

[1] Item, cariabit semel allec ante Natale de Hamton apud Glaston' et semel in tempore XL^{e}. Item, debet cariare semel post Pentecosten sal vel bladum apud Glaston'. Item cariabit lanam vel caseum apud Winton' vel apud Hamton' vel xx leucas in circuitu, et si non cariat, dabit obolum. *Rentalia*, etc., Somerset Record Society, v, p. 108 (ca. 1250).

Service of each cotter and bordar: cariabit molam. *Cart. Abb. de Whiteby*, ii, pp. 366 f. (fourteenth century ?).

[Bondus debet] facere ladas in itineribus Episcopi et preterea iii ladas per annum ad vinum, allec et sal ferendum. *Bishop Hatfield's Survey*, p. 11 (R. II).

Drengus [of Hutton] pascit canem et equum, et guadrigat i tonellum vini, et lapidem molendini apud Dunelm. *Boldon Buke*, Surtees Society, xxv, p. 36 (1183).

[2] Et faciet averagium super dorsum suum ad voluntatem domini. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, pp. 605 f. (7 Ed. I).

Averagium pedile est portare breve ballivi aucas ova et huiusmodi. Neilson, *Customary Rents*, p. 66 n.

Facit averagium pedibus. MS., R. O., *Rentals and Surveys*, General Series, Roll 465 (Ed. I or II).

[3] Isti omnes simul inveniunt i equum apud Londoniam et auras [carts] ubicunque jubentur ad portandum cibum dominii. *Burton Chartulary*, William Salt Archæological Society, v, pt. 1, p. 29 (1100–1113 ?).

Inveniet dimidum carrum cum i homine ad carriandum bladum ad curiam domini ad cibum domini. *Domesday of St. Paul*, p. 66 (1222).

Cariagium cum domini carro ad voluntatem domini. *Rentals and Surveys*, General Series, Portf. 10, no. 33 (40 H. [111]).

Si deputatus fuerit ad coriandum cum careta sua semel in hebdomada, allocabitur ei pro manuali opere unius dietae. *Cartularium Monasterii Gloucestriae*, iii, p. 124 (ca. 1300).

[4] Omnes isti tenentes — debent carriare bladum domini cum plaustris totius villate [of Tillingham, Essex, to St. Paul's, London]. *Domesday of St. Paul*, p. 64 (1222).

[5] Tota villata debet charchiare bladum ad firmas faciendas et firmarius debet invenire navem et rectorem navis. *Domesday of St. Paul*, p. 68 (1222).

horse, the medieval Latin terms for which are *averia* and *summarius*, from which are derived *averagium*[1] and *summagium*.[2]

Carrying was of two kinds, both within the manor, *cariagium ad grangiam*, or *cariagium de grangio ad campum*, and beyond the manor, *averagium ad hospitium*.[3] This was the carrying service from the out-manors to the home manor, or central residence of the lord. For example, the manors of the bishopric of Winchester sent corn to the palace of Wolvesey in the city of Winchester.

Apart from this movement of corn to a specific center, there was a constant transfer of corn from one manor to another (not the central manor), the evidence for which is most abundant in the bailiffs' accounts. The carriage was done either by the *averagium*, or by hired labor, the latter probably being often paid for by the commuted *averagium* payments, that is, aver-silver, wayn-silver, or ship-silver, made by the tenant not actually performing his service. The corn so sent was either *ad semen* or *ad opus*, for seed purposes or to meet a deficiency of crops or supply within an adjoining manor of the group.[4]

These services cannot be traced to their origin. They were, however, probably among the exploitations which arose and grew

Et faciet averagium secundum turnum vicinorum suorum per terram et aquam. MS., Br. M., Cott. Tib. B ii (1277).

Cf. also *Rentalia*, Glaston Som. Rec. Soc., v, p. 204 (ca. 1260); *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, p. 645b (7 Ed. I).

[1] A festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad Natale unum averagium faciet usque Londoniam et portabit dimidium quarterium frumenti vel hordei, vel fabarum, vel sex bussellos avenae; et infra quindenam qua facit averagium usque Londoniam, non faciet aliud averagium. *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, ii, p. 17 (ca. 1250).

Faciet averagium bladi, scilicet unius quarterii usque ad molendinum de Hulmo, vel Burnam, ad *portum Brunagge* [Norfolk] ad remotius, quocumque tempore ei praeceptum fuerit, *quandiu bladum curiae duraverit*. *Ibid.*, i, p. 416. See also Neilson, *Customary Rents*, pp. 60–67.

[2] Debet summagiare apud Gloucestriam qualibet altera septimana per unum diem, et valet dieta tres denarios obolum. . . . Allocabitur ei quolibet summagium pro opere manuali duorum dierum. *Cartularium Monasterii Gloucestriae*, iii, p. 199 (late thirteenth century). Cf. also *Cartularium Monasterii de Ramesia*, i, p. 462 (1255).

[3] Omnes praedicti facient averagia ita longe ut possint eodem die quo facient averagium ad hospitium redire et si ulterius eant domina inveniet eis omnia custa sua per illam noctem qua remaneant de hospicio proprio. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, p. 653b (7 Ed. I).

[4] Cf. *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*, pp. 35, 54.

with certain classes of manors (monastic and capitular), one of the obligations imposed chiefly on customary tenants, often fixed or definite, if not as to time, at least as to distance.[1] Probably the earliest clear reference in English documents belongs to the pre-Domesday period, being found in the Ely Inquest,[2] or perhaps even in the Rectitudines of about the year 1000,[3] though there is no apparent reason why on monastic and capitular estates these services should not have been as old as corresponding services on the Continent, such as those of about the year 800 on the estates of St. Germain des Prés.[4] *Domesday Book* seems to give no precise information on the subject.[5] In the twelfth

[1] [Villanus] dat averagium per annum quando et ubi dominus voluerit ita quod possit reverti eodem die. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, p. 788.

An exception is found in the following passage: Isti [villani] omnes simul inveniunt I equum apud Londoniam et auras (carts) ubicunque jubentur ad portandum cibum dominii. *Burton Chartulary*, p. 29 (1100–1113 ?).

[2] Averagium secundum turnum vicinorum suorum curtum et longum. The " averagium curtum " might be a service from the field to the grange, but hardly the " averagium longum." Ely Inquisition, quoted by Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 286 n.

Sokemen on the manors of the Abbot of Ely in Suffolk: Ita proprie sunt abbati ut quotienscunque ipse praeceperit in anno arabunt suam terram, pugnabunt et colligent segetes, portabunt victum monachorum ad monasterium, equos eorum in suis necessitatibus habebit [abbas]. Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 32–33.

[3] Vilani rectum est varium et multiplex, secundum quod in terra statutum est. In quibusdam terris debet dare landgablum . . . vel averiare et summagium ducere.

[The beo-ceorl], si bonam terram habeat, equum habeat quem ad summagium domini sui prestare possit, vel ipse minare quocunque dicatur ei. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, pp. 185–187.

The three northern surveys of about the year 1030 give no details of carrying services. W. H. Stevenson, " Yorkshire Surveys," *English Historical Review*, xxvii, pp. 1–25.

[4] Faciunt caropera propter vinum in Andegavo cum duobus animalibus de manso, et dicunt illud usque ad Sonane villam. Et in madium mense facit caropera Parisius cum asciculos, similiter cum duobus animalibus. Guérard, *Polyptyque*, ii, p. 132.

[5] It is very uncertain whether it contains a single passage explicitly referring to an *averagium* or *summagium ad hospitium*. Cf. the following passage: Sed unus quisque redit semper 1111 *d* in Keninchala regis [Kinninghall, hundred of Guiltcross, Norfolk] ex summagio. *Domesday Book*, ii, p. 178. An editor of a translation of this passage says it was a " composition for the duty of finding beasts for the king's service exactly parallel to the *averae* of which we read elsewhere." Johnson, *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Norfolk*, ii, p. 34.

century documents, the references are more specific,[1] and in the thirteenth century the evidence is as full and abundant as could be desired.

Though it has suited present purposes to deal only or chiefly with services connected with corn, the inter-manorial organization was not limited either to one set of commodities, or to one class of services, or indeed to services to any one seat. In the surveys recorded in *Boldon Buke* of the year 1183, are mentioned services which show a manifold organization within the group; for example, corn and other goods were to be carried to Durham, the episcopal seat,[2] or wherever else specified,[3] and there were services entailing a journey to the bishop's hunting lodge, or attendance at the pleas, as well as for general purposes of communication. Both the men and the products of the manors were normally expected to be sent to other manors and places. And this is probably typical of most groups of manors throughout England.

It is much to be regretted that historians have confined their attention almost wholly to the manor as a unit, and really neglected the group.[4] This has perhaps been owing to the

The editor of the translation of many passages containing *averae* services, calls the *avera* a "carrying service" distinctive of Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire. Round, *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Herts*, i, pp. 269–271. See also Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, pp. 142, 387, 438.

[1] Unusquisque [villorum quinque predictorum] tenet II bovatas et operatur II diebus in ebdomada et invenit auras ad summagium et reddit VII d. pro falda et bis arat in anno et ter secat in Augusto et facit braisium et vadit ad summagium pro sale et pro pisce, aut reddit II d. pro utroque. *Burton Chartulary*, William Salt Archæological Society, v, pt. 1, p. 26 (1100–1132). The *Liber Niger Monasterii S. Petri de Burgo* (H. I) does not go into the details of customary services. The *summagium* is found in *Boldon Buke*, Surtees Society, xxv, pp. 18, 19 (1183).

[2] Drengus [of Hutton] pascit canem et equum, et quadrigat I tonellum vini, et lapidem molendini apud Dunelm., et vadit in magna caza cum II leporariis et V cordis, et sequitur placita, et vadit in legationibus. *Boldon Buke*, Surtees Society, xxv, p. 36.

[3] Et facit ladas de Gatesheued usque Dunelm., et de Gatesheued usque Bedlyngton, et computantur in firma pro unoquoque equo 2 d. *Boldon Buke*, p. 34.

Et villani . . . faciunt ladas usque ad Novum Castellum et usque ad Fenwyc in propriis itineribus Domini Episcopi. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Et faciunt ladas et radas dum Episcopus in patria fuerit. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[4] Professor Vinogradoff (*English Society in the Eleventh Century*, pp. 348–352).

traditional view of the manor as an isolated community.[1] A study of the carrying services, however, seems to compel some revision of this orthodox view.

It is suggested that to the study of the evolution of the manor out of the free village community or out of the single or "private" estate, there should be added an investigation of the accession of the full-fledged manor to a group of many manors. This would probably reveal three categories of manors. The first is the single manor which never became a member of a group. The second is the monastic or capitular group of manors which, from the time they became manors, were organized on the basis of inter-manorial dependence, and remained in such a condition until the break-up of bailiff-farming. The third is the lay or episcopal group which at first went through the stage of prandial perambulation, but later became part of an inter-manorial organization. If this analysis be correct, only two classes of manors were conceivably isolated, those not belonging to a group, and those forming part of a lay or episcopal group in the period of prandial perambulation. But if, as seems likely, the lay manors belonging to the king were organized in local groups, to the head manor of which the king (and retinue) went to consume his income,[2] then the number of manors in isolation is reduced. Such an arrangement may also have been true of the other groups, those belonging to lay or ecclesiastical lords.

It is perhaps fair to assume that, barring the earlier Anglo-Saxon period, manorial isolation was the exception rather than the rule, and that the tendency was, at all times, constantly away from isolation towards inter-manorial relations. This

has treated the subject, but cursorily and chiefly from the formal or legal standpoint. Mr. Hubert Hall has also noted some points of inter-manorial organization in his valuable introduction to the *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*.

[1] In the thirteenth century "there was the same completeness of manorial life, the same economic independence and isolation," as in the tenth and eleventh centuries. "The great value of the *Rectitudines* and *Gerefa* is that they show us the estate in a condition of almost complete isolation." C. M. Andrews, *The Old English Manor*, p. 240 (1892).

"Owing to difficulties of communication, every village raised its own bread-supply." R. E. Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present*, p. 29 (1912).

[2] See above, p. 5, n. 2.

does not have reference to casual relations, but to a regularly organized and almost continuous communication of one manor with another. How extensive and far-reaching this inter-manorial organization probably was will be appreciated when we consider how widespread in England was the network of such groups, whether in the hands of prince or noble, monastery or college, which were topographically interwoven one with another — cross systems of corn provision not based on any system of marketing.

2. Manorial Price Statistics

The study of manorial statistics serves a twofold purpose. It throws light upon the development of the manor, which is of immediate concern, and it furnishes the earliest evidence on the subject of the market, the chief interest of this work as a whole.

For purposes of price comparison only one commodity has been chosen, wheat. And though many kinds of evidence concerning other grains have been utilized, still wheat prices have proved most precise and most ample. These are found in the bailiffs' accounts. Rogers has made use of this source from the year 1259 onwards, but it is possible to push back to the year 1208, by using for this earlier period the pipe rolls of the bishopric of Winchester, only the first of which has been published. This additional half-century of evidence is of exceptional importance since it apparently proves the existence of a marked rise of prices in the period 1200 to 1300. It has been stated that prior to 1350, there was no rise in the price of wheat,[1] and Rogers also gives the same impression since he found no increase for nearly three centuries following 1259. The evidence for this view is inadequate or negative. Ruding, on the other hand, long ago gave figures to indicate that the price of wheat rose very much in the period in question, but since his sources are untrustworthy, his conclusion has not been accepted. And apparently he did not regard the course of wheat prices as typical. His view of the rise

[1] Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, iii, p. 192; see also Jacob, *Precious Metals*, i, pp. 344–345.

in the price of wheat in England as a whole apparently, may be seen in the following table.[1]

1050–1150,	wheat	rose	from	2¼	to	4½	d.	per bushel
1150–1250,	"	"	"	4½	"	19¾	d.	" "
1250–1350,	"	"	"	19¾	"	22½	d.	" "

For countries other than England, the sources for thirteenth century wheat prices are either non-existent or so slight as to be unreliable.[2] The averages of Hérbert[3] and of D'Avenel[4] for France, however, inadequate though they be, are of interest, since they indicate a considerable rise in prices in parts of France.

The following table, showing the course of wheat prices in England for the period 1208–1300, is based upon the sales of the wheat of a number of manors, varying from 26 to 44, belonging to the bishopric of Winchester in southern England.

[1] The following table shows the rise in prices of other commodities.

Year	Horse	Ox	Cow	Sheep	Hog
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1050	1 17 6	0 7 6	0 6 0	0 1 3	0 2 0
1150	0 12 5	0 4 8½	.....	0 1 8	0 3 0
1250	1 11 0	1 0 7	0 17 0	0 1 7	.....
1350	0 18 4	1 4 6	0 17 2	0 2 7	0 2 6

Ruding, *Annals of Coinage*, i, pp. 193, 194.

Though Ruding adduced many "respectable authorities," old Chronicles, and Historians, such as Fleetwood's *Chronicon Pretiosum*, Combrune's *Prices of Wheat*, 1000–1765 (1768), Adam Smith, and James Steuart, we cannot take his figures seriously.

[2] The price materials of Lamprecht (*Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter*, ii, pp. 554–560, 613) for the Moselle district cover the period from the ninth to the end of the fifteenth century but are too meagre to be of value. They, however, indicate a general rise of prices in the thirteenth century.

[3] *Essai sur la Police Générale des Grains* (Paris, ed. 1910), p. 76.

[4] Price of wheat per Hectolitre (Francs and Centimes)

Period	Ile de France	Picardy and Artois	Normandy	Champagne	Languedoc
1201–1225	4.68	4.77	2.89	3.48	5.21
1226–1250	....	4.12	3.37	3.60	....
1251–1275	3.41	11.17	4.93	4.09	5.41
1276–1300	4.30	9.27	4 22	3.53	9.12

Histoire Économique, etc., ii, p. 896.

ENGLISH WHEAT PRICES, 1208–1298[1]
(Quinquennial Periods)

Period	Number of Years Represented	Average Number of Manors Per Annum	Average Number of Price Entries[2]	Yearly Average Price Per Qr.[3]
				s. d.
1208	1	34	38	2 $8\frac{1}{4}$
1209–13	3	33	43	2 10
1214–18	3	26	29	4 3
1219–23	3	31	40	3 $9\frac{1}{2}$
1224–28	3	29	30	5 4
1229–33	2	35	59	3 $10\frac{3}{4}$
1234–38	2	35	53	3 8
1239–43	0	..	..	.....
1244–48	4	40	132	3 $9\frac{3}{4}$
1249–53	1	41	139	5 $2\frac{3}{4}$
1254–58	3	39	99	6 $0\frac{3}{4}$
1259–63	1	44	174	4 2
1264–68	4	39	120	3 $11\frac{1}{4}$
1269–73	0	..	..	.....
1274–78	2	41	126	5 $1\frac{1}{2}$
1279–83	2	41	98	7 $4\frac{1}{4}$
1284–88	4	39	83	4 $4\frac{1}{4}$
1289–93	5	42	80	5 $4\frac{1}{2}$
1294–98	2	43	78	6 $7\frac{1}{2}$

The rise of prices indicated by the table on the next page may be further simplified, as follows:

The percentage increase of

1224–48	over	1208–23	is 23.9
1224–98	"	1208–23	" 47.2
1249–98	"	1208–23	" 57.6
1216–56	"	1208–15	" 51.8
1257–1300	"	1208–15	" 108.8

In spite of the great number of prices averaged to make up these totals, it is obvious that there are difficulties in drawing a final

[1] For the particulars of these averages see Statistical Appendix F.

[2] Not the average of all the entries, but simply of those used in compiling the average price.

[3] Based upon all but " mill " entries. The prices of mill corn were used only when no other price was given for the year, so that the contractual element would be eliminated as far as possible. Out of a total of 4015 entries, I have used only 3616 in compiling these averages.

conclusion as to the percentage of the increase of price. Since we know practically nothing about prices in the twelfth century, we cannot say what part of the first half of the thirteenth century is the most typical of early prices, what part had best be taken as a basis of comparison with the prices of the latter half of the century. The low price period 1208–15, may have had a price average nearer that of the twelfth century than the higher price period 1208–23. By accepting the latter, however, if we err,

ENGLISH WHEAT PRICES, 1208–1300
(Summary)

Period	Number of Years	Average Number of Manors Per Annum	Average Number of Price Entries	Yearly Average Price Per Qr.
				s. d.
1208–23	10	30	37	3 $4\frac{3}{4}$
1224–48	11	35	77	4 2
1249–98	24	41	100	5 $4\frac{1}{4}$
1224–98	35	39	93	5 0
1208–15	..	..	..	2 $9\frac{3}{4}$
1216–56	..	..	..	4 $3\frac{1}{4}$
1257–1300 [1]	..	..	..	5 $10\frac{3}{4}$

we do so on the side of moderation. The first half of the thirteenth century, then, saw a rise in the price of wheat of about 25 %, and the second half of over 50 %.

Carrying this statistical inquiry concerning these manors still farther, we see that, while the increase in the production of wheat per acre between 1200 and 1300 was about 150 % [2] and the increase in the percentage sold of that produced was 44 %,[3] the

[1] Rogers' figures for 1259–1300; *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester for 1257 and 1258.*

[2] See below, p. 214, n. 1, and Appendix A.

[3] The following table shows the percentage of corn produced that was sold on manors of the bishopric of Winchester, at three interesting periods. The figures in parentheses indicate the number of manors from which the data are taken.

	1208–09	1299–1300	1396–97
Wheat	(30) 48.5	(41) 70.0	(43) 68.0
Barley	(15) 27.9	(34) 39.6	(32) 21.2
Oats	(20) 16.0	(30) 34.3	(36) 36.9
Total Average	(22) 30.8	(35) 48.0	(37) 42.0

rise of price was over 50%. We cannot, of course, be certain that results based upon such evidence as has been used, are even roughly typical, but since there is no reason to believe that this region or this manorial group was peculiar in any way, we may use these figures provisionally to establish the fact of the only considerable rise in corn prices during the Middle Ages.

The explanation of such a rise in prices, however, is not obvious. So far as is known, the English coinage underwent no change during this period, nor did the units of measurement;[1] there was apparently no considerable increase in the supply of precious metals, certainly none comparable with that of the Tudor and Stuart periods, and no absolute diminution of the supply of corn but rather an increase. So we are left to conclude either that the rise indicated was peculiar to wheat, and, perhaps, was caused by an increase in the consumption of that cereal at the expense of rye or barley, or that the rise was general and was caused by a growing demand for all kinds of corn (and this is the important point) owing to a development in the trade, both foreign and domestic. The first alternative seems to be ruled out because what evidence we have is against it.[2] The second seems to be

The figures for 1208–09 are based upon Hall, *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*, pp. xliv–xlv.

Due allowance should be made for the fact that not all the corn labelled "sold" in the bailiffs' accounts was actually sold or bartered; some so charged of course simply went to another manor of the group for seed, and other purposes, but this was quite the exception. The clearest evidence that sale meant sale upon the market (besides the occasional specific statement of the fact) is that prices varied from time to time and normally rose as the supply of the old crop was consumed, and before the new one had come in. The following examples are from the year 1253–54 (MS., R. O., *Ecclesiastical Commission*, Various 24/159291).

Brightwell	Mill	Corn	s.	d.
Mich.—Christmas	5	qrs.	4	4
	4½	"	4	6
Christmas—Easter	7	"	4	4
	2	"	4	6
Easter—Midsummer Day	7½	"	5	4
Midsummer Day—Mich.	4	"	5	4
	2½	"	6	0

Morton	Mill	Corn	s.	d.
Before Christmas	5	qrs.	2	11
After "	8¼	"	2	10
Before Midsummer Day	9	"	4	0
After " "	11	"	5	0

[1] Inman (*Domesday and Feudal Statistics*, p. 158) says: "It is probable that a change in the quasi-standard quarter occurred *t.* Hen. III in which reign it seems to have had 8 bushels"; but for this there is no evidence.

[2] The percentage of wheat sold of that produced in 1208–09 was 1.74 times that

the more probable explanation, namely the increase in the volume of trade due in part to a growing foreign demand and more especially to the growth of the town population, a subject bound up with the evolution of the local market.

Using the analogy of later periods of rising prices, we may suggest what was likely to be the result of an increase in prices upon the various social classes of the thirteenth century; final conclusions should rest upon an investigation of all the ascertainable facts. Wage earners in the modern sense were, in rural districts, so few in number that the aggregate amount of their discomfort was probably slight. In case the tenant had commuted his payments in kind for money rents, he received an unearned increment, as did the lord on the other hand, in case payments in kind were still due to him. In the town the journeyman, not receiving his board as part of his wages, would suffer, while the master, then as now, was without doubt able to raise the price of the commodities he handled so as not to suffer himself. In the thirteenth century, however, as in the twentieth, a rise of prices meant a boom to almost every field of economic life, so that all engaged in economic pursuits were likely in the long run to be benefited. But on the other hand, it did not mean

of barley, and in 1299–1300, it was 1.82 times. The figures for rye are not so numerous, but they show a result not markedly different, that is 1.25 and 1.05. Averaging these two results, we arrive at this conclusion: that the percentage of wheat sold of that produced in 1208–09 was 1.50 times the mean of that of barley and rye, while in 1299–1300 it was 1.45. In other words, while the development is not marked nor important, it points to a diminution, rather than an increase, in the sale (and consumption) of wheat as far as those manors are concerned. The following table, giving the annual price averages, indicates that agricultural commodities saw a general increase in price.

Year	Plough Horses	Bulls	Lambs	Geese	Hens
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1208–1209	5 3	3 3½	0 3	0 2	0 1½
1261–1270	11 3½	10 6	0 4⅜	0 2½	0 1⅝
1271–1280	13 1½	9 6¾	0 8⅞	0 2⅞	0 1¼
1281–1290	11 9¾	8 2½	0 8⅝	0 2⅜	0 1¼
1291–1300	10 6¼	8 8¼	0 5⅞	0 3¼	0 1¼

Hall, *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*, p. xlviii; Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, i, pp. 361–363.

in the thirteenth century what it means in the twentieth, immediate hardship on the part of a large class of wage earners.

The point most noteworthy and most pertinent to our study is, however, that the marketing of the manorial products was extending, and that the influence of the market on the manorial organization, ultimately to be the chief determining factor, was now for the first time apparent.

3. The Rise of Manorial Marketing

We have suggested above that the traditional view which regarded the medieval manor as isolated can no longer be accepted without reserve. This naturally raises the further question as to that self-sufficiency of the manor which has been so generally asserted.[1]

The term "self-sufficiency" does not mean absolute self-sufficiency. From the first, a few valuable skins and a few cloths of finer domestic workmanship were probably exchanged for salt, fish, iron, spices, and ornaments. And to its last day the manor, like the modern farm, retained a certain measure of self-sufficiency. The question of self-sufficiency turns on the extent and character of the relation of the manor to the market. Our problem, then, is to discover whether the manor regularly sold its products on the market, and therefore could be said to be organized for the purpose of marketing. And if so, when?

The evidence supporting the view here taken, that the manor was coming into close relation to the market, is, in the first place,

[1] "The fundamental characteristics of the manorial group [*i. e.*, the single manor], regarded from the economic point of view, was its self-sufficiency, its social independence." Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, pt. i, p. 33.

"This self-centred life, economically, judicially, and ecclesiastically so nearly independent of other bodies, put obstacles in the way of change. It prohibited intercourse beyond the manor, and opposed the growth of a feeling of common national life." Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, p. 52.

"The manor remained almost entirely self-sufficing, as had been the communities out of which it had arisen." Meredith, *Economic History of England*, p. 33.

"The cultivators of the soil grew their produce, not for sale, but for their own consumption. Each manor or village was isolated and self-sufficing." Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present*, p. 7. See also p. 12.

Cf. Cunningham, Introduction to *Walter of Henley's Husbandry* (ed. E. Lamond), pp. xiii–xiv.

the fact of the large and increasing sale of corn recorded throughout the thirteenth century in the bailiffs' accounts, as has been before noted.[1] These accounts, of course, involve only the sales of corn from the lord's demesne.

There is likewise the evidence that tenants were gradually commuting their corn-rents for money-rents. The most remarkable example of this is the case of the royal tenants situated in almost every county in England, who as early as the first few decades of the twelfth century entered into money contracts with the king. A passage in *Dialogus de Scaccario*, here paraphrased for the sake of brevity, bears witness to this: Tradition has it that after the Norman Conquest, while the realm was still in a primitive condition, the royal estates paid to the king not gold or silver, but victuals alone, from which the daily needs of the king's household were supplied. Those who were entrusted with the business knew how much each estate provided and from which counties corn, meat, fodder for horses, and other necessities were to be procured. Under Henry I, however, a change was made. That king, often warring on the Continent, wanted not victuals, but money. Likewise, the peasants in great numbers complained of the hardship of being compelled to supply provisions and of having to carry them great distances to court. Having received the opinion of the nobles and yielded to these complaints, the king ordered commissioners to fix a money payment in lieu of rents in kind, so that henceforth the farm of the king's manors was paid into the exchequer in hard cash.[2]

General information about the tenant's right to sell corn is not specifically recorded, but may be inferred. Though a license was necessary for a customary tenant to sell an ox, a horse, cow, colt, or pig,[3] and a toll was collected on malt brewed into beer for

[1] p. 14, n. 3. See also Appendices A and F.

[2] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, Select Charters (ed. Stubbs), pp. 193–194.

[3] Inquiry is to be made — an nativi custumarii . . . vendiderint vitulum pullanum vel bovem de propria nutritura sine licentia domini. *Domesday of St. Paul*, p. 157 * (ca. 1320).

Si habeat equum pullanum, bovem vel vaccam ad vendendum, dominus propinquior erit omnibus aliis et vendere non debent sine licentia domini. *Rochester Cartulary* (ed. Thorpe), p. 2a. Quoted from Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 156 n.

sale,[1] still there has been found no restriction on the sale of the *corn* of the customary tenant, to say nothing of the free tenant.

The explanation of the situation is as follows. The lord had a twofold right to prohibit purchase and sale on the part of the villain, firstly, because of the villain's personal status and, secondly, because of the property relations between the lord and villain. Not the legal theory, however, but the custom in the case is of importance. The lord allowed the sale of corn and restricted the sale of cattle and horses because, though he had no direct interest in the former, in the latter his interest was immediate, for the oxen and horses were used to work the lord's demesne, and at times turned into the lord's lands to manure them. Clear evidence of this is seen in the rule that oxen, horses, and porkers young enough might be sold.[2] And, indeed, it is expressly stipulated that the tenant is free to sell his horse and young ox when they are not used in tillage.[3] In practice, then, the tenant, free and customary, it would appear, sold his corn and his beasts not used for cultivating the demesne, with little or no restriction.[4]

There arose, at least as early as the thirteenth century, and perhaps even in the twelfth, a class of dealers, called corn mongers, as seen below,[5] who were villagers, and though in the only instance clearly stated they are called "free-tenants," some may have been customary tenants. In other words, some members of the manor arose early as marketers of corn, regularly employed in disposing of the surplus crop.

[1] The customary tenant — si braciaverit ad vendendum, dabit duodecim lagenas cervisiae ad tonnutum vel pretium earum. *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, iii, p. 53 (1266–67).

[2] Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records*, p. 230 (ca. 1250).

[3] Item si ipse habeat pullum vel boviculum et tunc laboraverit cum illo non potest vendere sine licentia domini sed si non laboraverit licitum est ei vendere sine licentia. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, p. 463a.

[4] In particular manors the custom might be otherwise, a fact recognized in the following passage. Item, quod non permittatur quod aliquis vendat equum masculum vel bovem sibi vitulatum sine licentia, nisi consuetudo se habeat in contrarium. *Historiae et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, iii, p. 218.

[5] p. 163.

Although from the side of market regulations there remains but little evidence, and none of a very early date, bearing on the sale of corn,[1] still there are the regulations of the carrying services of tenants on the manor, which throw light upon the subject.

Besides the *averagium ad hospitium* and the *averagium de manerio ad manerium*, was the *averagium ad mercatum et ad forum*, a service [2] which is clearly seen in surveys and custumals of the thirteenth century. As early as 1248, the purchase of sacks is recorded for carrying corn to the market.[3] The sale of corn at this period is clearly not confined to church manors, but is found on those in the hands of lay lords,[4] as well as those in the hands of the king.[5] While at times the carrying was to be to the nearest markets [6] or to "all or any of the markets in the shire," [7] often the specific places at some distance are recorded, and thus in the thirteenth century for the first time in the history of the grain trade, we get considerable definite information of the domestic trade in grain.[8] For instance, in the custumals of

[1] For example: firmarii de Lutturworth capiunt tolnetum de blado empto in dictis mercatis ad seminandum et comedendum et aliis minutis rebus de quibus teoloneum non solet dari. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, i, p. 239b (4 Ed. I).

[2] [Villanus] cariabit bladum ad vendendum ad quodcumque forum dominus voluerit infra comitatum. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, p. 657b. Cf. pp. 628a, 747b, 761b.

Item, debet cariare lanam et caseum domini per viginti leucas in circuitu et habebit cibum suum de mercatoribus. *Rentalia et custumaria . . . Glastoniae*, p. 165 (ca. 1250).

[3] In VIII saccis emptis ad bladum cariandum ad forum et ad Wintoniam II S. Baigent, *Crondal*, p. 55.

[4] MS., R. O., *Rentals and Surveys*, General Series, roll 684 (Lalleford, Essex, 19 Ed. I).

[5] *Ibid.*, roll 589 (Odiham, Ed. I).

[6] MS., R. O., *Rentals and Surveys*, General Series, roll 589.

[7] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, pp. 628a, 657b, 761b.

[8] Ubicunque fiat averagium ad vendendum bladum, totum averagium habebit unum denarium.

A festo Purificationis usque ad Gulam Augusti, si bladum curiae tam diu duraverit, faciet singulis mensibus unum averagium usque ad Londoniam, vel Rameseiam, vel Cantebrigiam, vel alibi in remotis, et habebit sicut prius.

Ita scilicet, quod quamdiu bladum duraverit, singulis mensibus faciet unum averagium, ut praedictum est.

Faciet etiam averagia ad vicina mercata, vel alibi prope, quando dominus voluerit, et computabitur pro opere unius diei. *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, i, pp. 476–477 (ca. 1250, Barton, Bedfordshire).

Ramsey Abbey[1] there are mentioned corn-carrying services from its manors in Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire to the following places besides Ramsey itself: Huntingdon and St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, Cambridge, Reach, and Burwell in Cambridgeshire, Ipswich and St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, Colchester in Essex, St. Albans in Hertfordshire, and farthest away London and Canterbury. In the case of the East Anglian manors of St. Edmundsbury, they were to Ipswich, Southwold, Dunwich, and Cockfield in Suffolk, Yarmouth in Norfolk, and Nayland and Colchester in Essex, though in these cases the carrying services were not restricted to corn, but were of a general nature.[2] Similarly with the manor of Lawford (Lalleford) belonging to Olive de Langham (Leynham), where the services were to Ipswich, Harwich, and Colchester as well as to Langham, probably the home manor.[3]

We have, too, an instance of one manor of a group being so favorably situated for marketing that corn was regularly sent to it for sale, that is, the manor of Southwark in the manorial group belonging to the bishopric of Winchester. Corn from three sources was there sold, that from the demesne, from the mill, and from other manors.[4] In one year, there came from the manors of

Brightwell	251	quarters	wheat
Wycombe	318	"	"
Harwell	45	"	"

and at least 290 quarters are accounted for as sold this same year.[5] A few years earlier there were sent from these three manors 312 quarters of wheat, of which 141½ were used at Southwark, and 168 sold.[6] In this instance as in the former one cited, corn is seen going in directions other than towards the home manor, and for purposes other than consumption by the lord and his household.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 462, 476–477; iii, pp. 243, 282, 302. Cf. also *ibid.*, i, p. 45.
[2] MS., Br. M., Harl. 3977, fols. 81, 87b.
[3] MS., R. O., *Rentals and Surveys*, General Series, roll 684 (19 Ed. I).
[4] Cf. MS., R. O., *Ecclesiastical Commission*, Various, 22/159272 (1213–14).
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 22/159271 (1210–11).

In the early thirteenth and undoubtedly also in the late twelfth century, not only was there a manorial organization for the local marketing of corn maintained on the part of the lord, but also for export abroad. The surplus corn of the archbishop and of the priory of Canterbury,[1] of the manors of Ramsey Abbey,[2] of the archdeacon of Wells,[3] and of the bishopric of Winchester[3] is on record as going abroad. In the two last cases it was sold to merchants. It was probably such sales of corn that made possible the not inconsiderable export in the reign of King Henry II, elsewhere noted.[4]

The important facts illustrated by these instances are that markets for corn were in existence, that the manorial organization adapted itself to marketing conditions, and that the network of corn currents to the central or home manors for the personal needs of the proprietors was crossed by another network of currents evolving out of the growth of a territorial marketing system.[5]

The probable succession in the history of carrying services is as follows: to the grange, probably as old as the manor, to the home manor, and to the market. It does not follow, of course, that the corn-carrying services to market rapidly or wholly superseded the others, but rather that they long existed side by side while the market organization was developing as is seen in the case of St. Paul's where the earlier services lasted, like the later, until the fourteenth century.[6]

Without first having defined what we mean by marketing, we cannot assign even an approximate date to its beginning. Not the mere sale and purchase of goods, but the organized exchange

[1] Rex omnibus mercatoribus et aliis ad quos etc. Sciatis quod concessimus omnibus qui blada emerint de bladis archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis vel prioratus Cantuariensis a Fulcone de Cantilupo et Reginaldo de Cornhull quod libere et sine impedimento possint ea adducere in Flandriam per brevia eorumdem. Et Prohibemus ne quis eos super hoc impediat. *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, i, pt. 1, p. 76a (1207).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79a (1208).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 78b (1208).

[4] Below, p. 110.

[5] See below, pp. 28–29, and ch. 2.

[6] Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, i, p. 45.

between town and country is here meant. The evidence for the existence of such a condition is scanty.[1] But there are some facts which point to the early part of the twelfth century as probably the period when a regular market organization was first evolving. In the first place, a money economy was by that time well in evidence. The number of coins in circulation and of mints in operation had greatly increased since the time of Cnut. The well-known passage in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, cited above,[2] shows that Henry I had commuted payments in kind, due from the royal manors, to payments in money, a forceful recognition of a new condition. In the second place, we know that at this period the merchants of the towns were beginning to organize into gilds and were securing trading privileges from the crown.[3] But if we look, finally, for evidence as to organized carrying services, which we have found so common in the thirteenth century, we must take refuge in conjecture. Carrying services *from* the market are recorded for the early years of Henry I,[4] as are certain obligations with respect to journeys to market towns,[5] which were probably meant to include sale as well as purchase. There is, however, good reason for the lack of evidence of the existence of services for carrying goods to market. The practice was just developing, and while some groups of manors had probably established market-carrying services, such

[1] Specific instances of the sale of corn came late, for example: Eodem anno [1232] distracta sunt horrea Romanorum per totam fere Angliam, a viris quibusdam armatis et adhuc ignotis, bonis conditionibus et ad commodum multorum; et opus, licet temerarium, in solennitate Paschali inchoantes, sine contradictione et libere, quod inceperant, compleverunt. Largas eleemosynas advenientibus distribuebant egenis, et quandoque nummos inter pauperes seminantes eos colligere hortabantur. Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series), iii, p. 27.

Rules with regard to the sale of corn are found in *Walter of Henley*, p. 33, and *Rules of St. Robert*, *ibid.*, p. 143.

[2] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, Select Charters (Stubbs), pp. 193–194. See above, p. 18.

[3] Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i, pp. 5 f.

[4] [Each villain of Bromley] facit braisium et vadit ad summagium pro sale et pro pisce, aut reddit II d. pro utroque. *Burton Chartulary*, p. 26 (1100–1113 ?).

[5] Debet hospitari honorifice Abbatem cum venerit in partes illas conducere et reducere salvo conductu monachos et clientes eorum quando ibunt sive ad Cestriam sive ad Wich pro aliquo mercato, dare de suo competenti Abbati quando requisierit cum Abbas. *Burton Chartulary*, p. 36.

as the Ramsey Abbey group, other groups probably did not do so until the thirteenth century, notably the manors belonging to the bishopric of Durham.[1] Furthermore, there are few manorial surveys or extents for the early twelfth century, and these are brief and general in character, such as the *Liber Niger* of Peterborough, and the *Burton Chartulary*.

The problem is not to decide which was the exception and which the rule, self-sufficiency or marketing, but to point out that marketing was coming to be a normal form of manorial organization from the twelfth century onwards, and that one side of manorial activity was production for a local market. It would not be in keeping with any known facts to regard this trade as very considerable; the point is simply that the trade was organized and therefore regular, not " casual." [2]

We may hold therefore, as a working hypothesis, that the manor should be regarded in many, if not most, instances as developing an integral relationship with a group of manors, and that after passing through the stages of prandial perambulation (or of food farms) and of carrying services, the manorial organization was by the twelfth century entering, with money payments, into the period of market economy.

4. The Decay of the Manor

Several theories have been put forward to explain the decay of the manor. Prominent among these are the Black Death,[3] the Peasants' Revolt,[4] and sheep-farming,[5] all three being tangible, and the first two dramatic.

Though so many writers have devoted a sentence or a paragraph to the subject of the decline of the manorial system, no one

[1] *Boldon Buke* of 1183 consists of fairly full surveys which contain plenty of information about inter-manorial carrying services, but not about marketing.

[2] As held by Mr. Hubert Hall, *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*, p. xvii.

[3] See for example H. de B. Gibbins, *Industry in England*, p. 85: and Oman, *The History of England, 1399–1485*, p. 27.

[4] Green (*History of the English People*, i, p. 486), says that " serfdom [and therefore the manorial system] was henceforth [*i. e.* after 1381] a doomed and perishing thing "; " the end of the rising was in fact secured."

[5] Price, *English Commerce and Industry*, p. 113.

has yet treated it as a whole. The explanation probably is that the senescence of institutions is not of such general interest as the early history, especially the origin, and that the full and complete history of the decay of this institution is so comprehensive, bound up as it is with most great developments of the period.

A full treatment of this subject would embrace all manorial activities, such as the legal, the ecclesiastical, the social, and the economic. In the broadest sense, it would be a treatise on the decline of local economy, and would form but one chapter in the history of economic development. But our interest here is primarily economic, and the task is not to describe the process of decay, but to attempt an analysis of the fundamental factors in that change and to outline the chief results following it.

The community which we call the manor dissolved because its economic basis, the practice of supporting an agricultural proprietor by means of services and rents in kind came to an end. This meant a vital alteration in the relationship between two classes, lords and servile tenants.

In the history of labor, certain genetic stages have been distinguished. Although in the progress from one of these stages to another the moving and determining forces have not left well-marked traces for us to follow, it seems, however, that slavery gave way to serfdom, not because of Christian preaching or humanitarian feeling, but because serfdom was better adapted to the politico-economic needs of the pre-urban period; and that in modern times the free contractual labor of the individual is giving way to collective bargaining, through the efforts of the workers themselves, and in the face of opposition from other classes. Our interest in the question here is, what was the leaven behind the development from servile labor to the free contractual basis, the second important progressive move in the history of labor ?

The enfranchisement of the serf is often treated as if it depended largely upon the lord's initiative, and as if initiative on the part

of the villain was exceptional.[1] The view here taken is that the servile tenant came to see that his interest lay in a contractual rather than a customary relationship, and that the lord, though on the whole preferring the latter basis, early saw an advantage in a partial cash arrangement, and later was forced to accept the tenant's position almost without reserve. In the twelfth century the lord found that it served his purpose best to lease parts of the demesne for a money payment.[2] And in the fifteenth century he seems to have profited by leasing the greater part, or, indeed, all of the demesne. The explanation of the former is, in part, that the lord wanted some ready money. The explanation of the latter is, that he did not find it profitable to continue bailiff-farming.

To the customary tenant is ascribed a variety of motives for desiring to change his position. Some of them are bound up with status, such as a desire to enter orders, and freedom to marry at will; whilst others are connected with his tenure, such as his preference for paying a "fixed" due.[3] The explanation here suggested is that the fundamental reason for the tenant's desire to get rid of customary service was the increasing advantage which he saw in commercial agriculture. One of the earliest manifestations of the peasant's desire to be free of the old services (notably the carriage of corn and other provisions), and of the rent paid in kind and to substitute money payments therefor, occurred on the royal estates in the reign of Henry I.[4] The widely scattered manors of the king, of course, presented a special case; indeed, this commutation may be an isolated early instance of a movement which made but little headway till the thirteenth century when prices were rising and when the tenant, no longer satisfied with selling a mere surplus crop, sought to produce for a market. To this end he increased his holding by leasing and

[1] L'on voit les mobiles divers qui incitent les seigneurs à affranchir leurs serfs. Mais il ne faudrait pas croire que l'initiative vînt toujours du maître. Très souvent, les serfs sollicitent eux-mêmes leur affranchissement. H. See, *Les classes rurales au moyen âge*, p. 255.

[2] Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 327.

[3] H. See, *Les classes rurales au moyen âge*, pp. 255 f.

[4] See above, p. 18.

assarting. In the fourteenth century, the peasant saw in the devastation of the Black Death, and the consequent necessities of the landlord, an opportunity to throw off the economic disability of customary services sanctioned by the political order and enforced by the legal machinery of the day. The result was the revolt of 1381, when the chief demands of the peasants,[1] besides a general amnesty, were that they should be freed from bondage, should be freely allowed to sell their products, as well as to buy, on the local market,[2] and should not be charged a rent of over four pence per acre. Freed from working the demesne (as well as personally free), they aimed at renting land cheaply, and producing for a local market. The revolt of 1381, so far as the peasants were concerned, was a general strike caused by the increasing profit of production for sale, a strike which was more likely to succeed, because of the comparative scarcity of labor in the country, due to the migration to the towns. The fact that the revolt was not immediately successful is of minor importance. At any rate, it shows the position of the tenant opposed to the old order and the position of the lord seeking to maintain it. This, the only organized effort of labor, was a failure, but the manor, nevertheless, broke down through the steady but unorganized pressure exerted by the peasant interest. A process of change, begun in the twelfth century, was thus practically completed in the century following the Peasants' Revolt.

The lord yielded, and the cardinal feature of the manor disappeared before the ~~the~~ new force, the local market, which grew up around the towns. Towns made free — made those free who

[1] These demands were granted and then revoked. Part of the revocation is as follows: Quodque voluimus quod iidem, Ligei et Subditi nostri, Liberi essent ad Emendum et Vendendum, in quibuscumque Civitatibus, Burgis, Villis Mercatoriis, et aliis Locis, infra Regnum nostrum Angliae.

Et quod nulla Acra Terra, in Comitatibus praedictis, quae in Bondagio vel Servitio tenetur, altius quam ad Quatuor Denarios haberetur, et, si qua minus antea tenta fuisset, imposterum non exaltaretur. Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc. (ed. 1709), vii, p. 317.

[2] The difficulty was that the cities and towns were restricting by toll or regulation the peasant's right to sell on the town market, and that the manorial regulations were hampering the tenant's sale of agricultural products. The former included corn, the latter did not.

escaped to them and also those who remained on the manor. To those who remained on the soil the town growth was an unearned increment. It brought a contractual advantage to the tenant, and as appears below, an unplanned disadvantage to the lord. Whatever may have been the nucleus of any particular town, I think we may say that in general it was the desire for freedom and betterment of position that impelled men to congregate in urban centers. The town, discoverer of the power of bargaining, purchased from its lord additional privileges which in turn attracted the lord's rural tenants, raised the price of labor, and made bailiff-farming unprofitable. And to complete the lord's misfortune, prices rose in the thirteenth century after town farms had been fixed, so that his income really diminished. Truly, the period from 1100 to 1500 was as much in his disfavor as that from 800 to 1100 had been to his advantage.

The growth of the town and the local market forced the lord to give up bailiff-farming, because it made the tenant unwilling to labor for the lord. But the latter had the courts and the political machinery with which to enforce his rights, and he must therefore have yielded only to the inevitable. It was impracticable and in the long run unprofitable to force tenants to labor who possessed and offered money in lieu of labor. And also, it was difficult to find bailiffs who had sufficient business ability to maintain economically the two-sided cash relationship of hiring labor and selling produce.

Still more, the lord's manorial marketing system was giving way to the organization of a local territorial market slowly being worked out. It was found unprofitable to cart corn long distances to a home manor for consumption, or to a market center within the manorial group, when good market places had to be passed on the way, and when, perhaps, the corn was finally deposited in a district of a large surplus, and therefore low price. In other words, the territorial market gradually cut in upon the manorial corn supply system, and ultimately supplanted it.

This may be expressed in another way. During an earlier period, say roughly from 1100 to 1250, the lord sent his corn long distances to good markets, while the tenant sent his surplus to

the nearby markets, being unable to cart it far afield because of lack of capital and lack of knowledge. In the former case the tendency was to override the development towards a territorial market; in the latter case, on the other hand, the tendency was to create a territorial market, an area over which one price tended to prevail, bearing in the long run a close relation to the cost of production. In the period from 1250 to 1500 came the decline of the lord's marketing system, while during the same period the tenant, impelled in the direction of agricultural production for a local market, pretty generally refused to give up his time and service to his lord. Both of these developments were favorable to the creation of a local market area.[1]

The growth of the town and the local market had, then, in a threefold manner, an unfavorable effect upon the lord; the town won a fixed money payment as its farm to the lord, and by its own increase and prosperity raised prices,[2] which in turn lessened the burden of its rent, and therefore diminished the lord's income. The growth of the territorial market, or the local market area, made bailiff-farming unprofitable, and disorganized that part of the manorial marketing system which the lord had slowly evolved in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and which he was forced to give up just when it would have become profitable through the increasing demand of the town for the products of the soil.

In this struggle between the lord and tenant, caused by the rise of the local market, external circumstances arose, some favoring the lord and some the tenant. The latter have been considered, the rise of prices in the thirteenth century and the Black Death; but one circumstance told strongly in the lord's favor, the growing demand for English wool at home and abroad, a commodity which required less labor for its production. Lords who preferred to use their demesnes rather than rent them found in sheep pasturing a profitable substitute for corn growing, that is, of course, on lands suitable for the purpose.

The fifteenth century thus witnessed the gradual growth of capitalistic sheep farming on the part of the landlords, and the

[1] See pp. 64, 73, 89. [2] p. 15.

silent, but definite emergence of a free peasant class. Having won a large measure of economic independence, the peasant, already aided in his rise to freedom by that solvent of serfdom, the town, was finally supported by the New Monarchy, the strong central government which threw its weight into the balance on the side of the prospective citizen, tax-payer, and soldier.

We may tentatively distinguish four periods [1] in the history of the manor. Before the twelfth century there seems to have been a pre-market period when the surplus of corn remained unsold. From the twelfth century to the middle of the thirteenth century the local market was coming into being, the needs of which the manor adjusted itself to meet by the sale of its surplus corn. The following period to the sixteenth century saw the decline of the manor through the cessation of bailiff-farming brought about by the full development of the local market, the needs of which were met by commercial agriculture organized on a territorial basis. After the sixteenth century only non-essentials survived, important in themselves, but not vital to the manor.

The results of the decline of the manor were numerous and important. Its decay was part of the break-up of the village economy, with its peculiar social discipline and its agrarian co-operation, and the preparation for a wider economic organization. Commercial agriculture, which succeeded subsistence production, meant for the town unhampered development and specialization in industry and trade, since the country districts, unhindered by the rigid coöperative system of the older economy, could adapt themselves more easily to the town demands for food products, and become better customers for the town industry and trade. As has been pointed out, the decay of the manor paved the way for the more complete working out of the local or territorial marketing system; and it also made possible the better tillage and larger production of the sixteenth and following centuries, which lay behind the further extension of the marketing system, that is,

[1] See also above, pp. 10, 24.

the development from the local to the metropolitan market, described at length below.

The disintegration of the manor and the manorial group, then, in the period from 1250 to 1500, was like its highest development in the period from 1100 to 1250 in this respect, that both stages of growth were closely connected with the evolution of the market.

CHAPTER II

THE LOCAL MARKET FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1. The Nature of a Market

The earliest trade of which we have direct evidence was in the hands of itinerant dealers. By the laws of Ine it was decreed: "If a chapman traffic up among the people, let him do it before witnesses." Other regulations occur in the laws of Hlothaere and Eadric, and of Alfred.[1]

Trading upon the market place of the borough occurred at least as early as the late ninth century, for at that time a charter was granted to the see of Worcester which mentioned the "Ceapstowe" or market place of Worcester.[2] In the laws of the tenth century, Sunday marketing was prohibited, while the purchase of goods within the town was made obligatory, except under certain specified circumstances,[3] and in *Domesday Book* town markets dating back to Edward the Confessor are recorded.[4]

There were two kinds of market places, the urban and the rural. The former was found in the boroughs, the latter in the rural townships or manors. Although the rural market is found as far back as about 960, in the township of Oundle [5] in Northamptonshire, it was contrary to the letter of the dooms of Edward the Elder and of Athelstan, which limited marketing to "ports" or towns,[6] and contrary to the spirit of the laws of Edward the Confessor, which assumed that all marketing was done in boroughs.[7] The laws of the Conqueror specifically limited markets to cities, boroughs, castles, and "very safe places." [7] Nevertheless, *Domesday Book* records several manors possessing markets,

[1] *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, i, p. 31.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 36.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

for example, Hoxney in Suffolk.[1] Some of these were on the way to become boroughs like Basingstoke in Hampshire, whilst others like Yaxley, have remained rural.[2] Indeed, it seems that the early town proceeded normally from the manor, gradually acquired market rights and became inhabited in part by men called "burgesses,"[3] who probably commuted their agricultural services for a money rent, and who were specially associated with the market;[4] until finally we find the full-fledged borough, the citizens of which had purchased special privileges and immunities.

The importance of these facts is twofold. Marketing played a vital part in the evolution of the town, and in the eleventh century the town was in the stage of transition between the manor and the borough. It was largely agricultural, and many remnants of an early agricultural period remained for centuries attached to the borough.[5] In the twelfth century, for the first time, mention is made in the records[6] of industrial craft gilds. And while before the twelfth century the trade upon the market place, urban as well as rural, probably included little corn, after that date, the manor began to organize to supply the town which was gradually abandoning agriculture for trade and industry.

[1] Hoxanam tenuit Ailmarus episcopus T. R. E. pro manerio IX carucatas terrae . . . In hoc manerio erat unum mercatum T. R. E. et postquam Willelmus rex advenit; et sedebat in sabbato et Willelmus malet fecit suum castellum ad eiam et eadem die qua erat mercatum in manerio episcopi Willelmus malet fecit alium mercatum in suo castello et ex hoc ita peioratum est mercatum episcopi: ut parum valeat, et modo sedet die veneris. Mercatum autem de heia sedet die sabbati. *Domesday Book*, ii, p. 379; *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, i, p. 36.

[2] *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, i, p. 76.

[3] For example, Eye, Suffolk. Eiam tenuit edricus XII carucatas terrae T. R. E. . . . Tunc LXXX oves, modo XC, et modo I mercatum et unus parcus, et in mercato manent XXV burgenses. *Domesday Book*, ii, p. 319; *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, i, p. 36.

[4] *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, i, p. 17 n.

[5] The English town records afford numerous illustrations of this fact. Paris in the thirteenth century was partly supplied with corn from the estates of its own citizens. *Le Livre des Métiers d' Etienne Boileau* (ed. Lespinasse and Bonnardot), p. 258.

[6] *Magnum Rotuli Scaccarii*, 31 H. I (1130), Index "Gilda."

The market place was essential to inter-manorial marketing and to the formation of the market area, just as it was helpful in the earliest form of cosmopolitan trade.[1] It would seem as if there was an early stage during which the market place was in use, previous to the formation of a market area, a time when there were but few articles entering into the cosmopolitan trade — a trade which in itself was periodic and uncertain — a time, indeed, when local trade was inconsiderable in amount and when that trade was in part prevented from becoming the basis of a local market area by the fact that a large part of it was inter-manorial.

The market area forms a more important basis for the study of market evolution than the market place, for the latter is but the standing ground where events elsewhere decided take place.

We may, perhaps, define a market as the machinery by which commodities are sold or bartered, the mechanism by which an "equilibrium in the marginal significance of exchangeable things" is maintained,[2] and a corn market as the machinery by which corn is exchanged for other commodities.

Three sides of the market lend themselves to study: prices, buyers and sellers, and general movements of corn. All three are of interest in this work, but only the first at this stage, because it is from a study of prices, in particular corn prices, that most definite information is obtained.

Viewed from the standpoint of price, the market is an area which has a strong tendency towards one price, or a price bearing a certain relation to the price of other areas. No definite area can be assigned as large enough or small enough for a market. A local community, a city, a province, a nation, a continent, may

[1] Exchange of goods entering into over-sea trade along international routes, such as spices, dried fruits, and rich cloths and jewels in return for such articles as home-spun cloths and hides.

[2] Wickstead, *Common Sense of Political Economy*, p. 213. Compare the definition of Jevons: a market is a "body of persons who are in intimate business relations and carry on extensive transactions in any commodity," quoted by Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, i, p. 324. Marshall himself observes that "the more nearly perfect a market is, the stronger is the tendency for the same price to be paid for the same thing at the same time in all parts of the market." *Op. cit.*, p. 325.

be a market. At times its bounds are set off by a stream, a mountain range, a tariff-wall, or the sea. But also, markets may exist without such barriers to differentiate them. They are none the less real, while their existence depends upon other and subtler forces.

The beginning of a local market area over which there was a strong tendency to a differential price level cannot be more than approximately indicated. It was not as old as regular trading upon the market place, nor as old as the boroughs, though in them the chief exchanges were made. It arose only when trade became considerable and organized. The statistical evidence, which is the chief basis of the detailed study of the local market, comes from the thirteenth and following centuries, when the local market area had already come into being.

2. Price Statistics and Method

The basis for a study of the early market area is found in the materials collected by Rogers for the period from 1259 to 1500. To this collection have been added prices from the *Pipe Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester* for the period from 1259 to 1300, so that the total number of price entries available from 1259 to 1500 is about 12,000, as the following table indicates. Many Winchester entries for the period from 1208 to 1258, numbering about 1782, have already been in part utilized in the previous chapter.[1]

Medieval Wheat Prices (Materials)

	1259–1300[2]	1301–1500[3]
Total number of entries	3,730	8,181
" " " localities	1,307	2,582
Average number of entries per locality	2.9	3.2
" " " " " annum	88.8	40.9
" " " localities per annum	31.1	12.9

Wheat rather than any other grain has been chosen, partly because the amount of price materials for wheat is greater than that for oats and barley together, the grains next best repre-

[1] Above, p. 13.

[2] Rogers' figures and those from the *Pipe Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester*.

[3] Rogers' figures only.

sented,[1] and partly because wheat was the chief single cereal entering into human consumption, the chief constituent of bread.

Opinions as to the composition of bread in medieval and early modern England have varied. Without doubt, so far as the health and fitness of Englishmen were concerned, the importance of the subject has been exaggerated,[2] for so many elements other than bread went to make up the Englishman's food. Although we should like to be sure that the most widely used cereal is the basis for our statistical comparisons, we can draw no conclusion of any degree of exactness, because of lack of detailed evidence. Some general considerations, however, may be briefly enumerated.

In years of good harvest, it seems likely that wheat was in more general use than the other grains which were so largely consumed in time of scarcity. During a considerable dearth, as in 1316 and 1317, the populace was reduced to the consumption of chestnuts, acorns, roots, and bark as well as the poorer kinds of cereals. During dearths of even much later dates, such as in 1586 and 1594, the common bakers were ordered to bake bread of rye, barley, peas, and beans,[3] and in 1622, the feeding of peas and beans to sheep was ordered to cease, because " in time of dearth the same may serve the poorer sort to make bread of." [4] In other words, in times of scarcity the lack of the usual bread corn was met not only by importations but by the greater use of the other cereals. This was not confined to the poor, but was also true of the well-to-do.[5]

[1] The proportion of the grains in Rogers' figures is shown in the following table for the period 1259–1582.

Grain Entries		Localities	Average Entry Per Locality	Average Entry Per Annum	Average Locality Per Annum
Wheat	13,313	3,786	3.5	41.1	11.6
Oats	6,494	2,970	2.2	20.0	9.2
Barley	5,172	2,532	2.0	15.9	7.8

Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, i, p. 225; *ibid.*, iv, p. 280.

" Entries " are generally of sales but occasionally of purchases.

" Localities " are not different localities, but the total number of times that the various manors and towns provide price materials.

[2] Steffen, *Geschichte der Englischen Lohnarbeiter*, pp. 247–248.

[3] *Book of Orders*, ed. 1594, p. 9.

[4] *Book of Orders* of 1622, p. 24.

[5] In Suffolk in 1631, " many families of good sort " were compelled to make bread of buckwheat. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Car. I, iv, p. 545.

It cannot be said that in the period 1100–1700, there was any marked tendency displayed, as time went on, towards a more exclusive use of wheat. Indeed, rather less than more wheat seems to have been produced in the fifteenth century. Statistics of production on the manors of the bishopric of Winchester indicate that wheat formed in the year 1208–09, 55.3% of the total amount of bread cereals produced,[1] in 1299–1300, 66.2%, and in 1396–97, 39.9%. A similar development is indicated by the number of entries of the various grains in Rogers' price lists. While the number of wheat entries fell 26.1% in the fifteenth century, the number of entries of other cereals rose, barley entries, for example, increasing by 3.8%.

We must differentiate between districts, some of which used one grain, and some another. Until the nineteenth century, the tendency was for the grain most easily grown in a locality to be most used there. Hence, allowing for minor exceptions, we may say that wheat predominated in the Thames valley, the south and the east, where the greater part of the population dwelt, while other grains tended to hold first place in other regions.

The solution of the problem is, indeed, not so simple as often stated. Today one grain, wheat, stands practically alone in the making of bread. In the middle ages and early modern period, mixtures of grain were popularly used, such as mistlin (or mancorn) and drags. This continued throughout the period dealt with here,[2] though very early the ideal of "pure bread" was held up in the towns as that made solely of wheat.[3]

The rich ate bread made exclusively of wheaten flour to a greater extent than the poor, who, when servants, were given

[1] Wheat, barley, rye, and mancorn.

[2] For the medieval period, see Statistical Appendix A.

In 1662 the brown bakers were given a separate charter. It was then stated, that they "have used to bake household bread of wheate as it cometh from the Mill without boulting, bread of mixt graine, Bushell Bread otherwise called wives bread, Rye bread and horse bread." MS., Guildhall, London, *Journals of the Common Council*, xxxii, fol. 34.

In 1694 Houghton (*Collection*, p. 242, ed. of 1727) said that some make bread of "wheat and rye and call it miscellain," and that "others make it of half wheat and half barley."

[3] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. K, p. 146 (1432).

mixed and inferior corn by their masters,[1] and, when not servants, purchased for themselves the other cereals, especially rye and barley, because of their lower price. This is clearly set out in the *Book of Orders* of 1594[2] and in an excellent account of the whole subject by Harrison in the reign of Elizabeth.[3]

The poor had no more taste for rye or barley bread, to say nothing of buckwheat or bean bread, than the rich. Only necessity induced them to eat it. In the seventeenth century, the Grocers of London, who provided corn for the poor of the City, complained, (*a*) that the poor would not receive barley or rye for bread, (*b*) that they had refused one-third rye mixed with two-thirds wheat, and (*c*) that the Company had their mixture of rye and wheat on their hands, even though wheat had been scarce during the winter.[4]

It seems clear that in a large part of England, wheat, either in mixture or alone, was the preferred bread-stuff and that except in periods of scarcity it was the grain most generally consumed. We may, therefore, with a clear conscience use wheat prices as the basis of our statistical inquiry.

But in turning now to Rogers' figures we discover that this important material must be used with discrimination. Professor Gay[5] and later Mr. Lutz,[6] have shown that, when we compare

[1] In the bailiff's accounts for Bishop's Waltham, Hampshire, 1208–09, the consumption of the various grains is interesting; wheat was used by the bishop, certain *magistri* and their men; curral, by oxherds, carter, gardener, cowherd, and dogs; vetches, by pigs and servants. *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester* (ed. Hall), p. 3.

[2] p. 9. See also the *Book of Orders* of 1622, p. 24.

[3] "The bread throughout the land is made of such grain as the soil [of each particular district] yieldeth; nevertheless the gentility commonly provide themselves sufficiently of wheat for their own tables, whilst their household and poor neighbours in some shires [not being able to afford wheat bread commonly], are forced to content themselves with rye, or barley, yea, and in time of dearth, many [of the poor] with bread made either of beans, peas, or oats, or of altogether and some acorns among, of which scourge the poorest do soonest taste." *Elizabethan England*, p. 96. Cf. Sir F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor*, i, pp. 510 f., and G. F. Steffen, *Geschichte der Englischen Lohnarbeiter*, pp. 88–91, 232, 242, 243, 247, 248.

[4] Heath, *Company of Grocers*, p. 68 (March, 1616).

[5] E. F. Gay, "The Inquisitions of Depopulation in 1517, and the Domesday of Inclosures," *Translations of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, xiv, pp. 260–261.

[6] H. L. Lutz, "Inaccuracies in Rogers' History of Prices," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xxiii, pp. 350–358.

Rogers' price averages with the materials upon which he based them, we find him arbitrary and inconsistent in his method. We must not only use Rogers' averages critically, but his materials as well. An initial difficulty in working over the latter is to choose the normal and eliminate the irregular. Rogers, however, has himself labelled some exceptional entries such as meal, rarer kinds of grain, and grain previously contracted for, and we have no alternative but to proceed on the basis that he has neglected few or none such cases.

The variation in the size of the corn measure is a standing difficulty in the way of both Continental and English medieval statistics. But the proportion of most of these units, whether of Chester or Bridgewater, Durham or Plymouth, Carlisle or London, is fairly well known, and it is, therefore, possible to reduce them to a common denomination. We find, furthermore, that the prices as recorded were sometimes written down in terms of the standard measures, as in the *Pipe Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester*, although the actual sales may have been according to local measures.

Rogers has apparently tried to indicate the quality of the coin in terms of which his prices are given. For example, he quotes some wheat at Ersham in the year 1299–1300, as of an average price of 9 s. in pollards, and other wheat of an average of 4 s. 3 d. in sterling. For the same year, the average price of certain wheat for Ibstone is given as 7 s., for other wheat 3 s. 3 d. sterling. Nothing is said about the coins used in the valuation of the 7 s. wheat, and we are left to conjecture that they were pollards.

Another difficulty in Rogers' figures is, in a few instances, uncertainty of locality. Little can be done in the majority of such cases, except omit the doubtful entries. Some of Rogers' unidentified places, however, have been located, previous to the compilation of the averages here presented.

One is at once confronted with the question whether the weighted or the unweighted average should be used. The unweighted average is preferable in this case, because the sales and purchases handed down are but an infinitesimal part of those that took place, and therefore it is quite impossible to get

an accurate weighted average. The price of only one quarter of corn for one month may be as typical as the price of 100 quarters for another month.

In order to trace the trend of price movement, Rogers sought a " general " yearly average. Of course such a result being based upon materials from only the district south and east of a line from about Neath Abbey in Glamorganshire to Stourbridge in Worcestershire, and then north to Berwick, is not to be taken as a national average. The method of finding even such a narrow " general " price level, is, however, of importance. It would seem that in his two first volumes, Rogers averaged the separate price entries regardless of their source; in the two volumes following, he averaged the entries for each place, and then struck an average of such results to find the " general " level. It often happens that there is no difference between the results arrived at under these two methods. But wherever the low price districts are best represented, the general average will be low, and *vice versa*. In other words, in the first method we run the risk of pitting the number of low prices against the number of high prices, which obviously may not result in a representative price.

But just as the second method is preferable to the first, so a further method is preferable to the second. A general average is best found not by taking the averages of places but of districts. The differences in the three methods may be thus illustrated for the year 1365–66:

	s.	d.
Average by first method	6	$0\frac{1}{4}$
" " second "	6	$3\frac{1}{4}$
" " third "	6	$5\frac{1}{4}$

If Rogers' methods are corrected, the resultant averages are often such as to show that even the direction of price fluctuation from year to year is different from his calculation, for example, from 1311–12 to 1312–13.

Table Showing Differences in the Method of Averaging Prices

Year	Rogers' Average by First Method s.	d.	Average by Third Method s.	d.	Rise by First Method s.	d.	Fall by Third Method s.	d.
1311–12	4	$5\frac{1}{4}$	4	10	....		....	
1312–13	4	$11\frac{1}{4}$	4	$7\frac{3}{4}$	0	6	0	2

For Rogers' purposes, this would have made considerable difference. But the general movement of prices is here not so much the concern, as the differential price levels according to

AVERAGE PRICES OF WHEAT, 1259–1500

Areas	1259–1300		1301–1400		1401–1500		1301–1500		1259–1500[1]	
	Years	Price	Years	Price	Years	Price	Years	Price	Years	Price
		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
Low price areas:										
Upper Severn	12	5 7¼	74	5 7¼	19	4 4¾	93	5 0	105	5 1¼
East Suffolk	20	5 5½	33	5 6¾	9	4 8	42	5 1¼	62	5 2
Upper Thames	39	4 11½	100	5 8¾	86	5 3	186	5 5¾	225	5 4¾
Cambridge	26	5 2	65	5 10¼	89	5 1	154	5 5½	180	5 5
Bristol	29	5 0½	41	5 6¼	46	5 7	87	5 6¾	116	5 5¾
Southampton	27	5 5¾	66	6 3½	19	5 2¾	85	5 9¼	112	5 8½
Norwich	30	5 9¾	27	6 0	26	5 6	53	5 9	83	5 9¼
High price areas:										
East Kent	24	5 8¾	78	6 1⅛	11	5 11½	89	6 0¼	113	5 11¾
Trent	4	4 10¼	21	6 6½	25	5 5¾	46	6 0¼	50	6 0¾[2]
South West	22	5 8¼	20	6 1¾	34	6 1¼	54	6 1½	76	6 0½
Lower Thames	36	5 5½	95	6 3	75	6 4¾	170	6 3½	206	6 2¼
York	12	5 3½	12	7 0½	23	6 0¼	35	6 6¼	47	6 3¾
Durham	5	5 1¼	11	7 4¾	69	6 2¼	80	6 10	85	6 6¼
East Essex	11	5 9	16	7 8⅓	8	5 9	24	6 8¾	35	6 6¾
Battle	16	6 1¾	45	6 8¾	60	6 4¼	105	6 6¼	121	6 7¼
South Wales[3]	..	....	[23	7 3½]	..	....	[23	7 3½]	23	....
Total average	..	5 5¼	..	6 3¾	..	5 6⅙	..	5 11⅓	..	5 10¾
Mean	..	5 6	..	6 7⅓	..	5 4⅓	..	5 11	..	5 10¼

locality, a subject which, except where he followed the example of Houghton for the period 1691–1702, Rogers did not consider at all.[4]

[1] Averages for 1259–1500 are made up from the averages of the three periods, 1259–1300, 1301–1400, and 1401–1500, the first being given the weight of two, and the others of five each.

[2] Figures for 1259–1300 are omitted from the averages as too inadequate.

[3] Not used in averages.

[4] Rogers, however, analyzed the statistics of wages by districts in his tables for the period 1259 to 1400, for East, Midland, South, West, and North. *Agriculture and Prices*, i, pp. 301–308.

3. The Local Market and Market Price Levels

An empirical study of the price materials of Rogers indicates the existence of local market areas, that is, districts having a strong tendency towards a differential price level. Besides the comparison of prices prevailing in various districts of England, what little may be learned concerning medieval transportation and the general productivity of the districts has been used to determine the local market areas. At best the methods and the results will be far from satisfactory, but it is believed the study will prove not uninstructive.

I present at the outset the tables (on the preceding page) which give the names of the districts, the average prices of wheat, and the number of years of each period for which there are figures.

Table Showing the Relative Fullness of Price Statistics

Areas	1259–1300			1301–1500			1259–1500		
	Places	Years	Entries	Places	Years	Entries	Places	Years	Entries
Southampton	43	27	1,236	18	85	121	57	112	1,357
Upper Thames	15	39	569	58	186	537	63	225	1,106
Lower Thames	10	36	506	38	170	342	42	206	848
Cambridge	4	26	227	34	154	266	35	180	493
Bristol	6	29	247	32	87	177	38	116	424
Norwich	11	30	317	37	53	78	41	83	395
South West	3	22	190	22	54	76	25	76	266
East Kent	4	24	96	12	89	137	14	113	233
East Suffolk	7	20	148	18	42	70	19	62	218
Battle	4	16	49	12	105	112	15	121	161
Upper Severn	4	12	38	18	93	121	18	105	159
Durham	2	5	8	6	80	106	6	85	114
South Wales	0	0	0	11	23	76	11	23	76
Trent	3	4	17	25	46	52	26	50	69
York	4	12	27	13	35	39	16	47	66
East Essex	3	11	30	11	24	24	13	35	54

From the total number of manorial and town entries, from the total number of years represented, and from the number of separate places, we can judge the value of our figures. From these lists it is evident that the largest number of figures, and therefore

the most reliable evidence, comes from the fertile belt extending east to west through the heart of southern England.

Owing in part to the inadequacy of materials there is some shifting in relative position of the various areas from one period to another. This is, however, not so striking in the case of those best represented, for then we find that their order does not vary much. This is seen in the following table containing nine areas out of the eleven best represented.[1]

TABLE SHOWING ORDER OF AREAS IN LISTS OF AVERAGE PRICES

Areas	Number in the List of 1259–1300	Number in the List of 1301–1400	Number in the List of 1401–1500
East Suffolk	4	2	0[2]
Upper Thames	1	4	2
Cambridge	3	5	1
Bristol	2	1	3
Southampton	5	8	0[2]
East Kent	8	6	0[2]
South West	7	0[2]	4
Lower Thames	6	7	7
Battle	11	9	6

This table shows that even in the case of districts well represented there is some variation. In three districts, Cambridge, Upper Thames, and Battle, these variations deserve special study. Outside the Lower Thames area, they are the best represented of all, and therefore the most reliable upon which to base conclusions. A comparison of the price averages of these three with the average of the Lower Thames area, during five long periods, shows a significant result. Such a comparison is made in the table on the next page.

This table points to two conclusions. The Lower Thames, or London area, was not at this time the arbiter of prices for a district wider than the immediate vicinity. This is evidenced by the course of prices of the Battle area, which not only bore no

[1] The Norwich and Upper Severn areas are omitted because, though well represented in the aggregate, in two of the periods they fall below what has been taken as the minimum, one-third of the total number of years.

[2] These areas are not counted in this list, because they are inadequately represented, that is, there are no prices recorded for them for more than one-third of the total number of years of the period.

constant relation, higher or lower, to the prices of the Lower Thames area, but did not even move in the same direction. This is particularly noteworthy during the periods 1359–1400, and 1401–58, during which both are well represented. While the Lower Thames area rose over 9 d., the Battle area fell over 3 d.

On the other hand, the Upper Thames and Cambridge areas were normally of lower price than the Lower Thames. They

TABLE OF PRICE AVERAGES

Areas[1]	1259–1300		1301–58		1359–1400		1401–58		1459–1500	
	Years	Av. Price	Years	Av. Price	Years	Av. Price	Years	Av. Price	Years	Av. Price
		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
Upper Thames....	39	4 11½	58	5 9½	42	5 7½	58	5 1¾	28	5 5⅓
Cambridge.....	26	5 2	49	5 9¾	16	[6 7½]	50	5 3¾	38	4 11⅓
Lower Thames....	36	5 5½	57	6 4½	38	6 1	53	6 10¾	22	6 0⅔
Battle.....	16	[6 1¾]	10	[5 11½]	35	6 7¾	50	6 4¼	10	[6 3¾]

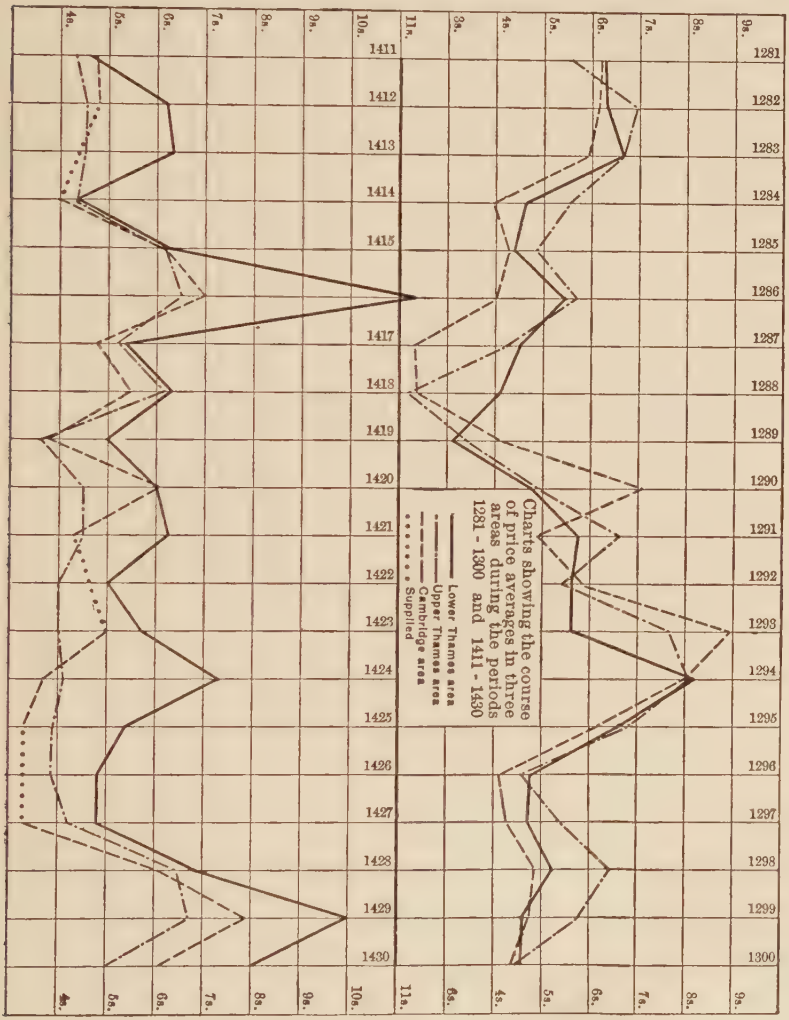
remained so in the fifteenth century, but whereas, in the period 1259–1358, the price of corn in the Lower Thames area was over 6d. higher than that in the Upper Thames, and 5d. higher than that in the Cambridge area, in the period 1401–1500, the excess had reached nearly 15d. and 16d. respectively. This development is shown in the accompanying charts.

The explanation, apart from a possible slight increase of population, seems to be this. Up to the fifteenth century the needs of the Lower Thames area were in some part supplied by the manorial marketing system, for example, by the manors of the bishopric of Winchester in the Upper Thames area, and of Ramsey Abbey in the Cambridge area.[2] The tendency was thus for the corn of these low price areas, sent to London, to reduce the level of prices in the London area. When the manorial system broke down, however, this tendency disappeared, and, consequently, the price average of the local areas became more sharply differentiated and was determined to a larger extent than before by the local cost of production.

[1] The figures in brackets are least reliable because of the few years represented.

[2] See above, pp. 20–21.

The course of the development of the local market area was by the second half of the fifteenth century complete. For it was



CHARTS I–II

then that the needs of the district were catered to almost exclusively by the tenant farmers of the district itself, instead of by the older manorial marketing system, embracing not one area but many.

The date of the rise of the local market area cannot be fixed, for its development was slow and gradual. Since, however, progress was clearly marked by the period 1259–1300, it is safe to assign to the twelfth century a large share of its early growth.

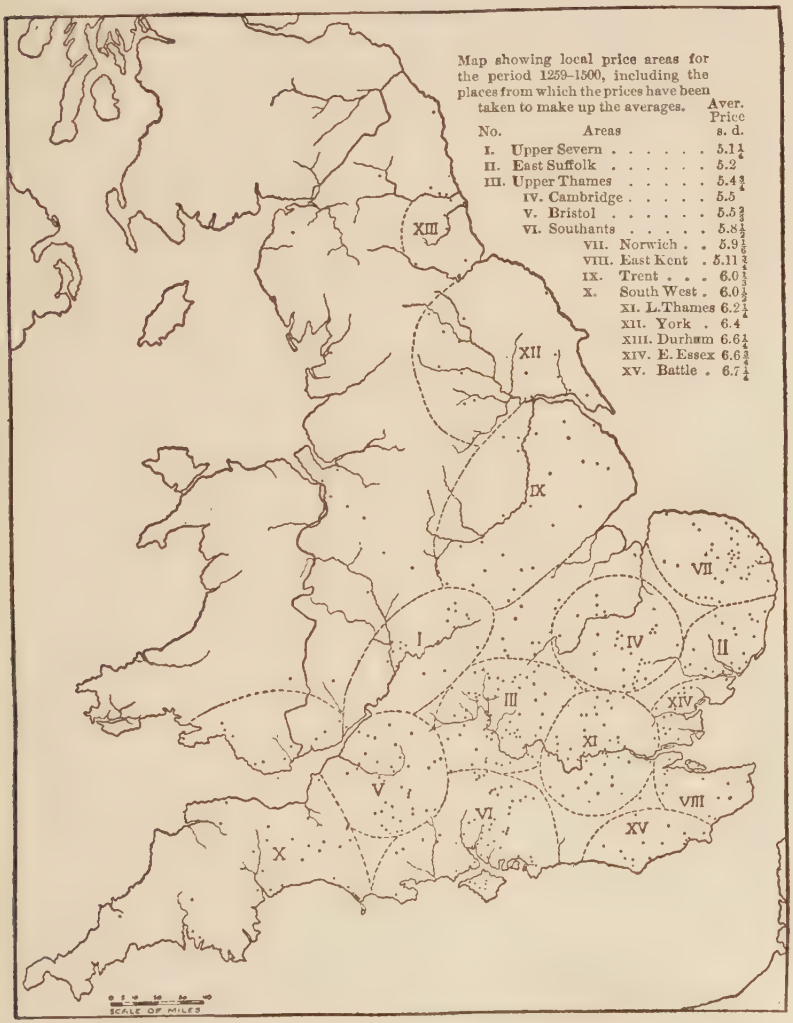
The local market, we take it, covered a period of about four hundred years. The earlier part, 1100–1250, we have followed from the side of manorial marketing; the latter part 1250–1500, is best studied from the side of local price statistics. But while there is a change in method of study, there was no corresponding change in market evolution, except the one indicated above, that as the manorial system declined, the local areas became more and more self-sufficing, a fact indicated by the course of price movement.

The local areas listed above are shown in the accompanying map. At a glance we see that only certain parts of England are represented, and that no attempt has been made to mark off exactly one area from another. The position and condition of the districts may, however, be described.

The Upper Severn area included the shires of Warwick, Worcester, and northern Gloucester. This was a district for the most part fruitful in the products of the soil, abounding in pastures, woods, fruits, and cereals. Corn was grown with but little labor as compared with that needed in Kent and Essex. The means of transportation were excellent, for the Severn and the Avon drained the whole area.

The East Suffolk district occupies about one-half of Suffolk lying to the southeast of the shire. To the east lay the sea; to the west extensive forests. On the north and south was a tract of country, the price average of which is unknown, and beyond which we find another price level. On the whole this area was not very fertile. As western Suffolk had soil too stiff, a strong clay, so eastern Suffolk had soil too light, sand, even blowing sand in places. But there were some fertile spots in it, as that just north of Ipswich and again the land lying between the Orwell and the Deben, and in general along the river banks. If the soil was not particularly good for corn growing, the cultivators tended to make up the deficiency by agricultural skill. As in

Kent, so in Suffolk, the effect of proximity to the Continent was important in that foreign methods and improvements had a better chance of adoption than in the more remote districts.


Map showing local price areas for the period 1259–1500, including the places from which the prices have been taken to make up the averages.
No. Areas Aver. Price s. d.
I. Upper Severn 5.11¼
II. East Suffolk 5.2
III. Upper Thames 5.4¾
IV. Cambridge 5.5
V. Bristol 5.5⅔
VI. Southants 5.8½
VII. Norwich . . 5.9⅙
VIII. East Kent . 5.11⅜
IX. Trent . . . 6.0¼
X. South West . 6.0½
XI. L. Thames 6.2¼
XII. York . 6.4
XIII. Durham 6.6¼
XIV. E. Essex 6.6¾
XV. Battle . 6.7¼
SCALE OF MILES

MAP OF ENGLAND

What can be said about the coast of Suffolk? At the present day the condition of the coast is considered a great drawback to commerce, and as forming an impossible landing place for a hos-

tile fleet. But the Suffolk coast was "river pierced," and though these rivers were not deep they were numerous and capable of floating the hoys then used in corn transportation. There were, perhaps, a dozen ports in the middle ages noted for their fishing trade,[1] and at least four in the fifteenth century were of considerable importance, Kirkly Road, Dunwich, Orford, and Orwell (Ipswich).[2] But no matter how favorable the transportation facilities, there seems to have been no considerable amount of corn exported.[3] Whatever the explanation may be, the fact remains that eastern Suffolk was beyond denial a very low price district.

Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire formed in the main the Upper Thames area. As elsewhere, there was a great variety of soil within a small area. Parts of Buckinghamshire were barren, and eastern Berkshire was wooded, and hence not growing corn to any extent; but in spite of such exceptions, the district as a whole, like the Upper Severn and Cambridge areas, was very fertile and especially that part along the Thames. Oxfordshire itself, in addition to "its fertile arable ground," was "a land of streams."[4] Many, if not most, of the market towns of Oxfordshire were situated on rivers and were in this way linked up with a fairly wide market.[5] South of the Thames the numerous roads, supplemented by bridges, made up for any lack of river navigation.[6] Father Thames himself was the great artery of communication for the whole area.

The Cambridge market area took in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, northern Essex, and western Suffolk, or roughly an area of little more than a score of miles in radius. Within this district a great variety of soils was found in large patches here and there: sand and clay in the rich marches,

[1] *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Suffolk*, ii, pp. 289 f.

[2] Cf. a tract of the middle of the fifteenth century attributed to Fortescue, *Works*, i, p. 549.

[3] See Appendix C.

[4] *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Oxfordshire*, ii, p. 165.

[5] Cf. Oxford, Henley, Witney, and Burford. Harrison (*Description of England*, Bk. II, ch. xiii) gave Oxfordshire only ten market towns.

[6] *Victoria History, Berkshire*, ii, p. 199.

black soil of the fenlands, the chalk, loam, and workable clay on the uplands. The general character of the district in the middle ages is clear: it was exceptionally fertile. If any district in medieval England were able to ship corn in a continuous stream to feed the population of other districts, it was this Cambridge area. Like so many districts in England, it was blessed by natural water routes, the Cam, the Ouse, the Nen, and the Lea. These were supplemented by artificial ways, "lades and trenches," [1] which are among the earliest canals recorded in medieval England.

The Bristol area, the fifth of the low price areas, comprised those parts of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire nearest to Bristol, within a radius of twenty to twenty-five miles. Including some very indifferent lands within its scope, the Bristol area, nevertheless, took in the fertile strip of arable land in Wiltshire just to the east and southeast, and the fertile soils lying along the Severn in Gloucestershire, and immediately to the east of it. Communication by the Severn, up the Avon, down the Froom, and down the upper Avon was good. It is highly probable, however, that the low price level of the Bristol area owed not a little to the close proximity of the Upper Severn area which was almost 6 d. lower in average price.

The district called the Southampton area extends from Weymouth to a little beyond Selsey Bill on the coast and inland to the Hampshire Downs and Salisbury Plain, consisting in the main of Hampshire and Dorsetshire. Medieval Hampshire was to a comparatively large extent forest, the southwest and the extreme east being heavily wooded. On the other hand, those parts not under forest were of more than average fertility, that is, the district lying immediately around the town of Southampton and including the Isle of Wight. Dorset, concerning which our information as to corn prices is rather scanty, was essentially agricultural and pastoral,[2] but in parts it was rather barren and indeed on the whole, can never have produced a regular corn surplus of any great amount. The western part of Sussex, that

[1] *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, i, p. 175 (1342).
[2] *Victoria History, Dorsetshire*, ii, p. 229.

part about Chichester, is included in this area. The means of transportation was chiefly by sea, along the coast.

The Norwich area comprised most of Norfolk east of the Ouse and the northeast corner of Suffolk. A " great corne soyle," Best called it in the seventeenth century.[1] Its fertility was a source of mirth.[2] It was to Norfolk that the privy council, at a later date, naturally turned when corn was to be transported, for that country could " best spare " its grain.[3] There was, barring some upland heaths, but little land within the area that was not productive. The means of transportation were ample: on the west the Ouse, on the east the Yare (at least from Norwich down), and the seaports of Yarmouth, Blakeney, and Wells. Our surprise is that corn was higher in price than in the nearby districts of Cambridge and East Suffolk.[4]

The east Kent area included the land between the coast and a line drawn roughly from about Romney on the coast northwest to Maidstone, and thence north to the Thames. To the southwest of this was the Weald of Kent, and west of it the ancient Weald, both of which, even in the eighteenth century, were more sparsely inhabited and less cultivated than the eastern part of Kent.

East Kent was one of the very fertile districts in England during the middle ages. To the natural productivity of the soil may be added the improved methods of agriculture due to the proximity of the Continent.[5] Kent, too, was famous for its roads leading from the coast towns to the metropolis. It was well supplied with ports: Romney, Hythe, Dover, Sandwich, Margate, and Faversham. Close proximity to London and to the Continent by water routes completed the advantages possessed by this district.

[1] Best, *Farming Book*, p. 100.

[2] Rye, *History of Norfolk*, p. 95.

[3] *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxvi, p. 269 (1596).

[4] The act of 1 Eliz., c. 11, § 10, allowing the exportation of corn from Norfolk and Suffolk when not over certain specified rates, in the case of wheat 6 s. 8 d., was a simple recognition of the fact that prices in this district were usually below the level of 6 s. 8 d., which had really been set up for all England by the act of 1554.

[5] *Victoria History, Kent*, i, p. 457.

Kent stood about midway between the lowest and the highest price district. Its general average was only a little higher than that of the Southampton district on the west, and the Norwich area to the north. Yet it had a lower price level than the areas adjoining, the Battle, Lower Thames, and East Essex districts. Kent, situated elsewhere, would probably have had a slightly lower price, that is, if it had not been located between London on the west and the Continent on the east. The corn of Kent in the early modern period was held to be of excellent quality and "the best able to stand the sea;"[1] and in consequence it was much sought after, especially for long distance transportation.

The Trent area consisted of those counties bordering on, or near to the Trent, roughly Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and the southern corner of Yorkshire. Lincolnshire as a corn county belonged in the middle ages to the Trent rather than to the sea. All along the sea-board, from below the Wash to the Humber, stretched fens of various widths which, though fertile today through drainage, were useless for tillage in the middle ages. Some corn, no doubt, was sent from the more fertile district to the east, for example, down the Witham to Boston, but this was comparatively unimportant. Boston was a fishing town and a staple for wool, never in the middle ages a great corn depot. But western Lincolnshire, by far the larger part of the county, consisted of fertile sandy loam and at the mouth of the Trent of dark rich soil of great fertility. Nottinghamshire was not an agricultural county, the major part of it, especially to the east, being more rich in minerals and in limestone than in arable soil. Yet the lands along the Trent itself were fertile enough. Derbyshire was much like eastern Nottinghamshire, never a great agricultural county; yet it would be an anachronism to regard it as an industrial and mining center before at least the seventeenth century. In spots agriculture flourished, for example, on the banks of the Trent, the Derwent, the Wye, and the Dove, and somewhat to the south of the town of Derby.[2] On the whole, however, even in the middle

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, x, p. 414.
[2] *Victoria History, Derby*, ii, p. 305.

ages, it was not a county with a great corn surplus. Whenever there was any movement of corn, it was to Derbyshire and not from it. Leicestershire was fertile, and if it had been possessed of better communication and organization, might have had a yearly surplus of corn. But for centuries it was somewhat isolated, even more than Derbyshire. In 1620, it was reported that Leicestershire was "remote from any means of exporting grain," and that it grew "chiefly peas and barley." [1] There is no reason to doubt that this was descriptive of medieval conditions also. For the whole Trent area, then, no great fertility can be claimed except for those parts named. The transportation of corn was chiefly by land and by the river Trent.

Cornwall, Devonshire, and the southwestern parts of the counties of Somerset and Dorset made up the southwest area, corresponding roughly to ancient West Wales. Of the agricultural conditions in this district in the middle ages we have but little information. Though parts of the district were almost wholly given up to mining, and some sections, even whole hundreds, to "woodland and forest," [2] yet other sections here and there might even be called fertile, but in no sense could the district as a whole be regarded as productive of a regular surplus. Some of the corn consumed there was, in the early modern period, brought in from elsewhere. And except on the coast of Somersetshire, there were plenty of good harbors for the transportation of corn.

The Lower Thames or London area was of great fertility, having had practically no barren districts within it, except some commons very near to London itself. It consisted of the land about London for a radius of some twenty-five miles, thus embracing north and west Kent, northern Surrey, Middlesex, and southwestern Essex. Both Essex and Kent were enriched by the alluvial deposits of the river Thames. The same may be said of Middlesex.[3] Surrey was arable south to the Weald. The Thames and the Lea were the principal means of water

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Jac. I, x, p. 124.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 578–579 (1623).
[3] Green, *Geography*, pp. 181–182.

transportation. Besides these there were numerous land highways converging in London. But despite these favorable conditions, prices were high. The explanation of this must be sought in the fact that the area's consumptive demand constantly tended to outstrip its productive powers.

By the York area is meant the county of York, north and northwest of the Humber. A large part of this shire, especially to the west, was not fertile, not corn growing primarily. But between the Ouse river and the sea, the soil was quite fertile. Best, who lived in this part of Yorkshire, when he wanted to praise Norfolk's fertility as a corn district, called it "a champion county like unto Yorkshire."[1] Much of the surplus of the fertile areas within the shire was consumed by the less fertile parts. The water means of communication consisted in a network of rivers, of which the Humber was the chief. To the north of Yorkshire was Durham, with a higher price level, to the south the Trent area with a much lower price. Further still to the south was the Cambridge area having a still lower level. The York average was just about a medium between those prevailing in Durham and Trent.

The Durham area was made up of the land lying between the Tees and the Tyne. In the west were the lead mines; northwards up to Cumberland, coal was found; and in the south and on the coast were the agricultural districts, as also along the rivers, especially the Wear.[2] Probably oats much more than wheat were grown in Durham. This is indicated by the payments to farm laborers for their service in oats rather than in wheat,[3] and by such shipments of corn from the districts, as recorded about 1352–54, when a cargo of "44 qrs. of oats, 2 qrs. of corn [wheat], and 2 qrs. of hay and 8 bbls. of other merchandise" was sent from Newcastle to London.[4] But this is all that can be said for Durham as an agricultural district. In the thirteenth century, coal and lead were worked and shipped to southern England. At the same time corn was brought in from the south.

[1] *Farming Book*, p. 100 (1641). [2] Green, *Geography*, p. 118.
[3] *Victoria History, Durham*, ii, p. 196.
[4] *Calendar of Letters of London*, p. 42.

Durham, taken as a whole, was by no means a corn producing area, and the cost of what it did produce was high.

East Essex included the area along the coast and inland, roughly as far as the line drawn curving to the inland from Harwich to Southend forming a half-moon. The southwest of Essex formed part of the London area, and the northwest was part of the Cambridge area. Since this eastern part of Essex had a fertile (if heavy) soil, a sunny climate, and good shipping facilities, we are at a loss to explain its high price level, except on the grounds that it was given up to pasture-farming rather than tillage.

The Battle area included the district about Battle, to the west well into the South Downs, as far north as the Weald, as far west in Kent as the Weald of Kent, and to the coast on the south. For the Weald itself, for the South Downs, and for the fertile coast lands of western Sussex, we have no information as to corn prices. The southwestern corner of Sussex has been included in the Southampton area. Thus it is seen that this area was almost surrounded by the Weald and by the sea. It was one of the more fertile districts of medieval Sussex, but, since it was rather heavily wooded and to a great extent industrial, it was in the medieval period not a great corn-growing district.

The yearly average of wheat prices in the Battle area was very high in the middle ages. It was, without exception, the dearest area in southern and, perhaps, in all England. It paid a higher price for corn than Southampton, East Kent, and the Lower Thames areas which were adjacent to it, and more even than York and Durham. Our figures, coming from fourteen places and extending over one hundred and twenty-one years out of two hundred and forty-two are fairly comprehensive for this small area.

South Wales, the last of the districts on our list, included chiefly Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire. Transportation, at least along the coast, was good, except that it was made dangerous by the numerous pirates of the Severn Sea. Wales itself was pastoral rather than arable throughout the middle ages and the early modern period. It was at times necessary to

import English and Irish corn. Under such conditions a high price might be expected, but hardly such an abnormally high price as our average shows, especially when we bear in mind that the lowest price level in England, as far as known, was in the Upper Severn within fifty miles' distance.

4. Price Variation

(*a*) Within the area. There were price variations within the area, which so far have been neglected in favor of a study of the variation between the different areas. This is shown by a few examples of the variations in the price of a quarter of wheat in the same place upon the same days.

Table of Price Variation

Place	Date	Prices					
		s.	d.		s.	d.	
Cuxham	24 June, 1314	6	3	and	6	5	
Apuldrum	12 April, 1322	11	4	"	12	0	
Cuxham	24 June, 1322	16	0	"	17	6	
"	2 Feb., 1322–23	10	4	"	10	10	
"	1 Aug., 1324	8	6	"	9	4	

The extremities of the variation of prices within the individual towns may be seen in the following table.

Table of Price Variation

Town	Period	Number of Years[1]	Lowest Price	Average Price	Highest Price
			s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Cuxham	1301–57	50	3 8½	6 2	15 0
Elham	1301–88	47	3 0	6 0	13 0
Hornchurch	1401–54	52	4 4	6 9	20 0
Lullington	1401–79	57	3 11½	6 3	10 0

For any two towns in the one area, it is difficult to get figures sufficiently representative, but the following table illustrates the variation between Oxford and Cuxham which are only about twelve miles apart, and both in the Upper Thames area.

[1] The second column gives the number of years, within the period, for which prices are known.

TABLE OF PRICE VARIATION

Cuxham s.	Cuxham d.	Oxford s.	Oxford d.	Time	Cuxham s.	Cuxham d.	Oxford s.	Oxford d.	Time
5	8	4	0	April, 1308	9	2	7	0	Sept., 1321
7	0	7	3	Dec., 1308	17	6	16	0	June, 1322
8	0	7	2	Xmas, 1309	6	5	6	2	" 1330
8	6	7	8	April, 1311	4	8	4	10	2 Feb., 1332–33
8	0	7	7	June, 1311	4	0	4	6	Nov., 1333
6	0	6	8	25 Mar., 1320–21	5	3	4	10	7 July, 1334
7	4	7	0	Aug., 1321	4	6	3	6	" 1337

These variations we must regard as considerable, especially when we remember the proximity of the two places. The average variation for the fifteen entries above noted was 10 d. Since the average price of wheat in Oxfordshire in the fourteenth century was about 6 s., the average variation in price between these two towns was, on the dates mentioned, about fourteen per cent. But since the number of exchanges used in this instance is small, the probability is all the greater that the variation in the quality of corn played an important part in the variation of prices.

The figures show, as might be expected, that within the local area no very close approximation to one price is to be found. But there was, nevertheless, a strong tendency to a certain regional level, which, differing from that of another area, marked the district as a more or less distinct market area.

(*b*) Between areas. The groups of years on the next page show movements of price averages which were not at all uncommon.

The first group shows a rise and then a fall in price in all these market areas. The second group shows a yearly decline in price, and the third a yearly rise. It would be easy to adduce a large number of groups of years showing the same parallel movement in price. But only a study of a great number of years can give a valid ground for generalization.

The one hundred and ninety-nine yearly variations in annual price averages during the period 1301–1500 show that during ninety-two years all the market areas for which there are figures either rose or fell in price together; during forty-one years

75 % of all the market areas for which there are figures either rose or fell together, the remaining 25 % going in the opposite direction; during seventeen years there were as many market areas advancing in yearly average price as there were receding; while during the remaining forty-nine years some areas rose and others fell in price, in varying proportions. In other words,

VARIATION IN YEARLY PRICE AVERAGES

Years	Lower Thames	Upper Thames	Cambridge	Hants	East Kent
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1345–46	3 10¼	3 9½	3 0	6 2¾	3 3
1346–47	7 2	5 8	5 11	9 1	7 5¼
1347–48	7 0¾	6 8½	6 0½	6 11	5 7¼
1348–49	4 5¼	4 6¾	3 11¼	3 10½	4 6

Years	Lower Thames	Upper Thames	Cambridge	Hants	Battle	Bristol	Durham
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1401–02	10 2	8 0	10 0	6 1	8 0	8 0¾	.....
1402–03	7 8½	6 7¼	6 8	5 4	5 4	6 4¼	11 4¾
1403–04	5 0	5 3¾	3 7¾	4 0	4 3¾	4 7	6 6

Years	Lower Thames	Upper Thames	Cambridge	Battle	Bristol	York	Trent
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1436–37	7 4	4 3	5 8½	6 8	5 9¼	5 0	6 2¼
1437–38	14 8	7 1¼	8 0¼	10 0	....	13 2	8 2½
1438–39	20 0	14 8	13 8	....	14 10¾	13 4	11 0

ninety-two years show all the market areas for which figures exist either going up or down in price together, while one hundred and seven show some areas rising in price at the same time as others were falling.

Further examination of these years is necessary. The one hundred and ninety-nine variations in yearly average price (1301–1500) show an average yearly rise or fall of 15¾ d.[1] The ninety-two years show an average annual rise or fall in the price of 22¾ d.; the one hundred and seven years, 9¾ d. Thus we see

[1] Based on Rogers' averages.

that the average price variation for the ninety-two years is 2.35 times greater than that for the one hundred and seven years.

The explanation seems to be this. The ninety-two years, the years of sharp rise or fall in prices, saw excessive climatic changes by which all parts of England were similarly affected, though this can be conclusively shown from external evidence only for a few of these years. The relative position of the market areas was unchanged; and corn continued to flow in the same direction. But during the one hundred and seven years, the years of slight rise or fall of prices, there were slight climatic or other changes which affected some areas more than others. Thus the relative position of the market areas as regards supply and demand was altered. The flow of grain had to be in many cases readjusted. The corn trade was not mobile enough to do this readily, and thus prices rising in one place and falling in another (caused originally to a large extent by variations in climate) were accentuated in their movements.

The above tables show that the most scattered districts as well as the districts adjoining one another were rising and falling in price in unison. The Durham and Battle areas as well as the Upper and Lower Thames areas fell in price in 1402–03; York and Bristol, Trent and the Upper Thames rose in 1437 and 1438, as well as the Cambridge and Lower Thames areas. Here again a more careful analysis is necessary. We choose the seventeen years during which as many market areas rose as fell in price. When the sum of the rise in one area and the fall in another area has been less than 2 s. we may with profit exclude the case. Even with this exclusion, there are eighteen distinct examples from these seventeen years, which deserve attention. (See table on the next page.)

The apparent tendency was for the prices of all market areas to go in the one direction during years of a pronounced change in price, as will be further seen in the accompanying charts; but when there was no marked alteration in price levels, there was a tendency for the prices of those market areas of slight accessibility one to another to go even in opposite directions. This latter tendency leads us to consider the movement of corn in

	Areas				Extent of Variation s.	d.	Years
1.	Upper Severn	varied	with	S. Wales	3	1¾	1309
2.	"	"	"	London	3	2	1309
3.	"	"	"	E. Suffolk	2	1½	1336
4.	"	"	"	Cambridge	2	0¾	1336
5.	S. Wales	"	"	London	3	8¾	1313
6.	" "	"	"	Upper Thames	3	4¾	1313
7.	S. West	"	"	Cambridge	2	5¼	1458
8.	" "	"	"	Durham	2	5¼	1458
9.	" "	"	"	Durham	2	4¼	1467
10.	Bristol	"	"	London	2	7½	1414
11.	Battle	"	"	Upper Thames	2	1	1385
12.	"	"	"	London	2	8	1414
13.	Durham	"	"	Upper Thames	3	3	1467
14.	"	"	"	London	2	8¼	1482
15.	"	"	"	London	2	5	1488
	"	"	"	S. West [1]	2	5¼	1458
	"	"	"	S. West [1]	2	4¼	1467
16.	Cambridge	"	"	London	2	0¾	1313
17.	"	"	"	Upper Thames	2	11½	1467
18.	"	"	"	Upper Thames	2	5½	1482

the period of the local market, which partly explains the phenomenon recorded.

5. The Local Corn Trade

(*a*) Within the area. One of the great gaps in our knowledge of the history of commerce is the domestic trade of the various nations. For the study of the internal trade of medieval England, the direct evidence is very scanty. We are, therefore, forced to rely to a large extent upon indirect information. Both direct and indirect are, however, utilized here.

Throughout the period with which this work deals, the domestic trade in corn was free, except during some exceptional, but comparatively unimportant periods. Although Faber and Naudé have regarded the internal trade in corn as restricted, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[2] the evidence they have submitted is of no value. The "countless" number of licenses to transport corn within the realm on which

[1] Same as numbers 8 and 9, respectively.

[2] Faber, *Agrarschutz in England*, p. 66; Naudé, *Getreidehandelspolitik der Europäischen Staaten*, p. 20.

they rely, are discovered on examination to be seven in number and none of them prove their contention. One of the documents refers to the exportation of corn from England,[1] for which a

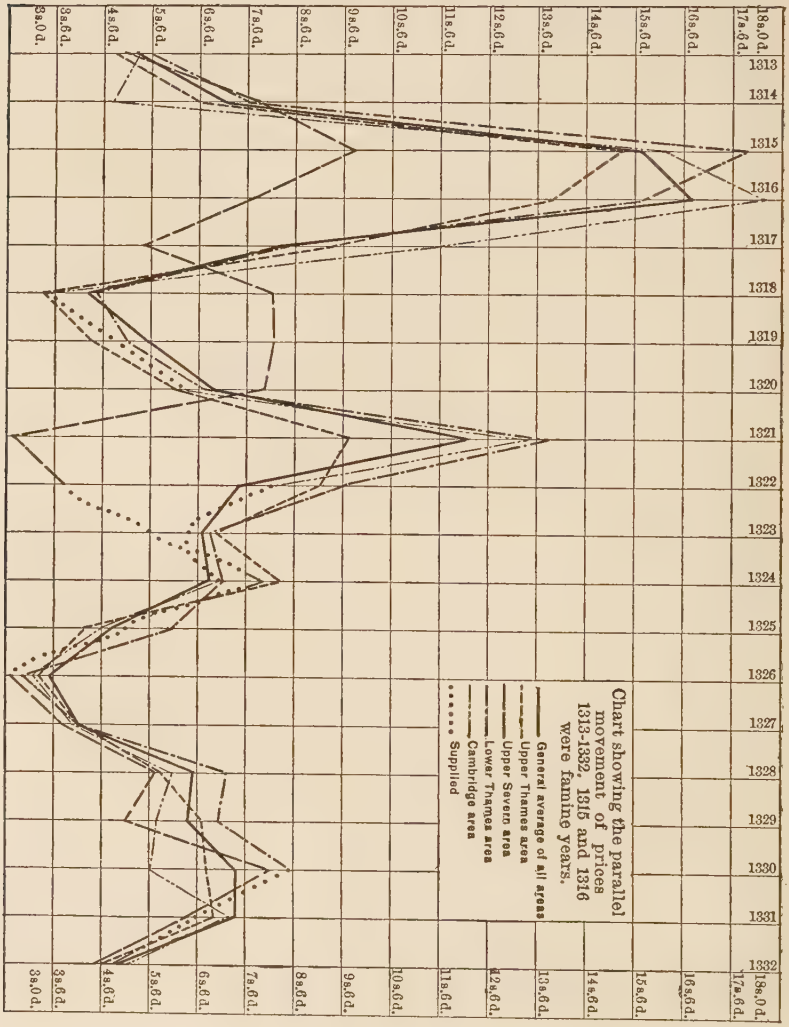


Chart III

license was necessary, especially in time of war and diplomatic embroilment. Two, and perhaps three, have no connection with

[1] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, p. 78a (1208).

England at all,[1] and three deal with the coast trade, for example, from Lynn to York, and from Lynn to Winchelsea.[2] None of these documents touch upon internal transportation of corn by pack, cart, or wain. Those that related to the sea-coast trade were of the years 1205, 1206, and 1215, when it was King John's aim to keep English corn from his enemies. This necessitated the supervision and restriction of the corn trade. It was not the last time that this practice was resorted to, and probably not the first. At any rate the measure was temporary and does not prove a general restraint on the inland transportation of corn.

It is necessary to distinguish two kinds of restraints upon what may be called the internal trade in corn. There were, first, those which referred to the coast trade only, called forth by the need of checking exportation abroad. Such restraints are periodically found in English history from 1205[3] down to modern times. In the thirteenth century such a restriction upon the coast trade was caused by the desire to keep corn from going to enemies in time of war, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to prevent corn from being exported uncustomed, under color of the coast trade. But this restriction was of the nature of supervision and not of prohibition. As long as security was given that the corn should not go abroad, there was during this period no objection raised against the trade in corn along the coast.

The second class of restriction upon the domestic trade would be a restraint which raised the borders of the shire as walls, beyond which no corn might be carried, and which would be enforced by the sheriff and his bailiffs. Naudé's instance from the Danzig manuscript refers to the year 1315, quite an exceptional year, when every effort was made to keep corn from going to the Scots.[4]

So, while there was some supervision to prevent malpractice, and an occasional restraint to meet a momentary need, the normal condition was free trade throughout the land, except

[1] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, pp. 4a, 19b (1202); *ibid.*, p. 26b (1303).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 50a (1205); *ibid.*, p. 60a (1206); *ibid.*, p. 159a (1215).
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 50a (1205–06).
[4] Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc., ii, pt. 1, p. 276.

in so far as local privileges (not the regulations of the central government) limited that freedom.

It is just on account of this fact — that there were no shire boundaries as far as trade was concerned and hence no direct evidence of local corn movements — that so little is known of the local trade in corn within the market area.

This lack of knowledge is particularly true of consuming areas. The producing areas had centers through which the surplus corn passed, chiefly abroad. The amounts of corn exported from these centers will be seen in a study of the export of corn.[1] Only one such producing area is here at present considered, the Cambridge district with Lynn as corn depot.

Cambridge was but one of the granaries upon which Lynn drew, and the Ouse but one of the lanes leading to Lynn. In the fourteenth century a jury made a presentment that men used to go " from the towns of Yaxley, Holme, Glatton, and Ramsey [in Huntingdonshire] by the water of the Nen, directly to the aforesaid port of Lynn, with ships and boats, with corn and other goods of theirs for sale." [2] Besides the Nen itself, there seem to have been, a few years later, " divers lades and trenches in the towns of Walton, Sawtry, and Conington " [in Huntingdonshire] used " for the ships and boats of any men wishing to load and carry corn." [3] Northamptonshire was also tapped by the Nen for, as the jury said, men who wanted to go from Lynn to " Peterborough and elsewhere to parts higher up " (that is, higher up the Nen) were of late years forced to go in a roundabout way.[4] Crowland, too, was connected directly with Lynn by a water route. This may well be accounted for by a change, frequent in East Anglia, in the course of the river Nen, or by the presence of a tributary connecting it with the Nen. From Crowland, and the neighboring district, " corn and other merchandise " were accustomed to be sent down the Nen to Lynn by the " common transit " of ships and boats.[5] The proximity

[1] See below, pp. 110 f.

[2] *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, iii, p. 146 (1331).

[3] *Ibid.*, i, p. 175 (1342).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 141–142, 144; cf. *Acts of the Privy Council*, vii, p. 223 (1565).

[5] *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, iii, p. 144.

of Bedfordshire and western Suffolk to the Ouse would seem to justify our adding them as contributors to Lynn's corn supply.

Through this great channel, then, flowed the corn of a large fertile area. The regular method was first to take the corn to the outposts of this web of feeders, such as Cambridge, Huntington, Crowland, and Peterborough, then to continue the journey down the water passages to the ample harbor of Lynn, which received the water and the corn of eight different shires.

Whatever corn may have been exported from exceptionally fertile producing areas under the local system, it was the local trade itself that was all-important in amount and still more in continuity. Such, indeed, was the value of the local market in the eyes of the unfree peasants that sale in the nearby cities and market towns, as has been seen, was one of the cardinal demands of the peasants in the revolt of 1381.[1]

(*b*) Inter-area trade. The evidence for the trade between the local areas is found in the records of marketing, in price statistics, in the shipments of corn mentioned in the patent and close rolls, and in the general statements of municipal records as to the sources of supply of towns. Manorial marketing and price statistics have been considered.[2] The third source of evidence is so scattered and meagre as in itself to be inconclusive. The London documents utilized in a later chapter[3] afford the best example of the fourth kind of evidence.

As has already been indicated, the inter-area trade involved in the inter-manorial marketing organization tended to diminish as the manor declined, and in the fifteenth century it came to an end, so that the local areas were then more isolated than before.

Although in normal times the characteristic movement of corn was within the market area, there was some inter-area trade, from producing to consuming areas, that is, from areas with a tendency to a surplus to those with a tendency to a deficit. This trade was of minor but varying importance, most important, perhaps, in the case of the coast trade from Lynn to Newcastle, and the river trade from the Upper Severn to the Bristol area, and the Upper to the Lower Thames area, and least important

[1] See above, p. 27. [2] pp. 11–24. [3] See below, p. 100.

between the Norwich and Lower Thames areas, or the Southampton and the Lower Thames areas.

Although it is impossible with any degree of precision to estimate this inter-area trade, it can be said that normally corn did not go from a high to a low price area, from a consuming to a producing area, that Essex sent no corn to Kent, Suffolk, or Norfolk, that the Battle area did not supply London, Southampton, or Cornwall, and that the corn of the Upper Thames did not find its way to the Upper Severn.

We have seen that there is evidence for the existence of local differential price areas during the period 1250–1500. Such price variation as existed within the area was of less importance than that between areas. Although from the producing areas corn was exported abroad or sent to consuming areas in England, the typical trade, nevertheless, was local and took place within the district itself. Towards the end of the period covered, this condition was more marked than ever before, but, as will appear in subsequent chapters, the locally restricted trade gradually gave way to new market conditions called forth by the phenomenal development of London.

CHAPTER III

MUNICIPAL CORN REGULATION AND PROVISION, 1250–1700

1. The Corn Regulations of Medieval London, 1250–1500

The regulations of the medieval town may be roughly divided into three classes, those dealing with the town as a whole, that is, its government and its relation to its own citizens and to foreign towns, those having to do with the gilds or crafts, and those dealing with the relations of citizen to citizen. It is the third class that is of interest here, especially the regulations touching the commercial dealings of one citizen with another, particularly in the corn trade. Although many governmental functions of an economic character were left to the gilds, the supervision of trade in corn and other victuals was retained in the hands of the city magistrates.[1]

In the London records dealing with the corn trade, two distinct classes of inhabitants are differentiated. One was the privileged class made up apparently of full citizens and recognized dwellers within the city; the other was the stranger class, whether denizen or alien, with few privileges other than those granted by the king. Members of the latter class were unable to sell certain goods by retail, might not keep hostels in the town, and were limited in regard to their stay, both in respect to time and place of residence. In the corn trade, too, they were subject to special disabilities; for example, they were not permitted to sell corn by sample,[2] nor might they sell it to other strangers.[3]

[1] It is interesting to note that in medieval Florence the supervision of the local corn trade was left to an elected commission of six, the *sex de blado*. These received a regular salary and had the assistance of a notary, a keeper of sacks and measures, and six messengers. Their duties were to provide for the easy access of grain to the market and to prevent monopoly within the town. *Statuti della Repubblica Fiorentina* (ed. R. Caggese), i, pp. 27–31, 34 (1322–25).

[2] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. G, p. 33 (1354).

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. E, p. 56 (1315 or 1316).

The majority of town ordinances dealing with trade were concerned not so much with individuals as with the conditions under which exchange might take place. The most important of these regulated the place of sale. Corn was to be sold only on the markets appointed for the purpose.[1]

There were four corn markets used in medieval London,[2] two for corn coming by land and two for corn arriving by water. The former were Gracechurch [3] and Newgate, the latter Queenhithe and Billingsgate.

At least as early as 1300, Gracechurch was used as a market for corn. Since Gracechurch street was the direct approach to the city through Bishopsgate from the counties immediately to the north, it was decreed that " those [who come] from the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Bedford, and those who come by Ware, are to bring all the corn and meal which they shall bring into the said city for sale, into the market upon the pavement at Gracechurch, . . . and nowhere else." [4]

Newgate was a corn market at least as early as 1316.[5] As in the case of Gracechurch, the pavement before a religious foundation, the Friars Minors, was the place of assemblage. Here probably came the corn of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and of course Middlesex. It was specifically stated that " those who come from the parts towards the West of the said city, as from Barnet, and those who have to come by that way and by

[1] *Liber Albus*, i, p. 261.

[2] The existence of several market places to supply the larger towns was not uncommon. There were ten markets in medieval Nürnberg in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Naudé, *Deutsche städtische Getreidehandelspolitik*, p. 11. An early engraving of a Nürnberg meal market is reproduced in G. Steinhausen's *Der Kaufmann in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, p. 66.

In Paris in the fourteenth century there were three markets, les Halles, la Grêve, and Beauce. Fagniez, *L'industrie et la classe industrielle*, p. 154.

[3] Stow (*Survey*, ed. of 1633, p. 206) called Cornhill a " Cornmarket, time out of mind," and others have followed him, but there seems to be no justification for this view in the early records.

Perhaps Southwark market should be added, though it was not strictly within the City. In 1277 it was necessary to ordain " that no one of the City go to Suthwark to buy corn, cattle, or other merchandise there, so as to create a market there." *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. A, p. 218.

[4] *Liber Albus*, i, p. 432. [5] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. E, p. 56.

way of other places, bringing corn or malt unto the said city for sale, are to bring the same wholly into the Market on the Pavement before the Friars Minors, in Newgate, ... and nowhere else." [1]

Along with Gracechurch and Newgate, Queenhithe is mentioned as one of the great corn markets in the early fourteenth century,[2] and, indeed, as early as 1255 it was a landing place for corn.[3] Its name probably does not refer to any queen,[4] as has been thought, but means simply quern or corn hithe, that is, corn wharf. It was, then, the corn wharf *par excellence*, the place for unloading corn, both that coming down the river and that coming up [5] from the ocean, the Lower Thames, and the Lea.

Billingsgate, too, was of some importance in the medieval corn trade. In use as a wharf as early as the eleventh century,[6] it served as a landing place for corn as early as 1300.[7] While Queenhithe was notably a corn wharf, Billingsgate was used more for general traffic.

Stratford to the east should be mentioned in this connection. It was not strictly a London corn market, but rather the place to which the corn of the east and north was taken. Here after having been ground into flour it was baked into bread and sent to London for sale.

Besides the limitations as to place of sale, it was also decreed that corn was not to be forestalled on its way to market,[8] nor might it be taken to a house or shop for sale,[9] nor might bargaining for corn which actually remained on the market take place outside the market.[10] The prescribed method of selling corn in

[1] *Liber Albus*, i, p. 432. [2] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. E, p. 56.

[3] *Liber Custumarum*, p. 756.

[4] As early as the reign of John, Queenhithe was called " la rive de roine." *English Historical Review*, xvii, p. 724. Cf. Stow's *Survey of London* (ed. Kingsford), ii, p. 7.

[5] Ships coming up the river passed through the drawbridge. Stow's *Survey of London* (ed. Kingsford), i, pp. 25 and 206 (14th century).

[6] *Laws of Ethelred*, *Ancient Laws and Institutes* (ed. Thorpe), i, p. 300.

[7] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. C, p. 58 (1299–1300).

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 58 (1299–1300); *ibid.*, vol. G, p. 33 (1354).

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. G, p. 225 (1368); *Liber Albus*, i, p. 261.

[10] *Memorials of London* (ed. Riley), p. 317 (1364).

medieval London was very simple. The owner, countryman or urban dealer, placed his open sacks of grain upon the regular corn markets, and standing before them, awaited a purchaser, either the poor consumer, or the servant of the rich merchant or industrial employer.[1]

Time of day as well as place of sale was regulated. An early London ordinance reads thus: "no retail dealer of corn, fish, poultry or victuals shall buy victuals before the hour of Prime."[2] The purpose of such a regulation was to prevent dealers from buying up the supply, and to give consumers a fair chance to buy their goods directly from the producer.

The advantage of regulating the price of victuals was early perceived by the medieval town. Although the local authorities fixed the price of bread (in relation to the price of corn),[3] corn itself was left to find its natural price. Indeed, the market price of corn was accepted by the town authorities as the basis both of their regulations of the weight of bread, and of their determination of the "affeering" or enhancing of prices by a dealer in corn.[4]

The town's chief concern with corn prices, in the middle ages, was to prevent them from being enhanced by interested parties. Indeed, this was the underlying purpose in all of the regulations. Special men were sworn to see to it that no one sold corn at an unfair price.[5] Three instances of the enforcement of the laws against raising prices are given here as typical of many. In 1347 John de Burstalle was accused of having secretly brought two bushels of wheat into the market of Gracechurch and of

[1] Cf. *Memorials of London* (ed. Riley), p. 314 (1363).

[2] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. A, p. 217 (1277).

[3] It was the weight of the standard loaf of fixed value that was ostensibly regulated, but this of course was an indirect regulation of the price also.

[4] An example of the special treatment of corn at the hands of the local authorities is found in the list of prices fixed in York by the Lord Mayor in the year 1393. While the prices of meat and fowl were fixed with great detail, the price of bread and beer was regulated by the assize, and that of oats sold at the inn was determined by the market price ("And when oats are sold in the market at 11 d. per quarter, then in the inn per bushel 0.0.4"). *The History and Antiquities of . . . York* (York, 1788), i, pp. 347–348.

[5] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. C, p. 58 (1299–1300).

having offered it at two pence above the common price prevailing in the market, with the result that, prices having been enhanced; the people were deceived and the commonalty damaged to the extent of £1000. The accused, having been found guilty, was ordered to prison for forty days, and by way of warning to others, the pillory was held out as the reward of subsequent offenders.[1]

In 1363 William Cokke, carrying a sample of wheat in his hand in Newgate market, followed the servant of a goldsmith, sent to buy wheat, from sack to sack, saying that such wheat as the servant examined could not be bought at a lower price than 21d. This statement of Cokke was said to be untrue, for at that very hour wheat could have been bought for 18d. The accused was found guilty of trying to enhance prices and ordered to be pilloried.[2]

In the following year a baker, who had corn of his own on sale at Newgate market, was accused of taking off the market a man who also had corn to sell and giving him, not the market price of 13d., but 15½d. per bushel. The baker, it was alleged, having then returned to Newgate market, told what he paid for the wheat. His offence was that such an act would tend to increase prices and thereby bring distress to the common people.[3]

To the national government the standardization of measures was a serious problem. London found it necessary to prescribe by ordinance the use of the ancient London quarter of *malt* containing, not eight, but nine bushels.[4] Nevertheless, the regulation of corn measures in London was in general a comparatively simple matter because the ordinary London quarter of eight bushels was taken as the standard for the whole of the realm, the king's standard [quarter] of the city of London.[5]

The regulation of quality, so important in most medieval trades, was not a serious matter in the corn trade, because the chances of deceit were somewhat limited. The mixture of mouldy corn with good, however, it was found necessary to

[1] *Memorials of London* (ed. Riley), p. 235.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 314. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 317.
[4] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. E, p. 74 (1317).
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. F, p. 101 (1344).

prohibit.[1] The quality of bread made by the baker came in for a good deal of close watching. He had to have his stamp put upon his product,[2] which he might not coat with bran,[3] nor sell as " pure bread " when made of mixed flour.[4]

The relation of the various classes of men engaged in the exchange of corn was set down among the ordinances of London. The most important of these, not incidentally referred to above, dealt with corn porters, meeters, and brokers. The corn porter was not to " sell nor measure corn, nor presume to enter a churchyard, house, or ship to remove corn, nor lay his hand upon corn, until he be called by those who have bought the corn." [5] In other words, the corn porter was not to be a corn measurer nor a corn dealer, nor was he to force his services upon those who had just purchased a supply.

It was ordered, also, that not only might a corn porter not be a corn meeter, but a corn meeter might not be a broker.[6]

The broker played an important part in the commercial dealings of the medieval town. He brought buyer and seller together and acted as a witness to transactions, collecting a fee for his services. The town, in order the better to have its ordinances enforced, retained the right to accept or reject brokers, while it left to the craft concerned the duty and privilege of nominating the brokers of its particular trade. Rules governing their activities were, however, drawn up by the municipal authority.[7] But the case was different with the *corn broker*. There was no strong corn mongers' gild [8] to demand the right of nominating corn brokers. And there existed a strong antipathy to the presence of corn dealers within the city, such as might make use of a broker. The theory was that the dealer or producer who brought corn into the market should sell it openly, first of all to consumers, and then to retailers, but always upon the open market, in which case the services of a corn broker could be easily dispensed with. Accordingly it was ordered that there should be no corn brokers

[1] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. C, p. 58 (1299–1300).
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. A, p. 216.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. K, p. 146 (1432).
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. A, p. 217 (1277).
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. G, p. 33 (1354).
[7] See below, p. 159.
[8] See below, p. 169.

within the city.[1] How far this ordinance was executed cannot be estimated. Certainly in the *Liber Albus* of 1419, corn brokers are mentioned as if actively engaged in buying corn.[2]

Not an exhaustive analysis of these London regulations, but the general policy underlying them is the chief concern here. It was the interest of the consumer that ran from first to last through all the ordinances. This is the key to the mass of local legislation upon the subject of the corn trade. It is worthy of remark that no differentiation appears to have been made between the interests of full citizens and mere city dwellers, except that it was the welfare of the poorer sort or common people that formed the ostensible anxiety of the City Fathers.[3] Likewise it is not evident that the town authorities ever had in mind the well-ordering of the trade of the corn middleman. They preferred to legislate it out of existence entirely, to ignore it, or to take no measures for its welfare. The like was true, also, of the countryman who brought his corn to market, but he was not denied such a price for his corn as conditions of natural supply and demand might justify.

In short, the purport of the corn regulations of medieval London was to give to the townsman every possible advantage in the purchase of such corn as had been brought into the town. The countryman was left to consult his own interests whether he should bring corn to the town or not, and the urban middleman was given no encouragement to continue his activities. Medieval London did not concern itself with the getting of a corn supply, but with the disposal of it when within the walls; sale, not supply, was the subject of anxious regulation.

In this London was not peculiar. Such regulations as those outlined above were found also in Continental towns,[4] and to a

[1] The brokers of divers trades, woolmen, drapers, corders, skinners, and apothecaries, were sworn into office, as also were the brokers "for the office of" wines and "hiring ships."

"And the same day it was agreed by the Warden [the king's agent acting as Mayor] and Aldermen, for the benefit of the whole City and of foreigners alike, that no one in future should meddle with brokerage of corn or malt, under penalty of the statute." *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. C, p. 18(1293).

[2] *Liber Albus*, I, p. 261. [3] Cf. *Memorials of London* (ed. Riley), p. 317 (1364).

[4] A. Araskhaniantz (*Die französische Getreidehandelspolitik bis zum Jahre 1789*,

less extent in other English towns in the middle ages.[1] They continued to be enforced in the sixteenth century,[2] and traces of them are found even later.

pp. 12–13) makes the following analysis of the corn regulations of medieval and early modern French towns.

(1) Corn was to be sold on the market only.
(2) Forestalling was prohibited.
(3) No one was to put his corn for sale at a higher price than he first asked for it.
(4) The time for selling corn on the market was fixed.
(5) The admission to the market of different classes of buyers was regulated.
(6) The quality of corn was regulated.
(7) The quantity of corn was regulated.
(8) The prices were fixed.
(9) The relations between producers, porters, market, and shop dealers were regulated.
(10) The validity of agency in the corn trade was regulated.
(11) The activities of the broker were limited.
(12) The right of storing up corn was dealt with. See also W. Naudé, *Deutsche städtische Getreidehandelspolitik vom 15–17 Jahrhundert*, pp. 7 f.

[1] See the regulations of Bristol of the fourteenth century. (*The Little Red Book of Bristol*, ii, pp. 218–232.)

No kind of grain shall be sold by heap or by cantle except oats.

No forestaller is to be allowed to remain in the town if he buys grain, fish, or other goods before others, no matter whether these goods are coming by land or water.

No one is to store up grain from one market to another in order to sell it at a higher price, under penalty of forfeiting all the grain.

No one may buy any grain in the market in order to carry it beyond sea.

The following regulation apparently belongs to the fifteenth century: No burgess is to purchase grain in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Somerset, or Glamorgan before the feast of St. Michael next following, for the purpose of exporting it abroad or to other parts within the kingdom, with this proviso, nevertheless, that any one buying beans within twelve leagues of the town may export them to Ireland. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

See also, for some sixteenth century regulations of York, *The History and Antiquities of . . . York* (York, 1788), i, pp. 294, 296, 300.

[2] A servant, appointed "for his contynuell attendance that he shall dayly do to cause such vytaylls as cummen towards the Citie to be brought to the open marketts to be sold, shall have between this and Michaelmas next cumyng xx s. & a Cote." MS., Guildhall, London, *Repertory*, iii, fol. 209b (21 May, 1518).

"A byll . . . touchynge the orderynge layinge & puttynge to sale of wheate malte & other graynes in the commen marketts after the same marketts ended." MS., Guildhall, London, *Letter Book*, vol. S, fol. 13b (29 Jan., 1554–55).

Compare the following passage of about the year 1618–19: "Suggestions from the Company of meere Poulters to the Lord Mayor (Sir Sebastian Harvey) for the prevention of forestalling and engrossing of their wares in the markets; for limiting

Bearing in mind the isolation of the local market area in the late fifteenth century,[1] we might expect to find new measures adopted as well as the older ones better enforced. But, apart from an ephemeral granary system,[2] the archives of London give no indication of special activities; on the contrary, they indicate on the whole an unusual laxity, and in this case negative evidence is almost conclusive. On the other hand, positive evidence indicates that in the latter part of the fifteenth century, the city had adopted the extraordinary practice of fixing the maximum price of corn, and of enforcing it even in years of more than average price,[3] thereby indicating complete confidence in the sufficiency of the local supply. It would seem as if the deficit caused by the decay of the manorial marketing organization was made up by an increase in the amount of corn marketed by the tenant farmers who supplanted the manorial system.

The growth of London, however, produced by the first half of the sixteenth century a new situation which had to be met by special measures for securing a supply of grain.

2. The Growth of London, 1500–1700

The table of customs revenue on the next page shows roughly the direction and extent of the development of London's trade.

Two striking facts stand out from these figures.[4] In the sixteenth century London's trade increased tenfold, and in the seventeenth century only a little less. While there was no

the times within which such wares should be sold therein; for preventing their sale by haglers, carriers, and chapmen in shops, inns or hostelries; and for punishing such as maintained haglers, etc., without entering them according to Acts of Common Council and their own Orders." *Remembrancia, 1579–1664*, p. 402.

[1] Cf. above, p. 64.

[2] Cf. below, pp. 79–80.

[3] Under the date 4 Nov., 1478, the oath of the London corn measurers was set down. It included the following points:

(*a*) No corn, coming by land or water, was to be measured until the Lord Mayor had set a price upon it.

(*b*) The measurers were to buy no corn, except for their own households.

(*c*) They were to inform the Lord Mayor if any one sell at a higher rate than that fixed by him. *Journals of the Common Council*, viii, fol. 182b.

[4] The development in the period from John to Edward II is also remarkable, if typical of general growth.

relative growth of the city's trade during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the trade of the metropolis increased from forty to eighty per cent of that of the whole country.

Closely bound up with this great activity in trade is the growth of population. Previous to the census of 1801, there was no

TABLE OF CUSTOMS DUTIES

Period	London	Outports	London's Percentage of the Whole
1203–06	£837	£4,122 [1]	17.0
1307–26 [2]	5,280	7,421 [3]	41.6
1506–09 [2]	12,029	14,986 [4]	44.5
1516–18 [2]	15,771	11,584 [5]	57.7
1536–37	16,970	6,442 [6]	72.3
	[21,970]	[7,442]	[80.0]
1581–82	35,107	4,905 [7]	87.5
1604–05	150,000	40,548 [8]	79.0
1676–77	597,704	229,694 [9]	72.2
1711	1,268,095	340,081 [10]	78.8

satisfactory enumeration made of the people living in London, but many estimates have been based on fairly sound principles; and to Graunt, Petty, King, Rickman, and Dr. Charles Creighton,

[1] MS., R. O., *Pipe Roll*, L. T. R., no. 50 (memb. 16b). Returns for *quindecima*. Time about 28 months (5–7 John).

[2] Yearly average.

[3] Ramsay, *English Historical Review*, xxiv, pp. 97–108.

[4] MS., Br. M., Harl., 1878, fols. 26–28. Totals for London and fourteen outports (22–24 H. VII).

[5] *Ibid.* (7–8 H. VIII).

[6] MS., R. O., *K. R. Customs*, 164/4 (28 H. VIII). The bracketed figure is an estimate of the total customs paid on goods entering and leaving London. It adds £5000 of the duty collected at the Staple of Calais for the year. In 28 H. VIII, the Staple duty was £6231 (*K. R. Customs*, 164/4). In 25 H. VIII, the London to Calais Staple trade duty was £5325 (Harl., 1878, fol. 32). About £1000 should be added to the figure for the outports also.

[7] Harl., 1878, fols. 45–50 (23 Eliz.). Av. for outports 20–25 Eliz. is £5519.

[8] *Ibid.*, fols. 79–80.

[9] MS., Br. M., Add., 36,785, fols. 59–60. Forty-eight ports and members named as also " Foreign plantations." Latter here omitted. Cf. Stowe, 324, fols. 19–20.

[10] Noorthouck, *History of London*, p. 300. The remarkable growth of London's trade between 1671 and 1688 is indicated by the gradual increase in the number of ships entered at the Customs House, that had tidesmen on board, in 1671–78, 1055, 1679–88, 1709. Stowe, 324, fol. 13.

we owe what we have of value. The following table is, of course, given only as an approximation.

TABLE OF POPULATION

Period	England	London	London's Percentage of the Whole
1200–1500.....	[2,000,000 to 3,000,000]	40,000 to 50,000 [1]	2.0
1534.....	[3,000,000]	60,000	2.0
1605.....	[4,000,000]	224,275	5.6
1634.....	[4,500,000]	339,824	7.6
1661.....	[5,000,000]	460,000	9.2
1696.....	[5,500,000]	530,000 [2]	9.6
1801.....	[8,300,000] [3]	865,000 [4]	10.4
1911.....	[34,000,000]	7,250,000 [5]	21.3

It appears that there were two periods of slow growth, 1200–1534 and 1696–1750, and two periods of rapid increase, 1534–1696 [6] and 1750 to the present. The first half of the period 1534–1696 saw a threefold increase, while the seventeenth century witnessed a growth of less than half that amount.

Likewise it is apparent that while the proportion of London's population to the total in the period 1200–1534 was about two per cent, it rose to between seven and eight per cent in the century 1534–1634, and by 1696 was nearly ten per cent of the whole.

The causes of this phenomenal and unprecedented development do not concern us at this point, but it ought to be noted in passing that inclosures, the suppression of the monasteries, and the decay of provincial towns, were movements which went hand in hand with the metropolitan growth. The relation of cause and effect is examined elsewhere.

The need of such a growing community for the provision of larger supplies of corn is obvious. And at the risk of anticipation,

[1] Dr. Charles Creighton, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, cxlix, p. 495 (1891).

[2] Gregory King, Harl., 1898, fol. 76. John Rickman, the census enumerator, in his report of 1831 (*The Population Returns of 1831*, p. 21) placed the population of London in 1700 at 674,000 while he accepted Gregory King's estimate for the whole country.

[3] *The Population Returns of 1831*, p. 42.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 25. [5] "Greater London."

[6] In the reign of Henry VIII Clement Armstrong remarked that while the realm was decaying, London was always increasing. MS., R. O., Exchequer, T. R., *Misc. Books*, cxcvii, fol. 147. (Transcripts of Professor Gay used).

we may in part measure this development by examining the amounts of corn ordered to be provided by the City Fathers to supplement corn brought in by the usual paths of trade. Approximate figures for such provisions are given in the following table.

TABLE OF CORN STORED UP IN LONDON

Year	Amt. in qrs.	Year	Amt. in qrs.
1520	2,300 [1]	1574	6,700 [4]
1546	4,200 [2]	1587	10,000 [5]
1560	5,000 [3]	1688	10,000 [6]

It is, perhaps, not impossible to estimate roughly the total corn demand of London. (See table, page 77.)

The London of 1600 demanded three times the corn that the London of 1500 required, and the London of 1700 three times that of 1600.

Inadequate as are the statistics of London's growth, they indicate clearly a remarkable development in trade, population, and consumption.

[1] MS., Guildhall, London, *Letter Book*, vol. N, fol. 142 (1 H. VIII). £1037 to be levied on the companies, which at 9 s. per qr. would purchase about 2300 qrs.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. Q, fol. 174. £1757 to be levied on companies at 8 s. per qr. would buy about 4200 qrs.

[3] *Repertory*, xiv, fol. 350b. £3750 at 15 s. per qr.

[4] *Letter Book*, vol. X, fol. 318. £5037 at 15 s. per qr. In 1578 a committee reported in favor of storing 5000 qrs. yearly. MS., Guildhall, London, *Journal of the Common Council*, xx, pt. 2, fol. 438. In 1579 at least £4000 yearly were considered necessary. *Letter Book*, vol. Y, fol. 255. In 1586, 6000–7000 qrs. were to be provided. *Journal of the Common Council*, xxii, fol. 64.

[5] *Journal of the Common Council*, xxii, fols. 126b, 130; *Letter Book*, vol. "Etc.," fol. 158b; *Repertory*, xxi, fol. 463. This was the normal amount throughout this and the next century, *Letter Book*, vol. BB, fol. 14 (1599); *Repertory*, xxv, fol. 64b (1600); *Journal of the Common Council*, xxvi, fol. 145 (1603); *Repertory*, xxvi, pt. 2, fol. 103b (1604–05); *Letter Book*, vol. CC, fol. 294 (1608); *Journal of the Common Council*, xxviii, fol. 113 (1610); *ibid.*, xxxv, fols. 346, 375 (1631); *ibid.*, xxxvi, fol. 50b (1632–33); *ibid.*, xxxvii, fols. 128–129 (1635); *ibid.*, xxxviii, fol. 160 (1639). In 1590 6000 qrs. were to be provided. *Journal of the Common Council*, xxii, fols. 434–435; and in 1591, 8000 qrs., *ibid.*, xxiii, fol. 52.

[6] Companies were ordered to contribute their share of the 10,000 qrs., *e. g.*, Haberdashers, *Court Assistant*, ii, fol. 323.

TABLE OF LONDON'S YEARLY CORN CONSUMPTION IN QUARTERS (ESTIMATED)

Year	Bread and Drink Corn Consumed [1]	Ship's Provision, Horses, Fodder, and Corn in Beer Exported [2]	Corn Exported [3]	Total
1534	150,000	15,000	.....	165,000
1605	500,000 [4]	50,000	.....	550,000 [5]
1661	1,150,000	115,000	.....	1,265,000
1676	1,275,000	127,500	74,775	1,477,000
1696	1,325,000	132,500	10,500	1,468,000

3. CORN PROVISION: MUNICIPAL, 1514–1578

With the growth of the metropolis, the distinctive feature of the early modern period, came the increasing anxiety concerning the corn supply and the actual municipal participation in the provision of corn. In the reign of Henry VIII, the minute books of the city began to record both the careful account kept by the Lord Mayor of all corn brought into the city [6] and his frequent efforts to get corn. Whereas up to the late fifteenth century prices were kept down,[7] in the sixteenth a good and sufficient price was often held out as inducement,[8] and London bakers

[1] The yearly requirements per head for drink and bread are taken at $2\frac{1}{2}$ qrs. Cf. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, iv, pt. 2, § 3665 (1528). The figures in this column are arrived at by multiplying the population of London, as given above, p. 75, by $2\frac{1}{2}$.

[2] Estimated at one-tenth the former.

[3] See Appendix C.

[4] In 1631 it was estimated, however, that the amount of bread corn alone for the City, suburbs and adjacent parts, consumed every year was only between 130,000 and 140,000 qrs. *Remembrancia, 1579–1664*, p. 345.

[5] In 1574, however, the official estimate put the consumption of corn by bakers, brewers, and the poor alone at only about 200,000 (about 100,000 for 6 months). *Repertory*, xviii, fol. 182.

[6] It was ordered, 14 Sept., 1546, that no meal should be brought into the city by day or by night unless the Lord Mayor had knowledge thereof. *Repertory*, xi, fol. 234b.

[7] See above, p. 73, n. 3.

[8] A proclamation was issued that if any one "will bring to London sweat and clean wheat, he shall have 10 s. and for rye 6 s. 8 d. untill All Saints." *Repertory*, ii, fol. 140 (2 Sept., 1512). This price for wheat is more than 10 d. higher than Rogers' yearly average and over 3 s. 3 d. higher than his decennial average.

On 13 Sept., 1512, a proclamation of the London magistrates ordered that

were to be forced to pay that price.[1] The King's Council was petitioned not to allow corn going to London to be stopped for the king's use.[2] Proclamations were issued to attract corn.[3] Town tolls on corn brought into the city were to be removed, as were the disabilities of non-citizens.[4] Foreign merchants were encouraged to import corn.[5] Millers[6] and bakers[7] were put

" Whatsoever persone that Will bryng whete or Rye good swote [swete] and merchaintable to this Citie to be sold shall have for every quarter of Whete x s. and for every quarter of Rye 6 s. 8 d. *Letter Book*, vol. M, pt. 1, fol. 195b.

Men were appointed to see that Anthony Vivolde who was bringing in wheat " shall have a reesonabill gaynage therein." *Repertory*, ii, fol. 150b (13 Jan., 1512–13).

" Because wheate by a great quantytie ys not brought unto thys Cytie as it hath been," the Lord Mayor puts the price at 10 s. per quarter. *Repertory*, x, fol. 152b.

Cf. also *Repertory*, v, fol. 133 (30 Jan., 1520–21); *ibid.*, x, fol. 152b (9 Dec., 1539); *ibid.*, xiii, pt. ii, fol. 345 (19 Nov., 1555).

[1] The Lord Mayor, for the well-being of the citizens, decreed that " whatsoever person that wolle bryng whete good swete drie and merchauntable to this Citie to be sold shall have " 8 s. per quarter from 5 Nov. to Christmas, and the bakers are to be forced to take it at that price. *Journals of the Common Council*, xi, fol. 143b (5 Nov., 1511).

[2] *Repertory*, ii, fol. 150b (13 Jan., 1512–13). [3] *Ibid.*, v, fol. 267 (Feb., 1521–22).

[4] Those bringing in good corn for sale may do so " without eny tolle or eny other exacon to be taken therefore by lande or by water and they shall not be enforced of their price for the same. But shall be at their liberties to make the best they can therof."

Those foreign to the city may sell as they will in the city " without interrupcon or lett." *Journals of the Common Council*, xii, fol. 370 (25 Jan., 1526–27).

Scavage on imported corn was in 1617 to be cut in half " for the better encouragement of Merchants in bring[ing] Corne to this Cittie in this Tyme of Scarcitie." *Repertory*, xxxiii, fol. 139b (20 July).

[5] *Repertory*, vii, fol. 247 (16 Mar., 1527–28).

[6] Millers were ordered to bring their toll meal weekly for sale upon the London markets at prices fixed by the Lord Mayor. *Letter Book*, vol. P, fol. 101 (11 July, 1536).

[7] In 1526 amounts of corn in the hands of four bakers were 40 or 50 qrs., 45 qrs., 50 qrs., and 100 qrs., respectively. *Repertory*, vii, fol. 124b.

In 1534 and 1535 the bakers had to report their share of corn. At the former date, thirty-seven bakers of London had 1094 qrs. of wheat and meal, those of Stratford 375 qrs. *Repertory*, ix, fol. 74b. Cf. also fols. 108 and 116b.

On 10 April, 1544, the bakers were ordered to be ready by the following Good Friday to take up and to provide 1500 qrs., to pay 13 s. 4 d. per qr. and to pay only cash. *Repertory*, xi, fol. 56.

On 6 Aug., 1549, the bakers, having only 1310 qrs. of wheat and meal in store, were ordered to make further provision for a month, or at least for twenty days. *Repertory*, xii, pt. i, fol. 125.

under special orders and supervision; and strict inquiry was made of the amount of corn in the hands of the former. This unusual activity was the immediate result of a series of dearths recurring at frequent intervals during the first half of the sixteenth century, but it denoted a changed attitude on the part of the London authorities.[1]

The establishment of public granaries furnishes the most tangible evidence of this solicitude for the metropolitan corn provision. Of the several granaries, Leadenhall, the Bridge-house, Queenhithe, Winchester House, the Halls of the Companies, and Bridewell, only the two first have a long and practically continuous history.

The history of Leadenhall is known from the thirteenth century. In 1411 it passed into the possession of the city.[2] And some forty years later,[3] when there was temporary anxiety about the corn supply, it was chosen as a suitable repository. During this decade generous magistrates came forward to further the plan. In 1443, John Hatherly purchased a royal license to rebuild a granary,[4] and John Rainwell, formerly mayor, bequeathed money for laying up corn.[5] It was probably in 1445 that the granary at Leadenhall was erected by Simon Eyre,[6] also Mayor of London.

We should expect to find the city erecting granaries almost as soon as it began to purchase corn. At least as early as 1390 London tried the plan of meeting a dearth by the municipal purchase of corn. On that occasion the money of certain London orphans was used to buy corn for the use of the commonalty.[7] In 1429 the Common Council of the city ordained " that persons

[1] See above, pp. 77–78.

[2] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. I, p. 92.

[3] It was probably in 1438 that Nicholas Yeo, draper, promised that if the places for the laying up corn to the extent of 1000 marks were insufficient, he would provide £20 for that year. *Journals of the Common Council*, iii, fol. 22b (22 Sept., Brown, Mayor). It is not known whether this referred to Leadenhall.

[4] Stow, *Survey of London* (Kingsford) i, p. 153.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 153; the year 1419 is also given by Stow, p. 154. Cf. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, ii, p. 601 n., and Noorthouck, *History of London*, p. 90.

[7] *Calendar of Letter Books*, vol. H, p. 362.

should be sent abroad to buy corn, at the city's risk of any loss by sea or otherwise." [1]

How far this early granary system met a real need, and how far it was an imitation of the practices of Continental towns,[2] is unknown. The latter suggestion, that it was an imitation, seems to be borne out by the case of Bristol, which, though situated in a district having plenty of cheap corn easily accessible, seems to have had at least a transitory ambition for a granary system, if such it may be called, which, once provided for,[3] seems to have been neglected. Making fullest concession, however, to the real need of such a scheme at this early date, we cannot regard the Leadenhall phase of the granary system as otherwise than temporary, since it came to an end before the close of the fifteenth century.[4]

As late as the early years of Henry VIII, London had no regular corn granary and made use of the cellars of the bakers.[5] But in 1514 a "Garner" was ordered to be prepared at the ancient Bridgehouse.[6] This is an important date, since the

[1] *Calendar of Letter Books*, vol. K, p. 92.

[2] For specific instances of this in the Tudor period, see Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii, p. 97, n. 2.

[3] An entry of 9 April, 1434, in the *Little Red Book of Bristol* (vol. i, pp. 174 f.) records the following provision for a municipal supply of corn. Mark William, late burgess and merchant, formerly sheriff and mayor of Bristol, bequeathed to that town 100 marks sterling so "that when there shall have arisen a scarcity of corn then with that sum or part thereof a certain quantity of corn, as shall be fit and necessary in the discretion of the mayor of the town of Bristol, and the good men of the Common Council of the town for the time being, ought to be provided and purchased in those parts where there is very great abundance, and where it is of moderate and less price, for the use of the Commonalty of the said town."

Isolated instances of the municipal provision of corn in the sixteenth century have been collected by Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, pt. ii, pp. 37, 62.

[4] The "garners" of Leadenhall, however, may, as Ashley (*op. cit.*, p. 36) points out, have existed for a long period, but not the system.

[5] "At this Court it was agreed that when wheat arrivyth to this Citie, if the bakers will not take it up that than it shall be taken up by the Citie & if any of the solers [cellars] of the bakers at the waterside be emptie than seid solers shall be taken for the Citie & the Whete shall be taken up & led therin & the Citie to paie for the ferm of the seid solers after the rate for the tyme that the Whete shall be therin." *Repertory*, ii, fol. 149b (13 Dec., 1512).

[6] "A Garner for Wheet shall be made at the Briggehous . . . as hastily as it convently may be don." *Repertory*, ii, fol. 174b (28 Mar., 1514).

Bridgehouse became the chief center of the whole Tudor and Stuart granary system. The order of 1514 was soon carried into execution, and it was not long before the Bridgehouse was regarded as the great repository of the city's corn supply. A bequest was made in 1520 or 1521 for the yearly purchase of corn to be stored in the Bridgehouse,[1] and in the next year the Bridgemasters were instructed to buy corn at the city's risk.[2] While the Bridgehouse was at first used by the private citizens to store their corn, and was even sought by the king for the storage of his wheat,[3] it was only in 1559 that it was given over wholly to the housing of municipal grain.[4]

Although the bequest of 1520 provided for "yearly" purchases, it was not until about the middle of the century, however, that we may probably date the beginning of regular annual provision of grain. We find the Court of Aldermen was voting in 1565, that they "shall henceforth yearly provide & bye" a store of corn,[5] and the *Corn Book* shows that at least from 1568 corn was regularly bought and sold on behalf of the city.[6]

[1] "Received of Sir Stephen Genyns Knight late alderman of the City of London of his good and charitable mynde towards the *mayntenyng supporting and coutynewaunce of a stock of Whete to be bought and purviede yerely* by the Mayre and Alderman for the tyme beyng and theyre sufficient deputies in that behalf and to be laide within the Garnardes of late new buylded withyn the Brigghows of London for the profite and advauntage of the Communaty of the saide Cytye for evyr. Summa lxii li xiii s. iiii d." *Accounts of the Bridgehouse*, in possesson of Mr. Charles Welch, (Mich., 1520–Mich., 1521).

[2] The "Derthe of Whete Rye and other Graynes that is lykely to ensue in this yere" induces the City authorities to order the Bridgehouse masters to "make provision for Whete Rye & other Grayne for the Store & Common Weale of this Citie. And that such Whete Rye and other Corne as they shall happen to bye to and for the same as well within this Realme as in eny other place shalbe at alle tymes brought and conveyed at the adventure & jeopardie & perielle of the Citie and not of eny of the owners of the saide Corne." *Letter Book*, vol. N, fol. 190b.

[3] *Repertory*, vii, fols. 149f. (1526 and 1527).

[4] *Letter Book*, vol. DD, fol. 243 (20 Jan., 1559).

[5] *Repertory*, xv, fol. 472 (25 Sept.).

[6] "This Booke made for all such Corne as shall be Browghte . . . for the Cittis accompte and Layed up into the Brindge House," in charge of the Bridgehouse Committee in the Guildhall.

But the London municipal records yield evidence, herewith tabulated, as to the continuous execution of this policy.

LONDON'S CORN PROVISION[1]

Decade	Years of Recorded Provision
1520–29	1520, 1521, 1527, 1528.
1530–39	1534, 1536, 1537.
1540–49	1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1549.
1550–59	1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557.
1560–65	1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565.

In the twenty-three years between 1520 and 1543, there are recorded purchases for only seven years, but from 1543 to 1565, twenty-two years, at least nineteen years saw great efforts made to supply the citizens with corn. So we may say that the year 1543 is the dividing line, as nearly as there can be one, separating the earlier irregular practice from the almost yearly provision.

4. CORN PROVISION: GILD, 1578–1678

It is in connection with the city gilds that London's granary system reached its height. Herbert has given us a long, though unreliable, account of this gild activity. Here only the outline of the story is attempted.

In 1495–96, the Lord Mayor advised the wardens of the fellowships, along with the aldermen, to lay in a store for their own households.[2] And in 1520, apparently, began the system of "prest and loone" by which the various mysteries and crafts were to contribute £1000 to the provision of corn.[3] In 1536 the

[1] For the materials on which this table is based, see Appendices.

[2] *Repertory*, i, fol. 12b (28 Feb.).

[3] "Forasmoch as great Derth & Scarcite of Whete hath nowe lately been & more lyke tensue yf good & politique provision Were not Shortly made & had Wherfor in avoydyng therof god grauntyng yt is nowe by Auctorite of this Commen Counseill fully agreed & graunted that in all goodly hast oon Thousand pound of money shalbe levyed & payed by the Felishippes of Sondry Misteres & Crafts of this Citie by Way of a prest & loone And that the Mayer & Aldermen by their discrecons shall name & appoynt What Sums shalbe levyed of every of the seid Felisheppes." *Letter Book*, vol. N, fols. 142 f. Cf. *Journals of the Common Council*, xii, fol. 74 (25 Sept., 12 H. VIII); cf. *Repertory*, xi, fol. 60 (25 Apr., 1544); *ibid.*, fol. 176b (11 June, 1545).

masters and wardens of every company were asked to send in names of those willing to provide money for corn.[1] In 1546 a long schedule was drawn up of the contributions of twenty-eight companies "towards the payment of certayn wheate and rye provyded beyonde the See for the Cytie."[2] And in 1560 a similar list of twenty-eight companies is found, but with readjustments of contributions, and a general increase.[3]

Such contributions continued to be levied for some time.[4] But the corporations soon found that their losses in the provision of corn were considerable, in 1575 estimated at £2100.[5] Later

[1] *Repertory*, ix, fol. 171 (9 May).

[2] *Letter Book*, vol. I, fol. 174 (29 May); cf. *Repertory*, xiii, pt. 2, fol. 273 (3 Mar., 1555–56).

[3] *Repertory*, xiv, fol. 350b (4 July).

[4] *Journals of the Common Council*, xviii, fol. 394 (Mar., 1566, 37 companies included); *Letter Book*, vol. X, fol. 194b (29 Jan., 1572–73); *ibid.*, fol. 218b (21 May, 1573); *ibid.*, fol. 264 (15 Dec., 1573, 44 companies); Brewers' Hall, *Accounts*, vol. 1562–81, (1573–74); *Journals of the Common Council*, xxii, fol. 70 (Sept., 29 Eliz.); *Letter Book*, vol. X, fol. 318 ([June], 1574, 44 companies). Sometimes companies combined to make their payments. See below, pp. 421, 422. Cf. contributions of Stationers, 1560, 1562, 1563, 1566, 1573, 1574, Stationers Hall, *Liber A*, fols. 6b, 7, 9, 21, 22a.

[5] *Letter Book*, vol. Y, fol. 46b (24 Nov.). One entry on this page reads £2001, but the reading here adopted is confirmed by fol. 57.

The losses of the city are further illustrated by the following corn account of the city covering apparently the years 1568–73, and seemingly made up at Michaelmas, 1581.

	£	s.	d.
The Discharge:			
Paid to companies for back corn debts	3,418	7	4
Debts of bakers, brewers, etc., to the Bridgehouse	1,230	13	8
"Losse of the Danske corne"	134	16	3
"Loosse of the corne receyved from factors"	42	10	4
"Loss in Servinge the markets of London to kepe downe the prices in fower yeares"	455	18	6
"Suytes in the lawe"	7	7	0
	5,289	13	1
Sum on hand	17	9	9
	5,307	2	10
The Charge:			
Decayed corn and debts for [up to ?] the year of the Mayorality of Ryvers [1573–74]	5,015	9	7
Other debts of the Bridgehouse	194	14	4
Etc.		etc.	
	5,307	2	10

[*Note 5 continued on next page.*]

the city companies were consulted as to how the loss was to be borne.[1] On 17 October, 1578, a committee reported a large deficit and pointed out that a sum of £4000 yearly was necessary.[2]

A few days later, 4 November, 1578, it was decided that " the former provisions have not onelye bene troublesome to my L. Maior for the tyme beinge and his worshippfull bretheren the aldermen whoe are otherwise muche occupied with manifolde greate affaieres but also have bene manye waies incomodious to the whole estate of the Cyttye. For remedie whereof if it may be liked by my L. Maior and Aldermen and Comen Counsell they think good that this prevision be made by the XII Companies proportionablie in Forme followinge." [3] This scheme was tentative, being but " for this yere to come," yet it proved in reality to be lasting.

The reason for the change in the method of providing corn is of some interest, as it throws light upon past methods. When the committee, appointed to consider the ways and means of corn supply, reported that the companies might either leave the money they had already loaned to the city, or be repaid and provide the corn themselves, the companies replied that they had already waited three years for repayment, that the city had lost money in its provision, and suggested that the companies should henceforth take over that duty.[4] The masters and wardens, familiar

The cost of providing wheat in Sussex and marketing it in London is given thus (*Corn Book*, 15 Oct., 1571–30 Aug., 1572):—

	£	s.	d.
1547 qrs. wheat cost	1,594	12	9
Carriage at 1½ d. per qr.	9	13	4½
Metage " ½ d. " "	2	16	2
Filling " 3 d. " 20 qrs.	0	19	4½
Grinding " 16 d. " "	32	6	8
Sale and waste of 485 qrs. on the markets	24	5	0
Horse and carriage of corn from Sussex	4	7	8
20 corn sacks at 22 d. each	1	16	8
Turning the corn	20	9	4
	1,691	7	0

Corn Book, 15 Oct., 1571–30 Aug., 1572.

[1] *Journals of the Common Council*, xx, pt. 2, fol. 255 (24 Nov., 18 Eliz.).

[2] *Letter Book*, vol. Y, fol. 255.

[3] *Ibid.*, fols. 272–273. This was the report of a committee of aldermen (cf. fol. 235b), accepted by the City Fathers.

[4] *Journals of the Common Council*, xx, pt. 2, fol. 434 (16 Sept., 1578).

with the methods of the corporation, were in a good position to judge accurately the efficiency of municipal business dealings. The companies themselves were later to learn, however, that although they sometimes gained, they also, generally lost.

For the purpose of rating the companies according to their abilities, they were divided into classes which varied from time to time. The twelve greater companies always bore the greater part of the burden, 76.5% in 1573,[1] and 81.1% in 1590.[2] The inferior companies were sometimes further divided into classes; in 1587, for instance, there were four sets of lesser companies,[3] and in 1590 five sets, the last consisting of six poor companies contributing nominally 20 quarters in all, but on this occasion it was thought necessary not to charge them with any provision at all.

This organization of the companies for corn provision led the way to their further utilization by both city and Crown. The city gilds were asked to supply soldiers on the basis of their corn contributions, to pay £4300 towards the expenses of the royal coronation, and to contribute to the plantation enterprise in Ireland.

It may be said that at about the period 1565–95 the system was at its height, but by the close of the century the earlier enthusiasm of the companies had waned. It was to be expected that the gilds in years of plenty would tend to diminish their purchases of corn, and especially would this be true after a succession of good crops, or the farther away they got from years of dearth when municipal pressure was great. And this is clearly seen in the corn accounts of the companies in the last few years of Elizabeth and in the first part of the reign of her successor. So far had this gone by 1619 that it could be said that the companies of the City of London have "formerlie exercised the laudable custome to maintaine magazins of twentie [ten] thousand or

[1] *Ibid.*, xxii, fols. 70 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, fols. 434–435.

[3] The first class consisted of 12 companies providing 1025 qrs., the second of 12, providing 442 qrs., the third of 11, with 233 qrs., and the fourth of 8 with 212 qrs., *ibid.*, fol. 130.

more quarters of wheate[1] which is now of late omitted."[2] Although on 17 July, 1621, the Common Council ordered that "the full quantitie" of 10,000 quarters was to be provided,[3] it is easy to show that this order was not obeyed, for the early Elizabethan system was moribund; and while some companies provided no corn at all,[4] others depended upon chandlers or bakers to supply the little they did lay up.[5] The Ironmongers' Company even went so far in 1621 or 1622 as to rent its granary at the Bridgehouse to a baker, as if it had no more use for it.[6]

But a revival of faith in the old system and, indeed, of its necessity arose through the scarcity of 1630 and 1631. The City Fathers showed no mercy to those companies which were caught without sufficient supply;[7] and for five years the gilds were forced to do the work they no longer relished.

[1] In 1587 it was considered that a minimum of 10,000 quarters should be provided, though this amount was in practice rarely reached. An exception occurs in Nov., 1594, when between 11,000 and 12,000 qrs. were laid up. MS., Br. M., Harl., 6850, fol. 266.

[2] MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Jac. I, iv, fol. 435.

[3] *Journals of the Common Council*, xxxi, fol. 324b.

[4] For example, the Mercers made purchases as follows:

1619–20	170 qrs.	1621–22	none
1620–21	none	1622–23	180 qrs.

MS., Mercers' Hall, *Second Wardens Accounts*, vol. 1617–1629.

[5] The companies were ordered not to depend upon the "Chaundlors Bakers or anie others to make the same provision." *Journals of the Common Council*, xxxi, fol. 324b (17 July, 1621).

John Clifton, baker, presented to the Cutlers' Company a bill "for the deliverie of wheate," and money was "lent him by Mr. Reynolds Greene for provision of wheate." MS., Cutlers' Hall, *Cutlers Company Accounts*, vol. 1586–1621, fols. 400, 414 (1612–13).

Five shillings were paid "to a baker for his paines in buying" wheat for the Skinners' Company. MS., Skinners' Hall, *Receipts and Payments*, vol. 1617–46 (1620–21).

[6] "Rec'd of Marshall the baker for rent of the warehouse at the bridgehouse for ½ yeare — 2.0.0." MS., Ironmongers' Hall, *Company's Register*, vol. 1616–34 (year 1621–22).

[7] "Paid unto the Wardes of Cheape Cripplegate without and within when there was no corne and should have bin xlviii li. yet cleared with xii li. xii s." (1630 & 1631). MS., Mercers' Hall, *Second Wardens Accounts*, vol. 1630–39.

"To the two wards of Breadstreete and Broadstreete in reddy money when we had noe corne xxxviii li. viii s." (1630–31). MS., Skinners' Hall, *Receipts and Payments*, vol. 1617–47.

From 1636 on, the former slackness and decay are evidenced in the companies' records, though the Lord Mayor still maintained his supervision, and sought to keep up the old system.[1] The feeling of the companies is seen in the contract made by the fishmongers with a baker who was to supply "the Companies proporcion of corne for three yeares," 1636–38, in return for the lump sum of £600.[2]

The end of the municipal provision of corn has been associated with the fire of London; but this is entirely erroneous, for the period of decline following the revival of 1630–35 was practically complete by 1654,[3] and the fire, though it destroyed much, spared the Bridgehouse, which for some years afterwards was occasionally used for storing corn.[4]

But the granary idea in the metropolis had taken a firm root and died slowly. Complaints against allotments were made by companies,[5] and precepts were issued to continue the provision

[1] Cf. MS., Stationers' Hall, *Liber A*, fols. 124 (1637–38); 134 (1641–42); 135b (1642); 136a (1642); 147a (1643); *Journals of the Common Council*, xl, fol. 79 (1643). It is of "great concernment" to London to have a sufficient corn supply. *Letter Book*, vol. I, fol. 93 (1643).

[2] MS., Fishmongers' Hall, *Wardens Accounts*, vol. 1636–58.

[3] The Bridgehouse and other granaries "being intended for granaries in time of dearth but now either lent without allowance of the said Companies or farmed out by them to Bakers Corne Brokers or men of other employments." *Journals of the Common Council*, xli, fol. 138 (20 Oct., 1654).

The year 1654 was the fifth and last after 1636 that the Mercers provided corn. MS., Mercers' Hall, *Second Wardens Accounts*, *passim*.

In 1659, when ordered by the Lord Mayor to supply the markets, the Haberdashers found themselves without corn and their granary rented to a corn merchant. MS., Haberdashers' Hall, *Court Assistant*, i, fol. 64a (4 Mar., 1658–59).

[4] It was entered on 22 March, 1666–67, that the Cutlers' granary at the Bridgehouse was let to Henry Whitacre for three years in return for his guarantee to furnish the market with corn whenever the Cutlers "shall be" required by the Lord Mayor so to do. *Court Minute Book*, vol. 1602–1667, fols. 440a, and 456a.

During March, 1670–71, the Fishmongers' Company received £3 10 s. "for the use of the Companyes Granarye att the Bridgehouse to lay corne in the same."

And next month, the Company received £128 5 s. from the sale "of this Compaynes Corne lyeing in the Granary att the Bridgehouse." MS., Fishmongers' Hall, *Wardens Accounts*, vol. 1658–82.

See also, *Repertory*, lxxix, fols. 240 f. (2 June, 1674); *Journals of the Common Council*, l, fol. 356 (14 Nov., 1688).

[5] The City authorities named a committee, "Before any newe Levyes of moneyes bee Laid uppon the Companyes of this Citty to take into the Consideracon the Com-

as late as the year 1688 [1]; but the books of the companies show that these orders were either little heeded or totally disregarded.[2] In 1693, the whole system was considered a thing of the past, "many years" ago abandoned.[3] A proposal for a "joynt Stock for Corne and Coles," made in 1674,[4] was four years later con-

plaints of any the Companie[s] of this Citty Concerneing inequality of their proporcon of Corne or Levying mony on them," etc., *Journals of the Common Council*, xli, fol. 249 (9 April, 1661).

The Merchant Tailors, having been allotted 1000 qrs. of corn as their share to be stored up, petitioned the City to be excused. The Court of Aldermen decided that they should store up only so much corn as they may desire. *Repertory*, xxxi, fol. 12 (11 Nov., 1675).

[1] In 1658–59 the Haberdashers' Company was "informed that the Lord Maior & Court of Aldermen had ordered the severall Companys of the City to bring in to the Markets certain quantities of Corne to be sold for the benefit of the poore of this City and for the bringing down of the present price of Corne in the Markets." MS., Haberdashers' Hall, *Court Assistant*, ii, fol. 64a (4 March).

On 25 Feb., 1661–62, about 56 companies were ordered to supply 101½ qrs. of meal each week for ten weeks to the proper authorities for sale to the poor at 6 s. 8 d. per bushel. *Repertory*, lxviii, fol. 61.

It was recorded on 6 March, 1664–65, that information had come to the Common Council "that the Companyes of this City are not stored & provided with graine for the Service of this City according to former presidents & provisions of 10,000 Quarters of Corne." *Journals of the Common Council*, xlvi, fol. 25.

It was said that the Saddlers had not stored up their share of corn. They are to do this "to prevent the mischeifes that may happen to this City through the neglect thereof." They are likewise to take a better and larger granary, and to rent that in the Bridgehouse. *Repertory*, lxxxi, fols. 140 and 165 (1675–76).

The companies in 1688 were ordered to "have their stores of Corne in readinesse, to be made use of upon any occasion or necessity that may happen in this time of ha[z]ard." *Journals of the Common Council*, l, fol. 356 (14 Nov.).

The Haberdashers on receiving an order to provide their quota of 770 qrs. of wheat "in this time of Exigency and danger," ordered a committee to "looke into the said matter of provision of Corne how the same was wont to be provided formerly and farther how the same was wont to be paid for." *Court Assistant*, iii, fol. 323 (1 Dec., 1688).

[2] See the lists of corn provided yearly by the Mercers and Grocers in Appendix I.

[3] The Committee for Trade and Plantations, on 8 Feb., 1693–94, reported: "Since many years of Plenty, the Severall Companies have neglected to follow the said Method [of storing up corn] and yet continue to receive the Money upon making free, calling upon the Livery, Fines, &c and convert it to other uses lesse necessary and comendable." *Council Register*, Wm. III, iii, fol. 333.

[4] A committee recommended, 2 June, 1674, (*a*) the creation of a "Joynt stock," contributed to by citizens and companies, for the purchase of a supply of corn with which to provide the markets daily; (*b*) the use of the Bridgehouse, Bridewell, etc.,

sidered as an immediate possibility by the Court of Aldermen,[1] who thereby recognized the fact that the old system was dead,[2] though, as seen above, its revival was unsuccessfully attempted a decade later.

5. The Significance of Municipal Corn Regulation and Provision

A study of the town regulations of the corn trade and of the provision of corn has suggested four stages of development.

The first, lasting till the twelfth century, was the period of the agricultural market town, or small community with a market, though still largely agrarian. Such a town did not need to regulate its corn trade, since corn supply was not a vital problem.

The second stage, in England covering in point of time about four hundred years, until the sixteenth century, may be designated as the period of the small commercial and industrial town. The latter had ceased to be agricultural and became preponderatingly commercial and industrial. This stage was characterized by municipal regulations in favor of the consumer within the town. The greater number of towns, indeed, remained in this stage till the end.

The difficulty of securing a corn supply experienced by the slowly growing town of the late middle ages seems to have arisen not only from its growth in population and its divorce from agriculture, but from the decline of the manorial marketing system. The gradual disappearance of this system deprived the town of the corn formerly supplied by an organization which could tap several local areas, and compelled the town to rely

as places of storage; (*c*) the restoration of Bishopsgate, Leadenhall, Newgate, and Southwark as meal markets; and (*d*) the weekly regulation of prices by the Court of Aldermen. *Repertory*, lxxix, fols. 240 f.

[1] It was ordered on 16 Dec., 1678, that "The Book . . . for a Subscription to a joynt Stock for Corne and Coles be again brought in and considered . . . after Christmas . . . that designe may speedly be prosecuted & put in Execution." *Ibid.*, lxxxiv, fol. 30.

[2] The corn accounts of the Merchant Tailors begin in 1578–79 and continue until at least 1681–82, which was the last year examined. These accounts show no corn bought, and only one lot sold, after 1663–64.

upon the local territorial marketing organization of the tenants of the immediate neighborhood. Probably the hardship in the latter development lay not so much in the inability of the rural tenants to supply the town,[1] as in the temporary disorganization involved in the change.

Looking at the course of development in various Continental towns in this second stage, we may see certain phases of municipal growth carried to their logical conclusion more completely than in England. The *Strassenzwang*, or compulsory carriage of corn to a certain municipal center for sale, was found on the Continent, but not in England. Furthermore, by the law of the staple, certain towns had the right to compel all dealers to sell the corn or other goods which they brought within the walls. This gave rise to contests of great interest such as those between Magdeburg and Hamburg, Stettin and Damm and other towns, and Ghent and Ypres. But neither the right nor the contest had any exact parallel in England. Nor was the *Niederlagsrecht*, whereby a town had the right to prevent any other town situated on the same river or in the same district from warehousing corn, an English custom. But both English and Continental towns imposed and collected local tolls on corn brought within the town for sale. The market regulations, most of which have been mentioned above,[2] formed the great bulk of municipal trade legislation, and were common to England and the Continent. Indeed, so parallel do they run, that one suspects there was considerable copying by one town of the regulations of another.

The third stage was that of the growing central town, which was fast climbing into a place of prominence among its neighbors. This stage may be generally placed within the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, in the case of London more specifically from about 1500 to about 1660. Although the town had been a consuming center in the earlier period, the increase in consumption now became a significant feature and led to the municipal provision of corn.

[1] Above, p. 73.

[2] Above, pp. 65–73. See also ch. 6.

In one of the London records it is clearly stated that the purpose of the storage of corn which took place at this stage was "to kepe downe the prices," [1] nothing being said about providing a *sufficient* (as well as cheap) supply for the city's use. In other words, the aim was to use this specially provided supply to undersell the corn dealer, or at any rate to keep prices at such levels as the poor were able or willing to pay. This was specifically declared to be 2 d. or 4 d. per bushel "under the price in the markett." [2] And further it is to be noted that this grain was generally ground into flour before being sold to the poor, and on occasion of great dearth was even baked into bread for sale.[3]

One of the objects of the city authorities was to lay up corn when prices were low [4] and to sell to the poor when high. Thus no loss of money was contemplated, though in practice such a loss did occur. The idea was further to equalize as far as possible the price of grain throughout the year, and from year to year. The effect of such a policy upon the corn dealer, if the result was as planned, would of course have been disastrous. And if the dealer had been eliminated, the difficulties of the city would only have been increased. Since over another century had to pass before the value of the middleman was recognized, we cannot expect that the boomerang nature of these measures was evident to their framers.

We might expect, *prima facie*, that the city magistracy, making such extraordinary efforts to keep down prices, would have fixed a maximum price for corn — by way of imitation of the occasional action of the national authorities.[5] This, indeed, was done, but we are probably not to regard it as the rule but the

[1] MS., Guildhall, London, *Corn Book* (*temp.* Eliz.).

[2] *Letter Book*, vol. Y, fols. 272–273.

[3] The town authorities ordered each company "to cause the quantity of — quarters of wheate, parcell of your owne store and provision to be ground into meale and baked into White and Wheaten bread . . . and to sell the same in Cheapeside or leadenhall or elsewhere." *Journals of the Common Council*, xxvii, fol. 261 (1608).

[4] For example, it was ordered in 1565 that "the sayd Lord Mayor and Alderman shall make yerly the like provision of Rye and Barlye [as of wheat] at such tyme of the yere as the same shall be most plentyful and best chepe." *Repertory*, xv, fol. 472 (25 Sept.).

[5] See below, pp. 132–133.

exception.[1] Had the maximum price at which corn might be sold in the metropolis been officially fixed, corn would not have flowed in fast enough. Not only was no maximum price determined at certain crises during the early days of this third period in England, but the minimum price to be paid to corn dealers was set sufficiently high to attract corn.[2]

The origin of the municipal storage system has been variously explained. It has been stated that the town, in this case Norwich, was just assisting the church in its charitable work.[3] The lack of private capital necessary to provide sufficient corn in times of dearth has been assigned as a cause.[4] Against this may be urged the fact that practically all of the corn was at all times really brought in by private enterprise and merely stored up by the town authorities. Another explanation, put forth by the same writer, is that municipal action would prevent private merchants from monopolizing supply.[5] Of course this negatives the preceding reason, for merchants could not be both too poor to provide sufficient corn and rich enough to monopolize supply.

Low prices and a sufficient store were, as indicated above, the simple objects aimed at by the London authorities, but chiefly supply. This question of supply arose from the increase in

[1] The rule that the maximum price of corn was not regularly set by local authorities has two exceptions, typified by the following instances:

(*a*) The maximum price of *meal*, the commodity of trade of mealmen, was fixed in London as, for example, in 1522 (*Repertory*, vi, fol. 3b), in 1571 (*Letter Book*, vol. X, fol. 66b), and in 1572–73 (*ibid.*, fol. 111).

(*b*) Even *unground corn* was in the non-metropolitan York allotted a maximum price in a year of dearth (1565). This applied, however, only to the corn of licensed dealers and extended only to one-fourth of their supply. *The History of Antiquities of . . . York*, i, p. 300.

In these cases the aim was not so much to keep prices down as to prevent corn middlemen from gaining undue profits. Experience was to teach the authorities, however, that restrictions upon the middleman, like those upon the producer, tended to diminish the supply. For example in 1630 the privy council advised the Lord Mayor to relax the price of meal for the time being, "since the Marketts are not sufficiently supplyed." MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Car. I, vi, fol. 258.

[2] Above, pp. 77–78.

[3] Hudson and Lingey, *Select Records of the City of Norwich*, i, p. xcvii (1520).

[4] Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, pt. 2, p. 38; cf. Meredith, *Economic History of England*, p. 130.

[5] Ashley, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

population and the resulting necessity of drawing upon a wider corn area. The demand tended to outrun the organized supply. Disorganization was the result. Indeed, market disorganization is one of the chief characteristics of the early growth of such metropolitan centers.

Such towns as Hamburg, Stettin, and Danzig, situated in districts of great corn production and upon navigable rivers tapping areas of corn supply, did not long continue in this third stage. Nevertheless, they retained the regulations of the second period adding those characteristic of the third.

London, on the other hand, remained, as will appear below, much longer in this stage of development for definitely assignable causes. Other towns such as Nürnberg, Augsburg, and Paris, industrial in character and, therefore, great consuming centers, and those towns in which considerable beer and spirits were manufactured, also remained within this stage when situated in areas of no notable surplus of corn.

During the fourth stage these central towns became exporting centers. Although those that reached this condition were commercial and, perhaps, industrial, it was an indispensable condition that they be situated in corn-producing areas. Such towns aimed at allowing exportation whenever it seemed safe. The regulations of the second period were retained, as well as the special provision of the third. But the export of corn was now given special encouragement, at all such times as it seemed to threaten no scarcity.

The granaries of the third period were superseded by those of private dealers who sought primarily their own profit, and whose activities were free from municipal supervision.

London, in this respect unique among English towns as far as the period covered by this work is concerned, entered this stage about 1660, as will appear below;[1] Hamburg and Stettin, very much earlier. In both of the latter towns, the policies of the second, third, and fourth stages are found side by side. The consumer was given a first chance in the purchase of his supply; the storage of corn was provided for; and exportation took place

[1] pp. 112–114, 255.

freely, from Stettin on the payment of a special tax, and from Hamburg to the extent of fifty per cent (in Ghent seventy-five per cent) of the corn supply.[1] The town, which had formerly been a drain upon the nearby district, and most of all in times of dearth, became in this period the storehouse upon which in an emergency the vicinity could draw. This is exemplified by both Hamburg and London in the seventeenth century.

Such generalizations seem to explain a mass of facts otherwise isolated and meaningless. But the stages here suggested are not applicable to all towns; only to the most typical.

The process of change was from the husbanding of a corn supply to the export of a large surplus; and from ever-present suspicion of the corn middleman to a recognition of the general community of interests of the dealer and the public. This was a part of the development from localism to metropolitanism, described in succeeding chapters.

[1] W. Naudé, *Deutsche städtische Getreidehandelspolitik*, p. 109.

CHAPTER IV

THE METROPOLITAN MARKET IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

1. The Conception of a Metropolitan Market

In our analysis of municipal activities in the corn trade, four stages were distinguished. These were the agricultural market town, the small commercial and industrial town, the central town, and the exporting central town. The last two present but different aspects of what we may call the metropolitan stage, in which the trade of a metropolitan center dominated a large area called the metropolitan market.

The metropolitan market may be described as a large district having one center in which is focused a considerable trade. Trade between outlying ports of course may take place, but it is that between the metropolitan town and the rest of the area that dominates all. This is chiefly the exchange of the raw products of the country for the manufactured or imported goods of the town. The prices of all goods sent to the metropolitan center are "made" there, or, in other words, prices diminish as the distance from the center is increased.

The conception of a metropolitan market area has not had a very long history. Johann Heinrich von Thünen (1783–1850) was the first investigator whose contribution to the subject is of importance. Although this practical farmer of Mecklenburg had by 1820 completed the first part of his famous work *Der isolirte Staat*, he delayed publishing it till 1828.[1] To the historian of economic theory his work has a many-sided interest: his methods of isolating phenomena and of reducing to mathematical formulae the mass of facts inductively obtained; his theories of

[1] *Der isolirte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirthschaft und Nationalökonomie, oder Untersuchungen über den Einfluss, den die Getreidepreise, der Reichthum des Bodens und die Abgaben auf den Ackerbau ausüben*, pt. i (Rostock, 2d ed., 1842).

wages, interest, and rent; and the theory of the variation of agricultural production with respect to the needs of the market.[1] Only the first and the third concern us here.

He began with the following hypothesis: "Let us imagine a very large town situated in the midst of a fertile plain with neither navigable river nor canal. Let this plain consist of soil which is uniform in quality and everywhere suitable for agriculture. Let this plain, in short, extend a great distance from the town, and be surrounded by an uncultivated waste separating the state entirely from the rest of the world.

"Let it contain no other town than this large one, which must supply the countryside with all manufactured products, while the town itself can be furnished from the surrounding country." [2]

This hypothetical district cannot be made to fit exactly into any historical category; but it is interesting to compare it with our local market area. Von Thünen assumed the isolation for convenience of argument and analysis; he did not find it a reality. Indeed, in the latter part of the book he brings the situation down to existing conditions: "There is no single large town that is not situated on a river, or canal"; likewise, "Each state of any size having a large central town has also a great number of smaller towns scattered over its territory." [3] After this follows a description of what bears some resemblance to a metropolitan market:

"The small towns scattered over the surface of the country need to be as well provisioned as the capital town, and the estates situated in the neighborhood will furnish them with grain — as long as they need anything — instead of sending it to the capital town. We may call the group of estates, or the extent of territory necessary to provide the town with sufficient food, the territory of the town. This territory is lost to the capital town, since the latter obtains nothing from it, and the small town is to the capital town in respect to the supply of food, as if its territory were only a desert, without any products. Let us depict the vast

[1] See Max Büchler, *Johann Heinrich von Thünen*, Bern, 1907.
[2] *Der isolirte Staat*, pt. i, p. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, pt. i, p. 268.

plain of the isolated state as covered with a great number of these desert places, then the food of the capital town can be secured only at much greater distances, and the circles must be extended to meet the demand. But with this great extension of the distance, the cost is increased of the transportation of the grain sent to the town by the farthest section of the plain devoted to agriculture, and such increase of the cost of transportation results, as we have seen, in an increase in the price of grain within the capital town.

"As for the small towns, the price of grain there is determined by laws quite different from what they would be if they, along with their territory, were completely isolated from the rest of the world. Indeed, the estates situated on this territory have a choice of sending their grain either to the small town or to the capital town. If then, the small town also wants grain, it must persuade the producer to send the grain to it instead, and must pay the market price of the capital town, less the cost of transportation, that is, the value of the grain upon the estate. Thus the price of the grain in the small towns is determined by the market price of the capital town; they are completely dependent upon it.

"In place of the small towns, we may suppose several states of considerable extent; and the liberty of trade being admitted, the latter can no more than the former withdraw from the all-powerful influence of the large town in the fixing of prices." [1]

Valuable as this description is, it is based upon a knowledge primarily of German conditions, confined apparently to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and displaying little or no appreciation of the historical development from the local to the metropolitan market.

Naudé, one of the many who have commented upon von Thünen's theories, made in 1889 these brief but interesting remarks: "There existed, however, in that early period of municipal grain trade policy, of which we have spoken, no influence of the great central markets. It was a question of little local market areas, to which by land rather than by water the corn

[1] *Der isolirte Staat*, pt. i, pp. 273 f.

was sent from the vicinity, and which thus came near enough to the isolated grain markets of von Thünen.

" All that was changed when the rivers were navigable, when, as a result of this, indeed, some markets arose in the grain trade which were favorably situated for the German central market.

" There is a second stage of development in the grain trade, in the case of those towns which have water connections, and which can, therefore, receive imports even from afar. This second epoch of municipal grain trade, in which we can begin to speak of a real trade in grain, does not arise chronologically at any definite time, but depends, as before noted, upon the situation of each individual town." [1]

There is in these brief paragraphs a conception of historical growth which von Thünen lacked, something, indeed, very close to our local markets and metropolitan market; but the idea remained undeveloped.

Mr. A. P. Usher, who has made a careful study of market conditions in France in the early modern period has given a turn to the whole subject hitherto lacking.[2] Using chiefly official correspondence, he has described the growth of the market area in France, and has performed the valuable service of applying the term " metropolitan," corresponding to the " Centralstadt" or " Hauptstadt " of von Thünen, to the larger market area of the time of Colbert.

Arthur Young (1741–1820) was apparently the first to consider the subject of metropolitan influence in England. He collected prices for wheat, bread, butter, cattle, and cheese throughout southern England. In connection with his butter prices he remarked: " You must certainly allow that the rise and fall of these prices, in proportion to the distance from the capital, are too regular to be the effect of soil or accident; they are probably caused by the London markets; [3] since if goodness of soil or

[1] Naudé, *Deutsche städtische Getreidehandelspolitik*, p. 14.

[2] *The History of the Grain Trade in France, 1400–1710*, Cambridge, Mass., 1913.

[3] Compare von Thünen:

" Under these conditions [that the central town is the sole market for grain, and that there is no navigable canal in the whole state, and all grain must be brought to the town by wagon] the price of grain in the town governs that of the whole country.

quality of grass operated so strongly, it should sink instead of raise the London prices. The difference between that city and the cheap parts of the kingdom is 3 d. per lb., which is very considerable, much more than I apprehended. The variation will appear at one view in the following little table:

London, and 20 miles round, mean price	8 d.
From 20 miles to 60	6¾ d.
From 60 miles to 110	6 d.
From 110 miles to 170	5½ d." [1]

Similar figures were found for cattle and cheese, illustrating " the influence of that capital." Not so, however, in the case of bread and wheat; but here his conclusions are not so valuable. Indeed, although Arthur Young's methods were good, his materials were scanty. The area covered was only southern England, and the number of towns represented was not large. Furthermore, the prices used were those prevailing during the few weeks when the author visited the districts, a period altogether too short to form an adequate basis of comparison. But he had, nevertheless, perceived the influence of a metropolitan price-making center.

The importance of the metropolitan market and its place in history are dealt with in subsequent chapters. The evidence of its development is presented in the following sections of this chapter.

2. Foreign Supply

The effect of the growth of London upon the importation of grain demands a consideration which has hitherto not been adequately given. For the study of England's dependence on foreign corn up to 1303 there are the accounts of town tolls, the letters patent and close, and a few statements from the chronicles. From 1303 to 1510 the *Customs Accounts* are of value, but on

In the country, however, the value of corn is not so high as the market price in the town; for before this price can be paid the corn must be brought to the town, and the value of the corn in the country is equal to the value in the town, less the cost of transportation." *Der isolirte Staat*, pt. i, p. 5.

[1] *A Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, p. 326.

In 1753 in the pamphlet entitled " Reflections on the Expediency of Opening the Trade to Turkey " (p. 4), it is stated " That the Port of London is the dearest in the Kingdom, both for Exporting and Importing of Goods."

the whole disappointing. From 1303 on, except for a few years of the reign of Edward II, the petty customs were due on imported corn. But corn imported by denizens became liable to import duty only when poundage was due, and poundage was imposed for the first time in 1347 and was irregular for about a century. During the fifteenth century corn was exempt from import dues. From 1510, however, it was subject to an import tax and the evidence for the whole Tudor and Stuart periods is voluminous in both the *Customs Accounts* and the *Port Books*. The *Privy Council Register* and *London Repertories* and *Journals* are likewise of value as are the several tracts on trade beginning in the late fifteenth century.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries corn was imported, it seems, only on a failure of the domestic crops. England was apparently importing Irish corn at the end of the eleventh century.[1] It was probably German corn that was brought into London to meet the dearth of 1258.[2] Licenses to import grain were given in the thirteenth century to English merchants and to the merchants of other lands.[3] Such instances might easily be

[1] An English chronicler speaking of Chester says: "Regio farris et maxime tritici, ut pleraque Aquilonalium, jejuna et inops, pecorum et piscium ferax. Incolae lac et butirum delitias habent; qui ditiores sunt carnibus vivunt, panem ordeitium et siligineum pro magno amplectuntur. Transmittitur a Cestra Hiberniam revehunturque civitati necessaria, ut quod minus natura soli habet labor negotiantium apportet. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Series), p. 308.

[2] Eodem tempore [March, 1257–58], cum fames ingrueret inaudita, ita ut multi in semetipsis contabescentes morerentur, et summa frumenti Londoniis novem vel amplius [solidis] venderetur, applicuerunt ibidem de partibus transmarinis, procurante rege Alemanniae Ricardo, circiter quinquaginta naves magnae, onustae frumento, ordeo, sil[gi]ne, et pane. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 673.

[3] *e. g.*, *Rotuli Normanniae*, pp. 84–86 (1203); *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, ii, p. 204b (1226).

Note in particular the following: Rex dilecto et fideli suo M. filio Geroldi, justiciario suo Hybernie, salutem. Vestra non ignorare debet discretio quod dignum est, et id volumus, quod terra nostra Anglie et terra nostra Hibernie communes sint adinvicem et quod homines nostri Anglie et Hibernie hinc inde negotiari possint ad commodum et emendationem terrarum predictarum. Et ideo nobis mandamus quod homines de terra Hibernica volentes blada ducere venalia in terram nostram Anglie, vel homines de Bristollo vel alios de Anglia volentes emere blada in Hibernia ducenda in Angliam, in nullo impediatis vel impediri permittatis quin

multiplied, but there is no indication that this trade was aught but exceptional and sporadic.

As we read the *Statute Book* and the *Rolls of Parliament*, we get the impression that by the fifteenth century corn had become an important item of the import trade. In 1449 the Commons petitioned against the " daily " import of corn which depleted the country of the precious metals.[1] And in 1463 it was enacted that no corn should be imported unless prices were low.[2] Fortescue, it is also to be noted, enumerates corn and meal as articles of importation.[3] The obvious inference is that corn was an import of no small importance.

It might seem that, since the customs accounts of the period (1401 to 1510) record the importations by aliens only and not by denizens, there is no way of testing the above inference; but as the importation of corn was almost wholly in the hands of aliens till the middle of the sixteenth century, the statistics of alien imports are really conclusive. For year after year in weary succession these customs ledgers record no importations at all, or only occasionally and in small amounts.[4] We may argue, therefore, despite the opinions of fifteenth century alarmists, that throughout the middle ages England found foreign corn necessary only in the most exceptional circumstances, and would consequently develop no organization in the import corn trade.

In the Tudor period, there occurred a change of the greatest importance. Although the figures for the corn imports of both aliens and denizens show little or no change in the outports, they show a marked development in the case of London. When in 1594 the Lord Mayor wrote that London was accustomed to be relieved in time of dearth by corn " only from Foreign Parts," [5] he recorded an important half-truth. London had broken the continuity of its early independence of foreign corn. This is made clear in the following table.

libere et sine impedimento id facere possint. *Calendar of Close Rolls,* H. III, iii, p. 162 (25 Jan., 1234–35).

[1] *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* v, p. 155. [2] 3 Ed. IV, c. 2.

[3] Fortescue, *Works*, i, p. 553.

[4] See Statistical Appendix B.

[5] Stow, *Survey of London* (ed. Strype, 1720), ii, p. 368.

LONDON CORN IMPORTS

Year[1]	Aliens Qrs.	Denizens Qrs.	Al. and Den. Qrs.	Year	Aliens Qrs.	Denizens Qrs.	Al. and Den. Qrs.
1502–03	3,200	.....	.....	1633–34	.....	29,447	.....
1512–13	18,271	.....	.....	1634–35	10,815	.....	.....
1548–49	0	.....	.....	1635–36	12,171	.....	.....
1549–50	14,488	.....	.....	1637–38	98,501	56,795	.....
1550–51	14,146	.....	.....	1639–40	504	2,906	.....
1552–53	0	.....	.....	1662–63	.....	.....	9,379
1553–54	.....	0	.....	1668–69	.....	.....	4,434
1567–68	.....	0	.....	1671–72	10	0	.....
1571–72	0	.....	.....	1675–76	.....	0	.....
1587–88	.....	0	.....	1676–77	485	0	.....
1589–90	0	.....	.....	1678–79	777	.....	.....
1608–09	.....	.....	31,597	1680–81	24,696	0	.....
1625–26	.....	21,794	.....	1681–82	.....	3,387	.....
1626–27	2	.....	.....	1697–97[2]	.....	.....	0½
1630–31	13,649	.....	.....				

This statistical evidence is substantiated by numerous records in the *Privy Council Register* and the *London Repertories* and *Journals*. The growth of London had created a large demand which in turn gave rise to an organized import trade, as will be seen in a study of the corn middleman. All this is the more interesting when it is realized that there was a great increase in general corn exportation in the sixteenth century.

As an example of the outports during the period 1600–60, Yarmouth may be taken. For no year during the Tudor period were more than 250 quarters of corn imported, and rarely was any foreign grain brought in at all. The following table apparently indicates a new development.

YARMOUTH IMPORTS

Year	Qrs.	Year	Qrs.
1611–12	5,234	1621–22	7,566
1618–19	0	1648	20,728
1619–20	0		

An examination of the years of great importation shows that prices were rising fast, while during the years of no importation prices were low. In other words, corn was imported only at times of great dearth.

[1] Only full years used. In case of the other years the records were incomplete, missing, or overlooked.

[2] 25 March — Mich.

In the years following, 1660–89, the outports ceased to import corn even occasionally, and the organized import trade supplying London with foreign corn ceased to exist. This remarkable change coincided with the period of the final decline of London's municipal corn provision. For over a century foreign corn importations had played an important part in the growth and prosperity of London. It was to be more than a century before the metropolis again imported corn to any extent, and this time all England was to do likewise.

England received her foreign corn from many sources. The greatest reliance was placed in the Baltic regions, and the customs accounts show that, till late in the seventeenth century, German and Baltic corn, in considerable quantities, was imported into England.[1] In the sixteenth century and still more in the early seventeenth, the Dutch, who had hitherto imported but little, became keen rivals of the Hanseatic merchants,[2] though in this case there was little change in the general source of supply, for the Dutch themselves received most of their corn from the Baltic. In the seventeenth century, North Africa became a source from which England secured considerable corn.[3] Scot-

[1] During the year 1549–50, Hanseatic merchants imported 7611 qrs. out of a total of about 14,488 imported by aliens. *K. R. Customs*, 85/9.

On 13 June, 1630, the Privy Council recorded that it is well known "that those ports beyond the seas from which we were wonte to be supplied with Corne, are so wasted and troubled by warrs [Thirty Years' War] and otherwise as that we cannot reasonably expect that supply from thence as formerly." MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Car. I, vi, fol. 25.

In the year 1662–63, Germany sent to London 8289 qrs. as against 1090 from Scotland, the only other country from which imports were recorded. MS., Br. M., Add., 36785.

In 1668–69, the imports into London were from the following regions (*ibid.*):

Germany	1,642 qrs. + 1,800 lbs. of French barley
Eastland	2,392 "
Holland	296 "
Scotland	100 "

[2] See below, pp. 194–195.

[3] The following table shows approximately the importations of London for the year 1680–81.

Tunis	7,449 qrs.	Bremen	950 qrs.
Amsterdam	5,050 "	Rotterdam	670 "
Danzig	2,560 "	"Holland"	615 "
Hamburg	1,402 "	Scotland	611 "

MS., R. O., *K. R. Port Books* (unclassified).

land, Ireland, and France were, for those parts of England nearest to them, occasional areas of supply, and, indeed, at times of some importance,[1] but it is impossible to say whether they sent more corn to England than England sent to them. From Spain and Portugal no great amount of importation seems to have taken place during our period.

3. The Metropolitan Market and the Domestic Trade

A comparison of the consumption of corn in London with the foreign importation shows clearly that by far the larger part of London's supply was domestic. To that area on which the metropolis drew for its corn provision the name "metropolitan" has been applied.

In the middle ages, as has been seen, London was but first among peers.[2] Before 1500, London, like Bristol and Southampton, received its grain from the district immediately adjacent, though of course there were occasions during the middle ages when London drew upon a wide area.[3] A study of Tudor and Stuart market conditions, however, shows a very different situation. The change is expressed somewhat vaguely in the minutes of the Court of Aldermen in 1573, where it was recorded that

[1] For example, France in 1633–34. During this year London imported from the following places (account imperfect, many entries cannot now be classified at all):

Bordeaux	7,333 qrs.	Hamburg	3,220 qrs.
Rochelle	1,594 "	Danzig	1,600 "
Dunkirk	470 "	"Sherant"	1,232 "
St. Omer	226 "	Amsterdam	995 "
St. Valery	192 "	Newport	500 "
St. Malo	150 "	Rotterdam	510 "
Caen	120 "		

[2] Of the quindecima of 5–7 John, London paid £836, 12 s. 10 d., while Southampton paid £712 3 s. 7½ d. *Pipe Roll*, L. T. R., no. 50 (memb. 16b).

[3] For example in Feb., 1369–70, permission was given to five persons to transport corn (1950 qrs. in all) from Lincolnshire and Norfolk to London. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Ed. III, xiv, pp. 362–363. In 1393–94 it was enacted that malt, "brought to the City of London" from the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Northampton, Bedford, and Hertford, should be clean and sold at eight bushels to the quarter. 17 R. II, c. 4. *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, p. 88. Perhaps this has reference to the manorial marketing described above (pp. 17–24), and at this very time approaching its decline.

it was necessary for London to make provision "in Countries [counties] lying nere the sea side for the better transportacion to the City because the contrey about them doth not bringe corne to the markett there in such plentie as they were wonte and as will suffice the Citie." [1]

In addition to such general statements as that above, we find in metropolitan and national archives frequent mention of individual corn purchases in the provinces, and in the London *Corn Book*, the *Wheat Books* of the City bakers, and the *Certificate Books* of both London and the outports from 1549 onward we also have an ample basis for statistical evidence.

In the Bridgehouse *Corn Book*, 1568–73, are found recorded one hundred and twenty-one shipments [2] to London from the following places: —

Kent	67	Suffolk	4
Henley	41	Essex	3
Sussex	5	York	1

From Michaelmas, 1573, to 24 March, 1574, the shipments to forty-eight London ale brewers were: [3]

Cambridgeshire	15	Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire	2
Bedfordshire	13	Norfolk	1
Hertfordshire	10		
Berkshire	7		

[1] MS., Guildhall, *Repertory*, xviii, fol. 75b. The following are indications of the widening market area. A royal proclamation was issued "to promote free export of corn from the Midlands and neighbouring counties to London." *Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns*, i, § 80 (1521–22).

A London committee was "to take order for the provision of corne to be made for this Cytie in the countyes of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolke, Lincolne & Yorke." *Letter Book*, vol. X, fol. 254 (8 Oct., 1573).

The Lord Mayor of London wrote in 1573 or 1574 that "The Cytie hathe bene cheiflie furnished with all kinde of grayne for provision of the same from those shires lyenge westwarde from the Cytie and aptlie conveyed to the Cytie as well by lande as by the Ryver of Thames, as also from Kent, Sussex, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Essex, Suffolk, & Norfolke and not out of eny forreyne parte but upon sodeyne and meare extremytie." MS., Br. M., Faust., C II, fol. 156.

[2] Corn lots of varying amounts.

[3] Abstract from the Lord Mayor's *Corn Book* (now lost ?), MS., Br. M., Galba C II, fols. 158–161.

And from 20 October, 1573, to 24 March, 1574, London received 18,897 quarters as follows: [1]

Henley	8,050	Suffolk	544
Norfolk	2,738	Plymouth, Weymouth, Dartmouth	896
Kent	2,458	Hull	385
Sussex	1,136		
Lincolnshire	558		

PORTS SENDING CORN TO LONDON BY WAY OF THE COAST TRADE

1585–86 (Mich.–Mich.)	Shipments		1657–58 (1 Oct.–25 June)	Shipments	
Faversham	210	464	Faversham	157	513
Milton	137		Sandwich	110	
Sandwich	82		Margate	94	
Rochester	35		Milton	94	
			Rochester	58	
Ipswich	67	140	Maldon	76	198
Maldon	53		Leigh (Essex ?)	74	
Colchester	11		Colchester	24	
Woodbridge	5		Ipswich	11	
Dunwich	4		Harwich	10	
			Woodbridge	3	
Lynn	51	103	Yarmouth	9	18
Boston	19		Lynn	3	
Yarmouth	19		Wisbeach	3	
Blakeney	14		Blakeney	1	
			Boston	1	
			Wells	1	
Hull	7	10	Hull	9	13
Grimsby	2		Aldboro	1	
Newcastle	1		Hartlepool	1	
			Stockton	1	
			Whitby	1	
			Berwick		4
Chichester	3	14	Dover	15	27
Dover	3		Rye	7	
Hythe	3		Newhaven	3	
Newhaven	3		Hastings	1	
Meeching	2		Pevensey	1	
Bristol		1	Exmouth		1
Unidentified		2	Leith	8	9
			Dundee	1	
			Others		3
Total		734	Total		786

[1] MS., Br. M., Galba C II, fols. 152 f.

From 1582 to 1631, the London bakers recorded in their *Wheat Books* one hundred and thirty-two shipments of corn, forty-seven from abroad, and eighty-five from the provinces as follows:

Norfolk	41	Lower Thames	2
Kent	27	Suffolk	2
East Essex	4	Sussex	1
Yorkshire	4	South West	1
Upper Thames	3		

Some statistics of corn movements may here be given as typical.[1] The first is a table (see preceding page) indicating at two different periods, the places along the coast that sent corn to London. It is to be noted this table does not indicate the extension of the supply area that was taking place, partly because the second year covers only about nine months, and partly because of local variations in corn supply so sharply reflected in the case of the Norfolk ports.

The process of extending the area of London's corn supply is shown by the following table.

TABLE OF CORN SENT BY THE COAST TRADE TO LONDON

Source of Supply	1579–80 (Shipments)	1649–50 (Shipments)	1680–81 (Shipments)
Kent	202	527	411
Essex	17	94	65
Suffolk	10	49	70
Yarmouth	1	49	27
Lynn	6	28	69
Boston	11	9	11
Hull	7	60	167
Newcastle	0	2	92
Sussex	8	32	49
Southampton	1	34	58
Devonshire and Cornwall	0	102	13
Bristol	0	3	0
S. Wales	0	0	58
N. W. England	0	0	20
Unplaced	0	0	2
Total number of shipments	263	989	1,112
Total number of quarters	18,090	84,607	191,650

This table is based upon figures from typical, if not normal, years. The first year shows the rather considerable amount of

[1] Further data of this subject will be found in Appendix D.

corn demanded by London for its own consumption. During the second year corn was scarce, prices high, and the draw of the metropolis hard. The third saw a tremendous flow to London, partly for export and partly for consumption.

Another test of the development of the domestic supply area has been made by examining the customs records of the sundry outports. One of the most typical is presented here, based upon the statistics of corn sent out of Lynn for use in other parts of England.

CORN SHIPPED COASTWISE FROM LYNN, 1549–1688
(Full years except in cases noted)

Year	Total Number of Shipments	Number of Shipments to London	Total Amount of Corn in Qrs.	Amount Sent to London in Qrs.	Percentage Shipped to London
1549–50 [1]	187	9	39,991	1,653	4.1
1551–52	166	13	24,122	1,740	7.2
1557–58	122	1	25,715	160	0.6
1558–59	75	20	11,629	1,450	12.5
1561–62	272	23	35,118	2,861	8.1
1563–64	183	11	27,440	1,485	5.4
1569–70 [2]	102	12	15,147	976	4.4
1576–77	172	64	26,211	12,771	48.7
1584–85	72	14	9,445	1,682	17.8
1593–94	116	13	20,563	2,221	10.8
1596–97	146	47	21,350	10,147	47.5
1600–01	66	16	8,098	2,322	28.7
1620–21	64	44	11,260	9,373	83.2
1631–32	130	24	8,587	2,538	29.5
1633–34	141	39	10,586	5,140	48.5
1663–64	291	41	19,681	4,995	25.4
1671–72	355	33	37,304	6,624	17.8
1681–82	207	30	17,376	5,470	30.9
1684–85 [3]	108	28	12,496	8,217	65.7
1685–86	124	95	28,379	27,140	95.6
1688–89	296	66	47,218	23,391	49.5
1549–69	158.1	12.7	25,594.3	1,474.9	5.9
1576–1633	113.4	32.6	14,512.5	5,774.3	39.8
1663–89	230.1	48.8	23,742.1	11,656.0	49.1

The great number of shipments here recorded, in all 3395, spread over a long period, reduces the chance of error to a minimum, so that we may accept it as beyond dispute that, while at the middle

[1] Mich. to 14 June.
[2] Mich. to Easter.
[3] Christmas to Midsummer.

of the sixteenth century Lynn sent to London only about six per cent of its total coastwise shipments of corn, by 1600 it sent nearly forty per cent and during the second half of the seventeenth century about one-half.

For the trade in corn down the Lea no statistics have been found. But it is clear that London by 1565 had begun to look to the counties to the north, especially Cambridge, as an important source of corn supply whether the route was through Lynn and then by sea, or over-land and down the Lea.[1] This is particularly interesting when we remember that it is a return, in a magnified form, to the earlier conditions of the middle ages, when London was in part supplied with corn from the north through the manorial marketing organization.

The importance of the Upper Thames area as a producing district for London is seen in the tables above, and will be further apparent in the study of price levels.

The conclusion may be briefly stated. When the accounts open in the middle of the sixteenth century and in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, we see that London no longer depended solely upon the district immediately surrounding it, but drew on the coast counties on the south and on the east as far north as Hull, and upon the eastern and southern midlands. The later accounts show an extension of the area supplying the growing metropolis and a larger and more continuous flow.

[1] In 1565 the University of Cambridge wanted the transportation of corn from Cambridge to Lynn stopped. The Privy Council replied to this request as follows: We "cannot find but that shire of Cambridge and others adjoining thereto have yerely ben accustomed to utter and convey ther grayne by water that waye to Lynne and from thence have brought it hither to London to the victuelling of this City: and so it is very necessary both for the help of the City, and for encoragement to the husbandman to apply and follow ther tillage."

Nevertheless if too much is sent to Lynn, restraint may be made, "except it shall appear to you by sufficient testimony in writing . . . that the same is provided and fraighted indede for provision of the City of London, or for some other Contry, without any suspicion of fraude, to be carryed out of the realme." MS., R. O., *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, xxxvi, no. 36 (25 June). Cf. also *ibid.*, lxxxviii, no. 53 (1572), and MS., Br. M., Lansd., xxxii, no. 40 (15 Oct., 1581).

4. Exportation

The earliest mention of the export of corn, in the decade 1170–80, probably bears no close relation to the rise of the export trade.[1] All that is known is that in the late twelfth century corn was exported from districts such as Norfolk, Dorset, and Somerset, where a corn surplus, combined with shipping facilities, made it practicable, although England as a whole was not regarded as a corn exporting country.[2]

It is to be regretted that no "particulars" of customs accounts have been handed down from the reign of John, who was apparently the first to impose a national customs tax on foreign trade. It is only from the time of the imposition of the petty customs in 1303 (John's experiment having failed) that we have figures for corn export. So for the thirteenth century it is necessary to rely upon such scattered evidence as that afforded by enrolled licenses to export,[3] fines for exporting or attempting to export,[4] temporary prohibitions,[5] and the presentments of juries.[6] But enough is known to enable us to conclude that in the thirteenth, as in the twelfth century, corn was exported locally and that the trade was not unimportant.

In the fourteenth century, although corn was not specified, it was probably among the articles of export on which lastage was due at Skirbeck (Boston).[7] And aliens' exports from the three towns foremost in the exportation of corn are seen in the following table for the early years of the fourteenth century. The tables of export for all ports are to be found in the appendix.

[1] Madox, *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer*, i, p. 558 (24 H. II); *Pipe Rolls*, xxix, p. 23 (1179–80).

[2] Don royaume d'Angleterre viennent lainnes, cuir, plons, estains, charbon de Roche, fromaige. *Cartulaire de l'ancienne Estaple de Bruges*, i, p. 19 (1200). Corn was shipped to Flanders from Germany, not from England.

[3] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, i, pt. 1, p. 61 (1206); *ibid.*, p. 78b (1208); *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Ed. I, ii, p. 116 (1284).

[4] *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 84b (John).

[5] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, pp. 59a, 59b, 60b, 61a, 61b, 62b, 63a, 76a, 78b, 79b (1206–08); *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Ed. I, i, p. 366 (1277), etc.

[6] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, i, p. 225b (3 Ed. I).

[7] MS., R. O., *K. R. Customs*, 16/17a.

ALIENS' EXPORT OF CORN[1]

Year	Lynn qrs.	Hull qrs.	Sandwich qrs.
1303–04	3,950[2]	....	6,630
1304–05	5,500	....	....
1305–06	3,566	....	....
1306–07	3,436	....	....
1307–08	....	3,527	300

It is probable that from these three ports alien merchants exported 10,000 quarters of all kinds of grain during these years, and, perhaps, from all England 13,000 quarters. Whether these figures were reached in the thirteenth century is not ascertainable, but it is certain that during the following century and a half, no such exportation is indicated by the customs accounts.

The reigns of Edward II and Edward III saw a decline in the corn export trade, and even Lynn hardly sent a quarter abroad only two decades after the period of prosperous export indicated above.

The period of recovery began early in the reign of Richard II and was continuous from that time on. The course of the development of the export trade is seen in the table[3] on the following page.

In the period 1460–1585 London exported no corn at all or only in infinitesimal quantities. The next period, 1600–60, saw the beginning of a great change. The statistics show the outports exporting not more but less than in the late sixteenth century. The Yarmouth exports are typical.

Average yearly export, 1578–83 was 7,053 quarters
" " " 1618–21 " 3,914 "

[1] All figures (except for Hull and Lynn in 1306–07) are estimates made from the value of the corn, 3 s. 6 d. being taken as the official valuation per quarter. At this rate the Hull figure would be 3517 quarters, only ten quarters less than the total of the specified amounts, a fact which proves that the 3 s. 6 d. basis of estimate is reliable.

[2] 25 Feb., 1302–03, to 26 June, 1303–04.

[3] This table makes the following statement strange reading: "During a great part of the fifteenth century, and under Henry VII and Henry VIII, export was usually forbidden." Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii, pt. 1, p. 85.

Compare also Nasse (*The Agricultural Community*, p. 89) who says, speaking of

ANNUAL EXPORT OF CORN

Years[1]	Number of Years	Total Number of Ports[2]	Average Number of qrs. per Port
1460–1485	16	32	1,012
1485–1500	9	15	1,356
1500–1534	24	40	2,552
1534–1554[3]	17	35	1,777
1554–1563	6	10	549
1563–1570[4]	2	8	1,206
1570–1585[5]	12	37	5,567
	—	—	—
1485–1534[6]	33	55	2,226
1534–1585	37	90	3,148

These are both average periods.[7] For the first time, London itself began to export corn. In the year 1639–40 there were 1,177 quarters exported by aliens, and 3,922 by denizens, or in all about 5,100 quarters, an amount, however, found for no other year and probably many times the average yearly export of London for the period.

The period from 1660 to 1689, is marked by the first experiment with a bounty on corn exports, made in 1673. Prior to that encouragement the most significant figures are as follows: —

the sixteenth century, that there were " wares for which there was no foreign demand, such as wheat."

[1] The year is Michaelmas to Michaelmas, a fact which explains the apparent overlapping of periods.

[2] The ports used are seven in number: Lynn, Yarmouth, Hull, Chichester, and Ipswich, with the addition of Poole and Boston for 1460–85 and Bridgewater and Bristol from 1485 to 1589.

The " Total Number of Ports " means the number of times these ports are represented, that is, yield statistics of exports.

[3] For 1534–63 the figures are 23, 45, 1502.

[4] For 1563–85, 14, 45, 4792.

[5] For 1585–89, 3, 4, 2314.

[6] The annual exports for all England might very roughly be estimated by multiplying these averages by seven (the number of ports used in this table) and by adding to this one-tenth for all other ports. This would give the following approximate results:

1460–1485	7,800 qrs.
1485–1534	17,140 "
1534–1585	24,240 "

[7] During the second group of years, both very low (in 1619 and 1620) and very high prices (1621) prevailed.

CORN EXPORTS, 1662–1672

Year	Lynn	London	Yarmouth	Hull
1660–61	....	....	2,072	....
1662–63	....	2,506	2,881	....
1663–64	429	....	....	....
1665–66	320	....	....	400
1668–69	....	1,448	....	....
1669–70	1,048	....	....	....
1671–72	3,618	1,213 [1]	....	....

London has taken its place among the leading corn export ports, but none of them, probably, sent abroad more than 2000 quarters yearly on the average during the period 1660–72. From the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth there appears to have been a steady decline in total exportation.

From the time the bounty on corn exports went into force in 1674 or 1675 up to about 1680,[2] the increase in exports is striking. During the year 1676–77 Lynn alone exported over 23,000 quarters, Yarmouth over 24,000 and Hull nearly 7,000, while there were shipped from London about 25,000 quarters which is, indeed, about 22,000 quarters less than it exported the year previous.

Some time in 1698 or later, statistics of corn bounty debentures were compiled from official sources for the period 1675 to 1698.[3] Since the key to the schedule, the first corn bounty, has been hitherto unknown, this list of figures has remained in obscurity. But since a series of tests [4] have proved the statistics reliable, we may accept them (as amended) without knowing the compiler or the precise circumstances of compilation. Summaries are here given [5] for only two periods of two years each, periods which show the highest payment of bounties.

[1] Amount exported by aliens alone.

[2] See below, p. 145.

[3] MS., Br. M., Harl., 6838, fol. 28.

[4] By comparison with the figures in the Declared Accounts, Audit, in the Public Record Office.

[5] The schedule, as well as the more minute figures for each port taken from the Declared Accounts, are to be found in Appendix G.

TABLE OF CORN ON WHICH BOUNTY WAS PAID [1]

Period	Yearly Average for London qrs.	Yearly Average for Outports qrs.	Total Yearly Average qrs.
1675–77	85,949	217,976	303,925
1690–92	8,493	91,284	99,777

In the interval between the first and second bounties, the corn export dropped considerably, though not to its earlier level of the period before 1673. As to the immediate effect of these bounties there can be no doubt. But what is of interest here is solely the amounts, which are in striking contrast both with the much smaller exports of the preceding periods and with the subsequent growth of the corn trade. The later development is indicated in the following table.[2]

CORN EXPORTED FROM ENGLAND

Period	Total in qrs.	Average in qrs.
1697–1731	12,367,357	353,353
1732–1766	23,627,671	675,076
1767–1801	7,254,086	207,260

Regarding the destination of English grain exported abroad no such simple statement can be made as in the case of the import trade; that is, there is nothing in the export trade comparable to the single fact that the Baltic was the great granary for medieval and early modern England. No one country is preëminent as the purchaser of England's surplus corn.[3]

Various elements, some permanent and some changing, entered into the export of corn. The position of the exporting coast town and its general trade relations to a large extent determined the course and direction of the trade. Thus Lynn, probably from the twelfth to the seventeenth[4] and eighteenth centuries,

[1] Estimated on the basis of an average of 4 s. being paid on all kinds of corn.

[2] Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present*, p. 452.

[3] See below, pp. 190–193, for a general account of the destination of English grain exported abroad towards the close of the sixteenth century.

[4] The following shipments of corn were exported from Lynn:
Christmas, 1588–Mich., 1589 (*K. R. Customs*, 101/38 and 39).

Enkhuisen	35	Bergen (Neth.)	3
Amsterdam	19	Dordrecht	2
Rotterdam	10	Kirkcaldy	2
Brille	5	Middleborough	1
Flushing	4	Haarlem	1

[*Note 4 continued on the next page.*]

regularly sent corn to Norway. Likewise Bristol exported to Ireland.[1] These two approximated most clearly to the organization of a continuous export trade.

Another factor was the abundance or scarcity of harvests in the foreign countries about England. This is seen in Bristol's trade with Spain. Although that port normally shipped a considerable amount of corn to Ireland, it sent corn to Spain only during certain years, doubtless those of dearth.

In the seventeenth century new foreign markets were opened for English grain. Prominent among these were the transatlantic trade, in which the cargoes were individually small but collectively of considerable importance, and the Mediterranean trade. In the latter, corn went to Leghorn,[2] Genoa,[3]

Christmas, 1677–Christmas, 1678 (unclassified *Port Books*).

Norway	91	Malaga	2
Stockholm	8	Dunkirk	2
Rotterdam	4	North Bergen	1
Hamburg	2		

Christmas, 1684–Christmas, 1685 (unclassified *Port Books*).

Norway	52	Rotterdam	2
North Bergen	5	Stockholm	1
Bergen	2	Gottenburg	1

[1] Typical examples of Bristol's exports are as follows (from the *K. R. Accounts* and *Port Books*)

30 Aug., 1391, 10 weys of beans and peas, to Bordeaux.
8 Nov., 1391, 1 qr. beans and 3 qrs. oats, to Ireland.
27 July, 1437, 57 weys wheat, to Spain.
1 Sept., 1437, 3 " " " Ireland.
2 " " " "
Mich., 1480–Easter, 1481, 795 qrs., chiefly beans, all to Ireland.
" 1486– " 1487, 19 shipments of corn:

Ireland	14	Andalusia	1
Spain	4		

1 Jan., 1678–1 Jan., 1679, 40 small shipments:

Nevis	17	Gottenburg	1
Barbadoes	13	Monserrat	1
Virginia	4	Cadiz	1
Jamaica	3		

Christmas, 1681–Christmas, 1682, 60 small shipments:

Nevis	20	Madeira	2
Barbadoes	7	Oporto	2
Penn	7	Lisbon	1
Jamaica	6	Glasgow	1
Virginia	6	Newfoundland	1
Maryland	2	Others	3
Waterford	2		

[2] Of the nineteen shipments sent to Italy in 1677–78, fifteen went to Leghorn. See below, p. 116, n. 5.

[3] Of the shipments of 1677–78, three went to Genoa. About the year 1639 a

Venice,[1] Zante,[2] and Tangiers; [3] and in the former, to Barbadoes, Jamaica, Nevis, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New England.[4] In the case of the Mediterranean trade, it was part of the general growth of English commerce in southern Europe; in the case of the American trade, but part of the European expansion oversea. Most remarkable of all, however, is the wide area to which London sent corn after the Restoration, the London which two generations before had been an anxious seeker after corn for its own use.[5]

There were countries to which England exported much, but from which it received little or no corn, such as Norway and southern France.[6] The reverse was true especially in the case of the Eastland countries.[7] But with the greater number of countries, such as France, Scotland, the Netherlands, and Ireland, England carried on a reciprocal, though varying, exchange of corn.

petition was made to export 1500 qrs. of wheat to Venice and Genoa. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,* Car. I, xv, p. 241.

[1] Apparently only one shipment from London in 1677–78. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian,* viii, pp. 548, 555, 556, 558, 562 (1591); *Calendar of Lansdowne Manuscripts,* lxvi, §§ 90, 125; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Charles Haliday,* p. 294.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian,* ix, p. 535; *ibid.,* x, pp. 9, 90; *ibid.,* xi, p. 136.

[3] In 1677–78, twenty shipments went to Tangiers. Cf. also *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,* Car. II, vi, p. 366; *ibid.,* viii, pp. 302, 315, 325; Davenant, *Works,* v (ed. 1771), p. 424.

[4] See above, p. 115, n. 1, and the following note.

[5] The 355 shipments of corn exported from London in the year 1677–78, which have been noted in one of the unclassified customs accounts, were sent to the following places: —

Spain and Canaries	149	Ostend	8
Straits	52	France	3
America	46	Scotland	2
Scandinavia	44	Lisbon	1
Mediterranean (Italy and Tangiers)	39	Emden	1
Guinea	9	Bruges	1

[6] Bordeaux in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries received large amounts of corn from England, which it paid for in wines. See *Patent and Close Rolls;* also, Lodge, *The Estates of the Archbishop and Chapter of Saint-André of Bordeaux,* p. 149.

[7] There were occasional exports of English corn into the Baltic. In 1389 two English merchants received permission to export two thousand quarters of corn to Wismar to meet a dearth in that region. Wheat was sent to Danzig, " the like of which was never heard before " according to a chronicle of Danzig. Naudé, *Getreidehandelspolitik,* p. 215.

With these the exchange was at times contemporaneous, but in different kinds of grain, as when England sent wheat to Scotland and received oats, or it changed with the seasons, as in the trade between the Netherlands and England, and between France and England. While in the latter instance exchange was for consumption, in the former, however, it was not always so, for the Netherlands bought corn when cheap in England with the intention of exporting it again when prices rose, doubtless often sending it back for consumption at a higher rate to the very country where it was produced.[1]

5. Price Statistics and the Metropolitan Market

London is practically a blank in the price collections of Thorold Rogers up to 1691. For the middle ages I have been compelled to use as London evidence the prices recorded for the district immediately about the city, but for the Tudor and Stuart periods this is unnecessary, for I have collected over three thousand London prices of corn covering the period from Henry VIII to Charles II. For purposes of comparison wheat only has been used in finding averages.

The course of price averages, based upon these London figures, is set out in the table on the next page.

It is advantageous, when possible, to distinguish retail from wholesale prices, ground from unground wheat.[2] The ideal price information for London would be the records of all sales and purchases on the common markets and in the corn and meal shops of the city. But this is not forthcoming. The prices collected for the period 1571–1640 come from a peculiar source, the books of the city companies whose participation in the provision of corn was ostensibly to keep down prices. The companies arranged to take wheat meal three times a week to the

[1] "It has been known, that in years of scarcity they [the Dutch] bring us back our own wheat, because of the premium we give upon exportation, and which they are enabled to do, by having large granaries almost in every town, wherein they store large quantities in cheap years, to answer the demands of other countries." Davenant, *Works* (ed. 1771), v, p. 425 (1711).

[2] Rogers (*Agriculture and Prices*, iv, 277) says that "as a rule" flour and wheat bear the same price, and then gives a table for the period 1583–1702 which shows that such is not the case (v, p. 276).

WHEAT PRICES, 1531–1660

Years	Rogers' Averages for England	Average Prices (Per Quarter), from the London Archives [1]		
		Unground Wholesale [2]	Unground Retail [3]	Ground Retail [3]
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1531–40	7 8½	7 10¼	.....	.....
1541–50	10 8	13 0½	.....	.....
1551–60	15 3¾	19 7¼	.....	.....
1561–70	12 10¼	18 7¾	15 3½	.....
1571–80	17 11	20 8	22 5¾	20 1½
1581–90	23 11¼	23 6½	26 8¾	25 4
1591–1600	34 8	33 3½	32 11¾	32 6½
1601–10	32 6	29 7¾	27 11¾	33 10¼
1611–20	36 5½	29 4¼	20 3¾	33 4¾
1621–30	41 11¾	37 5	44 9¾	39 8½
1631–40	42 9¾	36 8¼	41 5¾	38 7½
1641–50	47 9½	40 8	.....	45 10
1651–60	40 9½	33 0	44 0	42 2¼
1531–70	11 7¾	14 9½	[15 3½]	.....
1571–1640	32 10¾	30 1	31 1¼	31 11¼

three or four important markets, and this was sold to the poor in small amounts. If, of course, this sale had not been limited in amount there would have been no one in the city able to sell corn but the companies. As it was, however, only the poor received corn at a low price, and only a limited aggregate amount was sold. It is the averages of such prices for ground wheat that are here recorded, and these averages, as might be expected, run below the normal market price. Other comparisons with Rogers' averages are also vitiated, since obviously wholesale prices cannot be compared with his retail prices. Nor, indeed, can the London retail prices for unground wheat, as they now stand, because, since they were largely based upon sales of corn to members of the companies themselves, they were affected by other than market conditions.

[1] See Appendix E.

[2] Bought in large amounts — partly abroad but chiefly in the provinces. Not strictly London prices.

[3] Sold in small quantities in London itself.

The evidence that the London retail price averages here utilized were below the market prices prevailing in the metropolis is twofold. In the first place there was "the price in the market," explicitly recognized as the basis for the fixing of the price of corn sold by the companies, the latter to be from 1 s. 4 d. to 2 s. 8 d. or on an average 2 s. per quarter below the former;[1] and, in the second place, an examination of the prices for individual years shows that it was in years of dearth that our London prices were relatively the lowest.

If we take an average of the prices of ground and unground wheat (so as to have a better basis of comparison with Rogers' figures), we have 31 s. 6¼ d. for the period 1571–1640. We may assume, as has been noted, that this would average 2 s. lower than the market price. This would indicate that the market price was really not less than 33 s. 6¼ d., a slightly higher level than Rogers' 32 s. 10¾ d. A glance at Rogers' sources for the period in question shows that, with insignificant exceptions, they are from the metropolitan area, a fact which will be of service later.

From 1691 to 1702 Houghton published corn prices which were the most complete, representative, and satisfactory of any up to his time.[2] These are here given.

AVERAGE PRICES OF WHEAT PER QUARTER, 1691–1702

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Home	47	0¼	All England	40	5½
London	44	4¼	South West	38	9¾
Home, South, East	42	5½	Midlands	36	10½
South	42	0¾	North	36	0¾
East	41	0			

This table shows the London average higher than the rest of England, as in the periods 1531–70 and 1571–1640. It shows

[1] "Articles and orders touchinge provision of Corne."

No. 10. "Item that my Lord Maior and Aldermen doe not at anie tyme order that anye parte of the saide provision be solde better Cheape then the same shall Coste with all Losses and Charges thereof nor above II d. or IIII d. in a Busshel under the price in the merkett of like corne then beinge, excepte it be by consent of the Companies or Comen Counsell. And that for everie suche sale the same to be made, of everye Companies wheate in equall parte." MS., Guildhall, London, *Letter Book*, vol. Y, fols. 272–273 (4 Nov., 1528).

[2] Used by Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, v, pp. 236–254; vi, pp. 101–198.

too, a differentiation between the metropolitan and the non-metropolitan areas, the first being influenced by London and high-priced, the latter almost uninfluenced and low-priced. A clear proof that London no longer depended on the supply from its immediate neighborhood, the home district, is that the average price in London itself is lower than that of the home counties. This is explained by the fact that London, at this time not importing a quarter of corn from abroad, was drawing by the coast trade upon farther and cheaper districts in England than the home district, upon the south and east.

We can now bring together in one table our summary averages for the metropolitan period.

TABLE OF METROPOLITAN PRICE AVERAGES
(Average per quarter)

Period	Metropolitan Area		London Alone		Characteristics
	s.	d.	s.	d.	
1531–70	11	$7\frac{3}{4}$ [1]	14	$9\frac{1}{2}$ [3]	Period of the beginning of a metropolitan corn organization.
1571–1640	32	$10\frac{3}{4}$ [1]	33	$6\frac{1}{4}$ [4]	Period of municipal regulation of prices.
1691–1702	42	$5\frac{1}{2}$ [2]	44	$4\frac{1}{4}$ [2]	Period of easy flow to London and of exportation abroad.

These three periods show differences in averages of great interest. The first period 1531–71 may be extended back to 1514. It was a time when London got her corn supply by offering high prices for it. At first foreign merchants came to the rescue. Then there began a gradual reorganization of the domestic market on the new basis of the metropolitan market. In the second period, the disorganization was at its height, and the problem was accentuated by restrictive regulations and by the fixing of prices. In the last period, corn was shipped to London not only for consumption but also for export abroad. Having the prices of supply districts (the metropolitan area) in mind, we

[1] Rogers' averages, general.
[2] Houghton's materials.
[3] See p. 118, and p. 118, n. 2.
[4] Estimated average. See above, p. 119.

may say that London paid relatively less for its corn when it exported part of its supply, than when it consumed it all.

A comparison of the price levels of the districts taken for the period 1301–1500 with the same areas in 1691–1702, shows significant results. It should be noted that, in order to avoid comparing the dear years of one district with the cheap years of another district, it has been necessary to divide the period 1691–1702 into three sub-periods, namely, 1691–96, 1697–99, 1699–1702, the average of each of which having been found, the average was then taken of the last two, and this in turn averaged with the first group of six years. It might seem precarious to compare averages of twelve years with those of two centuries, but the element of error is reduced by the fact that Houghton's prices are exceptionally numerous [1] and well balanced.

PRICE AVERAGES (WHEAT PER QUARTER)

Areas	1301–1500 [2] s.	d.	1691–1702 s.	d.
Wales	7	3½ [3]	36	4¾
Durham	6	10	33	2¾
East Essex	6	8¾	42	7
York	6	6¼	36	3
Battle	6	6¼	39	0¾
Lower Thames	6	3½	47	6½
South West	6	1½	40	5¾
East Kent	6	0¼	41	5¼
Trent	6	0¼	33	2¾
Norwich	5	9	40	6¾
Southampton	5	9¼	42	4¾
East Suffolk	5	1¼	40	2¾
Bristol	5	6¾	35	0
Upper Thames	5	5¾	45	3¼
Cambridge	5	5½	40	4
Upper Severn	5	0	40	1¾

What strikes the eye at once is that in general the last have become first, and the first last; but this is not all, for, while in the middle ages there was little relation between the areas, in the later period there is a remarkable grouping which is brought out in the following table.

[1] 4864 entries for wheat alone, from 632 localities. Cf. Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, v, p. 266.

[2] For these and the analogous averages of 1259–1500, see above, p. 41.

[3] South Wales.

PRICE AVERAGES, 1691–1702

Areas	Average s.	d.
I. Metropolitan:		
Lower Thames	47	6½
Upper Thames	45	3¼
East Essex	42	7
Southampton	42	4¾
East Kent	41	5¼
Norwich	40	6¾
South West	40	5¾
Cambridge	40	4
East Suffolk	40	2¾
Upper Severn	40	1¾
Battle	39	0¾
II. Non-Metropolitan:		
(*a*) North East:		
York	36	3
Trent	33	2¾
(*b*) Middle West: [1]		
Wales	36	4¾
Bristol	33	2¾

The noteworthy facts here observable are: (*a*) prices over a wide area are now determined by London; (*b*) the Upper Thames, Upper Severn, and Cambridge areas instead of being the lowest priced are among the highest; (*c*) London has cut into the Severn trade and made transportation down the Severn unprofitable, either to the Bristol area or to Wales; (*d*) prices in the Battle area have relatively fallen, a fact probably due to the great agricultural changes in that district in the Tudor and Stuart periods; (*e*) the relation of the price average of the districts in the metropolitan area to that of the districts in the non-metropolitan area has been reversed, as is indicated from these figures:

TABLE OF PRICE AVERAGES

Areas	1301–1500 s.	d.	1691–1702 s.	d.
Metropolitan	5	10¼	41	10
Non-metropolitan	6	4	34	9¼

6. THE FORMATION OF THE METROPOLITAN MARKET

We have seen that the metropolitan area of London came into existence in the sixteenth century, about one century earlier than that of Paris.[2] A review of the evidence for the development of the metropolitan market, which has already been presented, shows the following steps. London, anxious concerning its supply, established a granary system about 1514, which in 1578 was taken over by the crafts and companies of London and thus

[1] The northwest (not represented, 1301–1500) had in 1691–1702 an average of 40 s. 3¼ d.

[2] For the metropolitan market in France, see Usher, *The History of the Grain Trade in France*, pp. 82, 84, 87.

maintained for nearly a century. Statistics of importation indicate that London required a considerable supply of foreign corn until about 1660, when its importation from abroad practically ceased. In the internal trade, the area from which London drew enlarged from the immediate vicinity of the City to a very wide region embracing the greater part of the whole country. During the sixteenth century, while the outports increased their export of corn, London stopped hers entirely, but in the seventeenth century the exportation of corn from the metropolis increased to a surprising extent and that from the outports diminished relatively. The metropolis gradually drew the corn of a large area to itself, during the sixteenth century wholly for consumption and then gradually, as the corn surplus of the country increased, for export as well, until by 1660 we find the corn trade of London organized both for exportation and for home consumption. The existence of a metropolitan market is evidenced by the prices of corn in the different parts of England which show that London had become a price-making center for a wide area, embracing many of the local areas of the medieval period.

In the chapters to follow this view of the metropolitan market development will receive the confirmation that comes from the concurrence of other evidence, chiefly relating to corn middlemen and corn policy, not in itself conclusive, but of some cumulative weight.

We have considered the conception of a metropolitan market and the evidence for the existence of such a market in England. The formation of the area remains to be dealt with, the factors determining its growth and delimiting its extent.

Although in the case of local market areas it is possible to distinguish roughly the several districts, such a demarcation is more difficult for the metropolitan area. This was more irregular in form owing to the influence of water transportation which brought districts along the coast and along rivers, even though themselves distant, within easy reach of the metropolis.[1]

[1] Von Thünen expressed the idea thus: " when we have discovered how much cheaper the transportation of corn is by water than by land, we have no difficulty

Judging from price averages and from the recorded movements of corn to London, one would say that the metropolitan area included all southern and eastern England, except the Trent valley and the Bristol district, or more specifically all south and east of a line drawn to include the Humber basin and running south through Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire to the upper Severn, with the exception, as before noted, of the vicinity of Bristol.

Although the typical corn trade within the metropolitan area was to and from the metropolis, there was also a local trade which for the parts concerned was of great importance. A notable example of this is the trade between Lynn and Newcastle by which the corn of the former was exchanged for the coal of the latter. This narrow groove of exchange has been maintained from at least as early as the thirteenth century down to the present day.

Although much of this local trade was left intact during the period of the formation of the metropolitan area, still local marketing conditions were on the whole considerably influenced and disturbed. Cambridge in 1565, feeling the great drain of corn through Lynn to the metropolis, protested to the Privy Council. The latter authority, however, refused to stop corn which was being sent for use in London.[1] An interesting parallel case is that of Paris and Rouen. These cities began in the sixteenth century a struggle for a delimitation of the intervening corn supply area, which ended only in the early eighteenth century.[2]

in determining the situation of an estate which can send its corn to the market by water.

Let us suppose that the transportation by water costs one-tenth of what the transportation by land costs, then an estate situated on the bank of a river at a distance of one hundred miles from the market will be found to be, in respect to the value of the grain on the estate and of the consequences which flow from it, in the same situation as an estate ten miles from the town.

An estate situated five miles from the river [and one hundred miles from the town] bears the cost of transportation by land for five miles and the cost of transportation by water for one hundred miles, and in this case it is in the same situation as an estate fifteen miles from the town." *Der isolirte Staat*, pt. i, p. 273.

[1] See above, p. 109, n. 1.

[2] Usher, *The History of the Grain Trade in France*, pt. 1, ch. ii.

The three chief factors entering into the formation of this metropolitan market were the fertility of the surrounding district, the means of transportation, and the location of the metropolis with respect to the routes of cosmopolitan trade.

London was surrounded by a group of counties of considerable fertility. Little more need be said, indeed, to illustrate the corn productivity of the metropolitan area than that within it lay Norfolk, the rich fen country, the upper Thames, Sussex, and Kent. It was the surplus corn of such districts that enabled London to grow without relying upon foreign supply, and that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not only supplied it with enough corn for its own use but much for export abroad.

It would be a proper subject for special investigation to determine to what extent the growth of a metropolitan market, with its constant and insatiable appetite for corn, influenced the course of agrarian changes. The isolation of the factors involved would, however, be difficult if not impossible, and we stop here to notice the question but briefly. Three of these factors were of great weight, the call of the growing metropolis for corn, the new foreign markets that arose in the Tudor and Stuart periods, and the Dutch example of efficient cultivation. A long succession of writers in agriculture, from Fitzherbert to Arthur Young and beyond, whose works went through many editions, attest the fact that the problem was carefully studied by gentlemen farmers; and their improved methods doubtless filtered down to the yeomen. Still more, the great agrarian changes of the time were but symptoms of the effort of agriculture to throw off the methods of an earlier non-commercial system. Against such a change were the immobility of peasant habits and the prejudice of popular opinion.

It is probable that a great number of the agrarian changes and improvements in our period were directly due to the first of the factors we have mentioned, the growing demand of London.[1] To some extent this was true of the sixteenth century, but much more so of the seventeenth.

[1] See below, pp. 126–127.

Von Thünen, emphasizing the influence of the market upon agriculture, asks the question: "How will this agriculture, intelligently carried on, be modified by the distance greater or less from the town?"

His answer is: "It is clear, in general, that we should cultivate near the town such products as are heavy or bulky in relation to their value, and the cost of transportation of which to the central market is rather high, because the districts farther away cannot send them to advantage. Within this narrow circle, such articles will be produced as change quickly or which are consumed fresh. But as distance from the town is increased, the land should necessarily produce commodities, which, relatively to their value, are less and less expensive to transport." [1]

As applied to the growing town, such as London, this theory corresponds to the fact that the metropolis was not only compelled to provide a larger aggregate amount of corn, but its need of other provisions which could be furnished only by a nearby district, forced it to look to more distant areas for its supply of corn.

The demand of the large population of London for fruit [2] doubtless had great influence in moulding the Kentish system of cultivation, which tended towards the production of fruit and away from cereals, thus cutting off some of London's grain supply. Likewise the demand for hay [3] consumed by the horses of London would tend to crowd out, or at least compete with, corn production. We might also add London's need for milk

[1] *Der isolirte Staat*, pt. i, p. 1.

[2] Compare the following passage from Norden (*Surveyor's Dialogue*, p. 209) of the year 1607; the reason why so little cider is made in the inland of England is "because that neere London, & the Thames side, the fruite is vented in kind, not only to the Fruterers in grosse, but by country wives, in the neerest part of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, & Surrey, who utter them in the markets, as they do all other vendible things else." See also MS., Br. M., 22781 (late 17th century): "Melliorating and Multiplieing severall sorts of Fruits and Garden stuff."

[3] This demand in 1630 was considered by the Privy Council (MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Car. I, vi, fol. 111): "In the partes nere to London, more than in any other place of the Kingdome, there are many that doe ingross into their hands, great quantities of Hay and winter provision for horses and cattell, of purpose to keepe the same from the Marketts, untill the price thereof be extreamly raised."

and butter, supplied, probably, by local dairy farming, a subject about which we know practically nothing.

On the other hand, some circumstances worked in the opposite direction. The demand for iron in London, and, indeed, in all England, helped to bring about the deforestation of Sussex, the wood of which was used for smelting in the days before the process of smelting by coal was discovered. The land formerly under forest was used then to grow wheat, and to such an extent was this carried that Sussex wheat became, in the Tudor and Stuart periods, one of London's chief reliances. Similarly wood for fuel was needed in the metropolis, in spite of the large consumption of its rival, coal. This reinforced the tendency to clear the land of forest, which was then used for wheat. Likewise the City supplied the country in the immediate vicinity with cheap manure which on account of its bulk could not be carried long distances. This was certainly an important fact in the later period, but how far in ours cannot be determined.

These countervailing forces admitted, the tendency of the corn growing area to be pushed back as well as to be enlarged (and for corn production itself to flourish), may be accepted. Thus not only was corn productivity an influence in metropolitan growth, but it was itself much affected by that growth.

The second factor is transportation. Although the organization of manorial carrying services shows both land and water services existing side by side, the former were probably more numerous, and, owing to the restricted nature of the trade, more peculiar to the local market. But with the metropolitan period was ushered in a new stage in transportation — the water stage, coast and river.[1] This is expressed by Naudé in the following terms: "There is a second stage of development in the grain trade possible in the case of towns with water connections, and which, therefore, can

[1] The increase in the coast trade is indicated in the statistics contained in Appendix D.

The impetus given to river transportation is illustrated on the Continent, during the seventeenth century, by the building of canals connecting rivers.

In England in the year 1581, the loaders of Enfield and Oldenham presented a petition entitled "Their undoing by the carriage of graine by water": "Many thousands of her Majesties subjects within the counties of Hertforde Midl. Cam-

receive imports from a distance. This second stage of the municipal grain trade, in which we can begin to speak of a real trade in corn, did not arise at any fixed period of time, but depends, as before said, upon the location of each town." [1] That is, the first stage was one of land traffic, during which operations were petty and restricted by town ordinances. The second, during which water was the means of transportation, saw an expansion of demand and supply, the slackening and then the abolition of restriction, and the consequent development of a considerable trade, in which middlemen, seeking their own interests, operated according to conditions of natural demand and supply.

To official England, national and local, the water stage of the corn trade meant new anxieties. The metropolis had to be fed, and either enemies in time of war or pirates in time of peace might cut off the supply of corn sent by water. In 1586 it was stated that "the Dunkirkers have very latelie taken fower or five shippes of Corne comynge for London from beyond the Seas and are a great hindrance to the provision of Corne & Cole." [2] And in 1630 the London committee on the cause of scarcity and high prices reported "that Corne, Butter, and Cheese are not brought to this Citty from out of Norfolke, Suffolke, and other parts by Sea as formerly hath beene accustomed for feare of beinge taken by the Dunkerkers as is conceived." [3]

Perhaps the full significance of the transportation factor in metropolitan growth appears all the more forcibly when we remember that, previous to the incoming of railways, no European town reached metropolitan proportions unless favorably situated for river or coast traffic. Von Thünen, writing on the eve of the introduction of railroads, says without reserve: "There is

bridge, Bedforde and Essex whiche lyved by the carrynge of corne and other graine to the citie of London by Lande, are now utterlye decaied by the transportinge of corne and other grayne to the saide citie by the water of Lee." MS., Br. M., Lansd., 32, no. 40 (15 Oct.).

"London is as the Heart is in the Body, and the great Rivers are as its Veins." A. Yarranton, *England's Improvement by Sea and Land*, p. 179 (1677).

[1] *Deutsche städtische Getreidehandelspolitik*, p. 14.

[2] MS., Br. M., Lansd., 49 (22 Oct.).

[3] MS., Guildhall, London, *Journals of the Common Council*, xxxv, fol. 225 [Sept.].

not a single large town which is not situated on a river or canal." [1] The towns with water connections were constitutionally able to grow, because they could obtain a supply of grain without having to pay prohibitive costs of transportation.

In addition to the two factors in metropolitan growth, the fertility of the soil and facilities of transportation, there was a third of hardly less importance.[2] This was a favorable location along the routes of cosmopolitan trade, a factor which, we may say, decided that London, and not Southampton or Bristol, was to be the metropolitan center.

We may conclude therefore, that a town of fair size, not smothered by the rivalry of a larger town or by a territorial power, could grow to metropolitan proportions only when its corn supply was assured [3] and cheap, its transportation facilities good, and its location in accord with the dominant routes of a larger circle of trade.

[1] *Der isolirte Staat*, pt. i, p. 268.

[2] Sombart, in a suggestive essay on the subject of the contribution of the Jews to the modern spirit of enterprise (*The Jews and Modern Capitalism*, p. 13), raises the question of the influence of Jewish migration in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries upon the rise of " the new centers of economic life " in Western Europe (our metropolitan centers). It seems, however, that these western centers began to grow independently of the Jews. The incoming of the Jews was perhaps a later, but important, contributory cause of metropolitan development.

In another place (*Luxus und Kapitalismus*, pp. 25–44), Sombart seeks to prove that the " large town " took its rise in the massing of consumers in some political center, for example in London, where about five-sixths of the population, he asserts, were members of the court, churchmen, landlords, and state creditors, the remaining one-sixth being engaged in trade and industry.

[3] Mr. A. P. Usher remarks (*The History of the Grain Trade in France*, p. 179): " Lyons was never destined to become a great metropolitan center. . . . The population of Lyons was tending to increase more rapidly than the available food supply would warrant."

Petty argued that by 1800 the population of London would be over five million, and that it would not increase much beyond that number because of lack of food. " An Essay concerning the multiplication of Mankind " (1682), p. 21, referred to by Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii, p. 391.

Elsewhere, indeed, Petty maintained " That a Circle of Ground of 35 miles Semidiameter will bear Corn, Garden-stuff, Fruits, Hay and Timber, for the four Million 690 Thousands Inhabitants of the said City and Circle, so as nothing of that kind need be brought from above 35 Miles distance from the said City." *Future Growth of London*, The Economic Writings of Petty (ed. Hull), i, p. 471.

CHAPTER V

THE CORN LAWS, FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. Early Corn Laws

The laws that had to do with the exchange rather than with the production or consumption of corn form the subject of this chapter. Not the development of the corn trade policy, but the examination of the laws themselves is the chief concern at this point.[1]

In order to avoid legal and constitutional technicalities, not of moment here, the term "law" is taken to apply roughly to a general rule of some permanence, having the effect of law whether or not in the form of a statute. In this section the laws considered are general in scope and refer to corn only incidentally. They are, therefore, treated very briefly.

One of the commonest of early offences on the part of those dealing in corn was engrossing. This term has often been defined, but its meaning was never clear because it had no single technical application. It referred to monopolizing the supply of a commodity in any way, whether by forestalling[2] or by regrating.[3] It also had a particular meaning, given it by

[1] A convenient list of corn laws is given by R. E. Prothero (*English Farming Past and Present*, pp. 442–447). A much fuller list is to be found in Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, xxvii, pp. 669–680 (period 1225–1811).

The indices to the *Statutes of the Realm* refer to most but not all of the laws. The Interregnum acts are to be found only in special collections.

Faber and Naudé (see p. 210 below) have written excellent brief accounts of these laws together with an explanation of the development of the corn policy, but they have omitted some measures of importance, for example, the act dealing with mealmen passed in 1650 and the first bounty act of 1672–73, to say nothing of minor laws such as the import act of 1324 and the statutes 34 Ed. III, c. 18 and 1 Eliz., c. 11, § 11, allowing export.

[2] Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, pt. i, p. 217, referring to 27 Ed. III, st. 1, c. 5; *Statutes of the Realm*, i, p. 331.

[3] A statute defined engrossing in the second sense given in the text, and then added a further explanation, namely, to get into one's hands "any other Corne or

statute,[1] to get into one's hands "any Corne growinge in the feildes." This seems to have been the nearest approach to a technical definition. Finally, to engross was to deal in many kinds of commodities instead of only one.[2]

To forestall was to go out beyond the borough or market town to buy goods coming to market. This was prohibited in the Anglo-Saxon period,[3] and, indeed, seems to have been the earliest form of market monopolizing, or engrossing in the general sense, that was put under the ban of the law.[4] The corn trade, however, is not specified in this early law which was perfectly general in application. But in thirteenth century laws the forestalling of corn is specifically mentioned.[5] The objection to forestalling was that it undermined the public and open market and tended to raise prices, and also that it resulted in a loss of local revenue when the forestaller was a burgess and the seller of the goods a stranger, for while the latter was subject to town tolls, the former was not.

Akin to forestalling, and at times confused with it, was regrating. This was the purchase of goods for sale in the same or a nearby market. It was prohibited locally from at least the thirteenth century onward.[6]

Grayne Butter Cheese Fishe or other dead victuall whatsoever within the Realme of England to thintent to sell the same agayne." 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. 14, *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, p. 148.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] 37 Ed. III, c. 5; 38 Ed. III, c. 2. *Ibid.*, i, pp. 379, 382.

[3] Sciendum est enim quod infra trium militarium spacium, ex omni parte extra civitatem, non debet homo alterum retinere vel impedire, nec eciam cum eo mercatum agere, si in pace civitatis ad eam venire voluerit. Sed cum in civitatem pervenerit, tunc sit ei mercatum commune tam pauperi quam diviti. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, p. 200; *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, i, pp. 16, 33.

[4] Cf. the following prohibition of 1200 or 1201 made in Ipswich: "that non regrater prevy ne straunge go out of the bondys of the forseid market with ynne town ne with outen for to bargaynen, ne for to beyen ne forstallyn fysshe comyng toward the forseid town to sellyn." *Domesday of Ipswich, Black Book of the Admiralty* (Rolls Series), ii, p. 101.

[5] "Grain, Fish, Herring or any other Thing to be sold." *Statutes of the Realm*, i, pp. 203, 204 (late 13th century).

[6] *Domesday of Ipswich, Black Book of the Admiralty* (Rolls Series), ii, p. 101; *Records of Norwich* (ed. Hudson and Tingey), i, pp. 135, 181.

For centuries such attempts to monopolize the local market were met by local regulations and national legislation, which continued down to modern times. In 1663 some alleviation came,[1] and in 1772 the prohibition of engrossing was abolished.[2]

Laws providing for general uniformity of measures and against false measures were passed in the Anglo-Saxon period.[3] The measures used in dealing in corn were regulated by the assize of 1197,[4] and by Magna Carta itself, in answer to the demands of the barons.[5] The great aim was to establish one standard throughout England, partly for the convenience of dealers and partly to protect consumers. Two obstacles were met with, dishonest dealers using false vessels, and the local habit of using measures of varying size. It is a well-known fact that local measures survived in parts of England down to modern times, especially in the west and north. But at least after the early thirteenth century, there was a strong tendency to use the London quarter, and whatever may have been the measures actually used locally in the sale and purchase of grain, accounts were generally kept in terms of the standard.

Some other regulations of measurement should be mentioned. Wheat, rye, and barley might be sold only by strike (measure stricken level), while oats, malt, and meal might be sold by heap (measure heaped up).[6] The purveyors of corn for the king's household were prohibited from demanding twenty-one quarters to the score.[7]

With insignificant exceptions,[8] the central government does not seem to have fixed absolutely the price of corn, as was

[1] Regrating was permitted but not forestalling. 15 Car. II, c. 7, § 3. *Statutes of the Realm*, v, p. 449.

[2] 12 Geo. III, c. 71.

[3] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, Index under "Weights and Measures."

[4] *Roger of Hovedon* (Rolls Series), iv, p. 33.

[5] *Select Charters* (ed. Stubbs), pp. 291, 301.

[6] *Statutes of the Realm*, i, p. 203 (late 13th century).

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 262 (1330).

[8] According to the act of 1534 (see below, p. 138), the government had the legal right to fix the price of corn. During the years 1549 and 1550 attempts were made to put the act in force, apparently without success (Leonard, *English Poor Relief*, p. 51). Afterwards the practice was not often followed, if at all. The evidence

occasionally done on the Continent from early days.[1] It did attempt, nevertheless, systematically to prevent bakers from gaining too high profits from the sale of bread. This was done by the assize of bread, which stipulated how many ounces the standard loaf should contain when the price was low, moderate, and high.[2] How far back this goes is unknown. It seems, however, to have been in use at least as early as the reign of Henry II.[3] It was made one of the regular articles of inquiry of the frank-pledge, and as such was enforced in the local courts in a modified form down to modern times. Legally it was abolished for London in 1822 and for all England in 1836.[4]

The purveyance, or seizure of corn, was early prohibited[5] but was, nevertheless, persisted in for centuries, as we know from the frequent re-enactment of the law against it. The element of trade, with which we are concerned, entered in only when the corn was purveyed from the dealer or merchant, and not from the producer.[6]

for this view is that the law of 1563 providing for the fixing of wages states that the justices of the peace were to assess wages in accordance with current prices, obviously market prices. Laws were later passed, too, which aimed at keeping prices low by means of regulations of a different sort (see below, pp. 152 f.). And the *Book of Orders* (Br. M., 6426b 55), which was a more or less complete codification of government practice and enforced in exceptional years from Elizabeth to Charles I, assumes (§ 12) the validity of a market price, "the usual price of the Market." Indeed the justices of the peace were ordered (§ 24) to secure for the poor "as much favour in the prices, as by their earnest perswasion" might be possible. For other matters relating to the fixing of prices, see above, pp. 68, 77, 91.

[1] See the Frankfort capitulary of 794 printed in Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, i, p. 501 (ed. 1890).

In 1304–05 Philippe le Bel fixed the maximum price of grain in Paris at something less than half the market price. Fagniez, *L'industrie et la classe industrielle*, p. 156.

[2] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 502 f. (ed. 1890); Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ii, p. 480 (1202); *Statutes of the Realm*, i, pp. 202 f. (late 13th century); Report from the Committee of the House of Commons on . . . Bread (1815), *The Pamphleteer*, vol. vi.

[3] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 502. Ballard (*Borough Charters*, pp. 157–158) prints two extracts from Newcastle documents which seem to put back the date to Henry I.

[4] Webb, B. and S., "The Assize of Bread," *Economic Journal*, xiv, p. 218.

[5] *Select Charters* (ed. Stubbs), p. 421, § 10 (1266).

[6] See the analysis of purveyance in my article on the "Origin of the English Customs-Revenue of England," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xxvii, pp. 112–113 (1912).

In general, these laws were passed primarily in the interest of consumers. In the corn laws to be dealt with in the succeeding sections of this chapter, the emphasis is to a large extent upon the welfare of the producers.

2. Legislation Regulating Corn Exportation

The object of this and the following sections is to present a chronological account of the corn laws with a minimum of comment. The last chapter, on "Market Development and the Evolution of Corn Policy," attempts an interpretation of this legislation.

It is not now possible to discover the first corn law that affected exportation. The earliest of which we have evidence, however, was the prohibition to export without license, which was enforced in the reign of Henry II.[1] Further knowledge of this law (if law it was) is lacking.

In 1204 the Great Winchester Assize of Customs provided that corn and other victuals might not be exported without license, and that corn and certain other goods were freed from the fifteenth, the customs newly levied.[2] The reason for this exemption is not evident. It may have been, however, that the export of corn was regarded as a special source of revenue, for which extra license fees were exacted. How long the provision requiring a license to export was in force cannot be determined. The evidence seems to show that the customs granted by the assize were collected during a period less than a decade.[3]

The famous Carta Mercatoria of 1303 which granted alien merchants a special status in England has been given a prominent place among corn laws.[4] The charter was important on account

[1] Simon filius Petri de Wigenhala debet dimidiam marcam pro blado asportato sine licentia. *Great Roll of the Pipe*, 23 H. II, p. 136 (1176–77). Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 183–184. See also succeeding volumes (printed) down to the volume of the year 30 H. II, pp. 10, 12, 89, 125–126 (1183–84).

[2] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, i, pt. 1, pp. 42–43.

[3] See my article on "The Origin of the National Customs-Revenue of England," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xxvii, pp. 143–144.

[4] Faber, *Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, pp. 70–72; Naudé, *Die Getreidehandelspolitik der Europäischen Staaten*, pp. 72–73.

of the extent of the privileges granted, the number of merchants included, and the long period it remained in force. For present purposes it may be considered an agreement whereby the merchants promised to pay a super-tax of $1\frac{1}{4}\%$ on certain cloths, horses or other animals, corn, and many other articles in return for the perpetual right of exporting and importing them.[1] But the exact measure of importance to the trade in corn which we should assign to this charter is not clear. It applied only to merchants of the countries mentioned, and granted the privilege of exporting corn which, so far as we know, they did not previously possess.

In 1361 partial free-trade was established between England and Ireland. The law then passed provided that the people of England, ecclesiastical and lay, who had possessions in both England and Ireland might, upon payment of the customs, send their corn, beasts, and victuals to Ireland, as well as from Ireland to England.[2] At the same time the exportation of corn from any part of England was forbidden, except of course to Ireland; and no one was to have a license to export to any place other than Calais and Gascony. The king, however, might by ordinance make exceptions when he thought best.[3]

Thus we see that the king was to continue to regulate exportation as in the past, and that the export trade was under the ban, even though it might take place when licensed. The petitions of 1376,[4] 1382,[5] and 1383[6] indicate that the prohibition to export was strongly supported by the Commons. Although the statute in question was modified by the acts of 1394 and 1426, and superseded by the law of 1437, it was repealed only in 1624.[7]

In 1382 the Commons asserted that corn exportation had taken place in the past by royal license, and had resulted in a

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc. (Rec. ed.), ii, pt. ii, p. 747 (1302–03).

[2] 34 Ed. III, c. 18. *Statutes of the Realm*, i, p. 368 (1360–61).

[3] 34 Ed. III, c. 20. *Ibid.*, i, p. 368.

[4] The Commons petitioned the king to allow no corn to be exported even by license, unless it be to Calais or to other lands of the king. This petition was not assented to by the king and therefore did not become a law. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii, p. 350a.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 141b.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 164a, b.

[7] 21 Jac. I, c. 28, § 11. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 2, p. 1238.

dearth; they, therefore, petitioned that this be remedied by an absolute prohibition to export. The king in answer decreed that a general proclamation should be made prohibiting export (except to Berwick-on-Tweed, Calais, Gascony, Brest, and Cherbourg), and that no license should be granted contrary to the proclamation without the advice of the council and for reasonable cause.[1]

The importance of this measure is that it shows that neither king nor Commons favored unrestricted export, but while the king had in practice permitted exportation by license, the Commons were in favor of no export at all. All this, however, was meant to be temporary, as also was the clause that the assent of the council to license export was necessary.

During the following year, 1383, the Commons again petitioned for the prohibition of the exportation of corn, victuals, and arms, this time to Scotland. The king's assent was given but with qualification. He agreed that no corn should be sent to Scotland, unless license to the contrary were given.[2]

The act of 1394 was petitioned for by the Commons and agreed to by the king. The latter granted to all his subjects of England license to export corn to any land they wished, other than to enemies. The subsidies and duties due, therefore, were to be paid; and to the council was reserved the right to restrain export when it seemed for the profit of the realm to do so.[3] From the reading of the statute it is evident that the government did not intend to grant a perpetual right to export, but simply an indefinite permission. Though officially repealed only in 1624,[4] this law practically came to an end, probably not by any abrupt abrogation, but by exceptions introduced by administrative practice some time before 1426. Not the letter but the spirit of the law was broken.

A petition complaining of such interpretation was drawn up and, having received the royal assent, became the statute of 1426 which read as follows: The king at the special request of the

[1] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iii, p. 141b.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 164a, b.
[3] 17 R. II, c. 7. *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, p. 88 (1393–94).
[4] 21 Jac. I, c. 28, § 11. *Ibid.*, iv, pt. 2, p. 1238 (1623–24).

Commons willed that the statute [of 1394] be kept in all points, reserving to the council, nevertheless, the right to restrain export when it seemed advisable.[1]

In 1437 an important measure was passed. Since by the act of 1361 it had been ordained that no man might carry corn out of the realm without the king's license, the farmers and others, who use manurement of their land, could not sell their corn at a profitable rate to the damage of the realm; the king, willing to provide remedy, ordained that any one, even without seeking a special license, might export corn and sell it to whatever person he would. This was, however, contingent on three conditions: the corn was not to go to enemies; the customs were to be paid; and the price of corn in the port of shipment was not to exceed specified rates, in the case of wheat 6 s. 8 d. per quarter and barley 3 s. This act was to endure until the next parliament.[2]

There are some interesting points in this law. The laws of 1394 and 1426 were treated as if non-existent, and the law of 1361 was held to be still in force. It is evident that the Commons desired to recognize the export of corn as normal, and, doubting the sympathy of the crown with such a measure, they wished to put down in black and white the rights of citizens to export corn, when prices were low, without seeking a license. It is probable also that although the king assented, he did so only on the condition (expressed) that the act should be temporary.

The statute of 1437 was to last until the next parliament, which met late in 1439. Certainly in 1442 this law was regarded as dead, and was repealed by the act following it. This latter recited the law of 1437, and then declared that since this is not now in force, and since many counties along the coast are unable to sell the bulk of their corn other than by the over-sea trade, the king ordained that the statute [of 1437] should be in force again from 8 September, and last till the next parliament, or for ten years if parliament did not meet.[3] The next parliament met in February, 1445, and the act then became void. But at this time,

[1] 17 R. II, c. 7. *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, p. 88. This statute was repealed by implication in 21 Jac. I, c. 28, § 11.

[2] 15 H. VI, c. 2. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 295 (1436–37).

[3] 20 H. VI, c. 6. *Ibid.*, p. 319 (1441–42).

since the counties on the sea could not sell the bulk of their corn other than by over-sea traffic, the king willed that the act of 1437 should be perpetually in force,[1] that is, that corn might be exported when not above the specified prices. The law of 1437, twice tentatively enacted, and the third time made perpetual, continued in force technically till superseded by Tudor legislation.

It was nearly a century before another export corn law was put upon the statute rolls. In 1534 it was enacted that no one without a license under the king's great seal might export any corn, beef, mutton, veal, pork, cheese, butter, fowl, and other victuals, unless it be for supplying Calais and ships going to sea.[2]

This was but part of a general regulation concerning victuals, the greater part of which provides for the fixing of prices of provisions by central officials in case complaint was made to them. The underlying impulse prompting the enactment was stated to be the rise of prices caused by covetous regrators and engrossers. Corn appeared as but one item and was not mentioned in two of the three sections. The conclusion is inevitable that corn was inserted as if it constituted but one phase of the general problem of the scarcity and the high prices then prevailing, a problem dealt with elsewhere in the statutes of the session.[3] The central government had met the new difficulties some time before the act of 1534 [4] which, so far as corn exportation was concerned, was therefore not novel nor far-reaching in effect. The extent to which this export act was enforced is not clear. Hales, writing probably in 1549, seems to assume the existence of the old law of

[1] 23 H. VI, c. 5. *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, p. 331 (1444–45).

[2] 25 H. VIII, c. 2, § 3. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 438 (1533–34). Repealed in 1822 by 3 Geo. IV, c. 41, § 4. (*Chronological Index* of 1828, p. 868.)

Two years later a law was passed, with the intention of providing Calais with supplies, decreeing that English and aliens might import into that town victuals, corn, wine, salt, fuel, and other things from France, Flanders, or other foreign countries, and export the same again without restraint, after the authorities had purchased what was necessary for the provision of the town. 27 H. VIII, c. 63. *Ibid.*, p. 643.

[3] 25 H. VIII, cc. 1, 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 451.

[4] See below, p. 221, n. 12.

1437.[1] Probably on account of plentiful harvests, royal proclamations, as in the year 1550,[2] made exceptions to the working of the act.

The next corn law, that of 1555, entitled "An Acte to restrayne carrieng of Corne Victuals and Wood over the Sea,"[3] superseded without abrogating[4] the act of 1534. It states that in spite of earlier acts against exportation, notably that of 1534, covetous persons were said to have sent abroad a great quantity of corn, cheese, butter, and other victuals as well as wood; this, it was alleged, caused a wonderful dearth and extreme prices. The unauthorized export of these commodities was, therefore, from that time forth prohibited under heavy penalties. Persons having license to export, who carried away more corn than they ought, were to be fined treble the value of the excess and imprisoned without bail for one year; but at all times hereafter any one might export corn at pleasure (unless it be to enemies), provided the price was not above a certain level, that is, of wheat 6 s. 8 d., rye 4 s. and barley 3 s. per quarter.

It is to be noted that scarcity and high prices were still the paramount issues. The wording of the title, the general spirit of the law, and the position of the clause granting permission to export, suggest that the law was originally intended to check exportation, but that qualified exportation was allowed as the result of a compromise, probably in answer to the demands of such a corn-growing district as East Anglia.

In the act of 1559, regulating the administration of the customs, the export of corn from Norfolk and Suffolk was allowed

[1] "Ye have a lawe made that no corne shall passe over and it be above a noble the quarter; yf it be under ye give fre libertie for it to passe over." Hales, *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, p. 54 (1549). Such seems to have been the opinion of Gardiner writing to Somerset in the reign of Edward VI. See Merriman, *Thomas Cromwell*, i, p. 123.

[2] "If Wheat is sold at 6 s. 8 d., Malt 5 s., Beans and Pease 4 s., Oats 3 s. 4 d., Rye 5 s. a quarter, it shall be lawful to export them." *Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns*, i, no. 389 (24 Sept., 1550).

"Export prohibited . . . of grain and food." *Ibid.*, no. 390 (20 Oct., 1550).

[3] 1 and 2 P. and M., c. 5. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 1, p. 243 (1554–55).

[4] In March, 1572, three corn laws were held to be valid, those of 1533–34, 1554–55, 1563. MS., Br. M., Lansd., 16.

when the prices were at or under the following rates, wheat 6 s. 8 d. per quarter, barley and malt 3 s. 4 d., oats and oats malted 2 s., peas and beans 4 s., rye and mistlin 5 s. Nothing in this act was to deflect the corn trade from its accustomed course.[1]

Two points are here of interest. The act of 1555 was evidently regarded as of uncertain meaning, and as not giving the undeniable right to export that East Anglia sought. And the export of corn from other parts of England was held to be of little or no importance, though by no means to be discouraged.[2]

The second export corn law of Elizabeth, in 1563, of greater importance than the first, supplanted the acts of both 1555 and 1559. This act in providing for the encouragement of the navy by the stimulation of shipping, the fish trade, and the export of corn, declared that under the act of 1555 no owner of a ship in which corn was illegally exported was to suffer, unless he were a party to the crime; and that any of the queen's subjects might export to any foreign land wheat, rye, barley, malt, peas, and beans on condition that English-born subjects were the sole owners of the ships, and that the price of corn was not above the specified rates, in the case of wheat 10 s. per quarter, rye, peas, and beans 8 s., barley and malt 6 s. 8 d.[3]

This statute as a whole is strongly mercantilistic. Shipping, manufactures, fisheries, and agriculture (tillage and pasturage) were all to be encouraged. The corn export trade was ostensibly given whole-hearted support; the only specified restraint was that arising from high prices. It is clear that the clauses relating to corn, although only two out of thirty-four, were not after-thoughts nor late insertions, the result of compromise. It was apparently the very decisiveness and possible importance of the new departure in policy which led to the inclusion of a clause limiting the act to ten years.

[1] 1 Eliz., c. 11, § 10. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 1, p. 374 (1558–59). See below, p. 231.

[2] In this same session it was enacted that any subject, shipping goods abroad in a ship not owned by Englishmen and with the master and most of the mariners not English, was to pay aliens' duties. From this, masts, raffe, pitch, tar, and corn were excepted. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

[3] 5 Eliz., c. 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 422–428 (1562–63). See below, p. 231, n. 3.

But before the ten year period had elapsed, this act was replaced by the law of 1571, expressly stated to be in the interest of tillage. It contains the following provisions. (1) Subjects of the queen were given permission to export corn without any restraint at any time on these conditions, that it should go to nations in amity, that the ships carrying it should be owned solely by Englishmen, and that prices should be reasonable and moderate in the counties from which export was contemplated. (2) Local authorities were to consult with the inhabitants of their districts and make known by proclamation whether the local supply of corn would permit its export during the year. These proclamations were to be issued only after the central government had given its assent. (3) The queen was to receive for poundage 12 d. on every quarter of wheat and 8 d. on every quarter of other kinds of grain exported without special license, and double this sum when with special license. (4) The queen might at any time prohibit the export either from one district or from the country as a whole.[1]

This is the first statute of more than a few lines that deals wholly with the export corn trade. The administration of the act was left with the local authorities who were to determine when prices were reasonable, and when the local supply would justify exportation. The government was still apprehensive of scarcity but was inclined to allow exportation in order to improve tillage and to increase the revenue.

In 1593 was passed one of those "continuing" laws, of increasing frequency in the Tudor period, which contains hidden away within its unrelated clauses certain corn regulations. It permitted the exportation of corn on certain specified conditions. It was not to exceed the following prices, in the case of wheat 20 s. per quarter, rye, peas, and beans 13 s. 4 d., barley and malt 12 s. A payment was required of 2 s. as poundage on every quarter of wheat and 16 d. on every quarter of all other grain. But licenses already granted to individuals and corporations for exporting corn were not to be subject to the new conditions; and the queen might at any time prohibit by proclamation

[1] 13 Eliz., c. 13. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 1, p. 547. See below, p. 231, n. 8.

the export of corn from any one district or from the realm as a whole.[1]

By this act the administration of the export trade was taken out of the hands of the local authorities. One standard of prices was to hold for all England as had been the case before the act of 1571. The queen's right to prohibit exportation was again affirmed.

The first of the Stuart corn laws, found in an act of 1604, for continuing, revising, and repealing divers statutes, provided that any subject of the king might export corn when the following conditions were fulfilled. Prices were not to be above 26 s. 8 d. per quarter for wheat, 15 s. for rye, peas, and beans, 14 s. for barley or malt. The corn was to be shipped only to peoples in amity and transported in ships owned by English-born subjects. A poundage was to be paid at the rate of 2 s. per quarter of wheat, and 16 d. for every quarter of any other kind of grain. At all times the king might prohibit the export of corn from any one district or from the country as a whole.[2]

This act simply shows the continuation of the privileges of the acts of 1437, 1555, and 1593, together with the effort to keep the maximum price at which corn might be exported in accord with rising prices.

In another act for continuing, revising, and repealing of statutes, passed in 1624, the maximum price at which corn might be exported was raised to the following rates, wheat 32 s. per quarter, rye 20 s., peas, beans, barley, and malt 16 s.[3]

With the law of 1627, the series of " continuing " acts came to an end. It permits subjects born in the realm to transport corn, to buy it to sell again in markets and out of markets, and to export it abroad. The conditions as to maximum prices, custom rates, and English ownership remained as before. The usual clause is

[1] 35 Eliz., c. 7, § 5. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 2, p. 855 (1592–93). See below, p. 231. See also 39 Eliz., c. 2, § 1; *ibid.*, p. 893 (1597–98).

[2] 1 Jac. I, c. 25. *Ibid.*, p. 1050 (1603–04). This statute is referred to in " An Acte for Transportacon of Beere over the Seas," passed in 1605–06. 3 Jac. I, c. 11. *Ibid.*, p. 1087.

[3] 21 Jac. I, c. 28, § 3. *Ibid.*, p. 1237 (1623–24).

added, reserving to the king the right at any time to prohibit the export of corn locally or nationally.[1]

The only export law which was passed during the Interregnum somewhat resembled the act of 1627. According to this law, dated 1656,[2] both aliens and denizens [3] might export [4] corn freely when prices were not above 40 s. per quarter for wheat, 24 s. for rye, peas, and beans, 20 s. for barley and malt, and 16 s. for oats. Denizens were to pay 1 s. customs per quarter of wheat, and corresponding prices for other grain, aliens to pay treble the rate. And natives were to use only those ships that truly belonged to them.

In the case of this corn law, as in so many instances, the Restoration parliaments confirmed the measures of the Interregnum period. The maximum rates of the law of 1656 were maintained by the law of 1660, but the clause imposing higher customs upon aliens reduced the burden to twice the rate paid by natives.[5]

The act of 1663 brings to an end the array of laws permitting export when prices were not above certain levels, in this case, wheat 48 s. per quarter, rye, peas, and beans 32 s., barley, malt, and buckwheat 28 s., and oats 13 s. 4 d.[6] This act was passed to encourage trade, but its export provisions were less novel than the section on imports which will be later summarized.

A noteworthy law was enacted [7] which, unlike its predecessors, remained on the statute book for generations.[8] For the

[1] 3 Car. I, c. 5, § 6. *Statutes of the Realm*, v, p. 30.

[2] Printed in London, 1657, by Henry Hills and John Field (ten pages).

[3] The meaning of this badly-drawn statute is not clear. The text is in part: it shall "be lawfull for any person or persons, being Natives of this Commonwealth, to carry or transport of his own, and to buy to sell again in Marketts and out of Marketts, and to keep or sell, or carry and transport, and *for any other person or persons*, to transport any or all these several sorts of Corn and Grain."

[4] The word "export" does not occur in the text but is in the title, "An Act for the Exportation of Several commodities of the Breed Growth and Manufacture of this Commonwealth."

[5] 12 Car. II, c. 4, §§ 1, 11. *Statutes of the Realm*, v, pp. 181, 183.

[6] 15 Car. II, c. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 449.

[7] 22 Car. II, c. 13. *Ibid.*, v, p. 685.

[8] Repealed, except as to Ireland, 44 Geo. III, c. 109, § 1.

improvement of tillage and the common welfare of England, it was ordained that all persons, native and foreign, might at any time after 24 June, 1670, regardless of the price, export corn on the sole condition of paying the customs imposed in 1660.

This policy of encouragement to exportation found further expression in the first corn bounty act, passed nearly three years later.[1] Like so many other corn laws, it occupied a very inconspicuous position in the statute-book. It is the second last section of a long statute (containing thirty-two clauses), which granted to the crown a large subsidy. This explains why the law has so long remained unknown, and why the belief has prevailed among historians that the act of 1689 (1 W. & M., c. 12) was the " first " corn bounty act in English history.[2] So firm was this belief that even where the earlier bounty has thrust itself forward, it has been denied its proper identity.[3] Not only do we know much concerning its history, but we have the act

[1] See my article " The Corn Bounty Experiment of Charles II," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xxiv, pp. 419–422.

[2] " This [the act of 1689] was the first Law for allowing any Bounty on Corn exported." Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, ii, p. 189 (1764).

" This was the first law for allowing any bounty on corn exported." Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, ii, p. 634 (1805).

" At the Revolution, however, a new policy was adopted." Lecky, *History of England*, vii, pp. 245–246.

In 1689 was taken " the new and surprising step of enacting a bounty on the export of grain." R. Somers, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.), vi, p. 410.

" The only law of the latter kind [bounty on exportation] is the famous Bounty Act of William and Mary." J. E. T. Rogers, in Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, i, p. 423.

" Daher finden wir denn auch 1683 bereits theoretisch formulirt den Gedanken, dass es im Interesse des Königs sei, eine Prämie für die Ausfuhr von Korn einzuführen." Faber, *Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, p. 112 (1888); Naudé, *Die Getreidehandelspolitik der Europäischen Staaten vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, p. 101 (1896), knowing only of the act of 1689, accepts Faber's view.

" The bounty system on exported corn was first instituted in 1689." Atton and Holland, *The King's Customs*, p. 144 n. (1908).

" The bounty on corn, first granted in 1688 and abolished in 1814." *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., 1910), iv, p. 324.

" The only example of bounties on exported corn is the Bounty Act of 1689." F. Bower, *A Dictionary of Economic Terms*, under " Corn Laws " (undated).

[3] By the indexer of the *Calendar of State Papers* (*Domestic*, Car. II, xviii, 1676–77, p. 628), who connects the bounty with 22 Car. II, c. 13.

itself, which, though not to be found in the statutes at large, is printed, yet not indexed, in the *Statutes of the Realm*.[1]

According to the reading of the act it was to last only from the first of the session in 1673, that is from 4 February to the last day of the session following the close of a period of three years, that is, according to the official decision,[2] to 13 May, 1678. But the accounts of the corn bounty debentures[3] show that the period of actual enforcement lay between the year 1674–75[4] (Michaelmas to Michaelmas) and the year 1680–81 (Michaelmas to Michaelmas). It is evident that the original official decision was revoked, though the circumstances of the case are unknown; and

[1] The act reads in part as follows: "And to the end that all Owners of Land whereupon this Taxe [direct tax of £1,238,750 to be raised within 18 months] principally lyeth may be the better enabled to pay the same by rendering the labours of the husbandmen in raising corne and graine more valuable by exportation of the same into forreigne parts which now is already at a very low rate and that the Nation in generall may have her stocke increased by the returns thereof. Bee it further enacted that for the space of three years from the first day of this Session of Parlyament and from thenceforward to the end of the next Session of Parlyament when Mault or Barley (Winchester Measure) is or shall be at twenty fower shillings a quarter, Rye thirty two shillings a quarter and Wheate forty eight shillings a quarter or under in any Port or Ports of this Kingdome or Dominion of Wales every Merchant or other person who shall putt on Shipboard in English Shipping (the Master and two thirds of the Marriners at least being His Majestyes Subjects) any sorts of the corne aforesaid . . . shall have and receive . . . for every quarter of Barley or Mault ground or unground two shillings and six pence, for every quarter of Rye ground or unground three shillings and six pence, for every quarter of Wheate ground or unground five shillings." 25 Car. II, c. 1, § 31. *Statutes of the Realm*, v, p. 781 (1672–73).

[2] "Whereas the parliament was yesterday the 13th May prorogued by his Majesty Wee thinke fit to let you know that grayn or Corne exported directed by the Act made the 25 year of his Majesty's Reigne Entitled an Act for Raiseing the sume of £1,238,750 for the supply of his Majesty's Extraordinary ocassions is determined and at an End soe that for any of the corne therein menconed, which shall be shipped from and after the said time for Exportacon you are to make noe payment or allowance, but Collect the Custome due for the same." Dated "Custom house London 14e May 1678," Yarmouth Custom House, *Orders*, fol. 96.

[3] Appendix G.

[4] Up to 29 June, 1675, the London officials had apparently not sent all the necessary instructions to the customers at Stockton. A letter of the above date, written in London and sent to the Stockton officials, reads: "The book of rates will bee provided & sent you by the stationer wherein the said Clause [concerning the bounty] is printed att larg[e]." MS., Stockton Customs House, *Book of Instructions*, vol. 1675–1714, under entry date of 30 Oct., 1675.

it also seems that, since the bounty was a year or more late in coming into effect owing to the high price of corn, its operation was extended to cover a period of the same length of time as that specified in the act, that is in all about five and one-quarter years.

The bounty system was re-introduced in the act for the encouragement of the exportation of corn in the year 1689. Since it had been found by *experience*, so runs the preamble, that the exportation of corn abroad, when the price at home was low, had been a great advantage not only to the owners of land but to the trade of the whole realm, it was, therefore, enacted that a bounty of corn should be given when wheat should be at 48 s. per quarter or under, rye 32 s., malt or barley 24 s. at any port in England or Wales. Export should take place in English shipping with the master and two-thirds of the mariners English; and the corn should not be landed again. The bounty was to be 5 s. on each quarter of wheat, 3 s. 6 d. on each quarter of rye, and 2 s. 6 d. on each quarter of barley and malt, ground or unground.[1]

The influence of this act in English economic history is a matter of dispute, but the discussion of this question lies beyond our field.

When these laws regulating exportation are chronologically arranged, nine groups of important corn laws may be noted. The first consists of the law of 1361 prohibiting export. The second is the law of 1394 permitting export. The third is the law of 1437 establishing machinery for regular uninterrupted export. The fourth is the statute of 1534 which prohibited unlicensed export. The fifth contains the three acts of 1555, 1559, and 1563 which restored the Lancastrian maximum price clause of the law of 1437. The sixth is the law of 1571 allowing export when prices were reasonable. The seventh group is the largest of all. Beginning with the act of 1594 and ending with that of 1663, it restored the price provision of the third and fifth groups. The eighth is the act of 1670 allowing export regardless of prices. The ninth and last comprises the two bounty acts. Thus it is evident that there were three changes of policy, alternating between prohibitions and permission of exportation. Corn

[1] 1 W. & M., c. 12. *Statutes of the Realm*, vi, p. 62 (1688–89).

export was prohibited either almost completely, as by the law of 1361 or only partially as in that of 1534. Or exportation was permitted (*a*) by general license as by the law of 1394, (*b*) under certain price maxima as by the laws of 1437, 1555, 1559, 1563, 1593, 1604, 1624, 1627, 1656, 1660, and 1663, (*c*) by the provision that prices were to be reasonable before export might take place, as by the law of 1571, (*d*) by allowing export without restriction as in the law of 1670, or (*e*) by encouraging it by bounty as provided by the acts of 1673 and 1689.

3. Legislation Regulating Corn Importation

The Carta Mercatoria of 1303 is the first law, or first document having the effect of law, to be recorded on the subject of the importation of corn. In return for a super-tax of $1\frac{1}{4}\%$, alien merchants were to have the right to import corn and certain other merchandise under very favorable circumstances.[1]

Important as was this charter to the alien merchants in their general dealings, it is doubtful if it meant much to the import corn trade, for, so far as is known, aliens had formerly been allowed to import, and this was merely a confirmation of the right.

An act of 1324, of narrow application, had to do with only the Irish trade. It ordained that no royal official was to arrest any ships or goods of aliens or denizens; and that all merchants and others were free to import from Ireland their corn, victuals, and other merchandise into England and Wales, on payment of the customs due, and on security being given that the corn should not go to the Scots or other enemies.[2]

Another act somewhat similar in character was passed in 1361. The people of England, as well religious as others, who had their possessions in Ireland, might import their corn, beasts, and victuals into England, as well as carry them from England to Ireland.[3]

A new departure was made in 1463 when an interesting law of general scope was passed. The statute of which this corn law

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc. (Rec. ed.), ii, pt. 2, p. 747.
[2] 17 Ed. II, c. 3. *Statutes of the Realm*, i, p. 193 (1323–24).
[3] 34 Ed. III, c. 18. *Ibid.*, p. 368 (1360–61).

forms but one section was passed at the demand of the Commons,[1] for the protection of England's manufactures and agriculture. It stated that the laborers and occupiers of husbandry in England were daily put to a grievous loss by the importation of corn from other lands, and that this was especially the case when corn grown in England was at a low price. No one, therefore, from 24 June, 1463, was to import as merchandise or otherwise, any wheat, rye, or barley not grown in England, Ireland, or Wales, at any time that the price at the place of importation was not above the specified rates, wheat 6 s. 8 d., rye 4 s., and barley 3 s.[2]

In 1624 the act of 1463 was repealed as long since out of date.[3] The rise of prices had made the fifteenth century rates, at which corn might be imported, of no practical use.

Just two hundred years elapsed between the enactment of the first and second important laws dealing with the importation of corn.[4] The expressed aim of the Restoration statute of 1663 was to encourage tillage in order to make trade flourish. Besides permitting the exportation and the engrossing of corn, the act declared that when prices were not high, a heavy duty was to be

[1] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, v, p. 504a.

Stow (*Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 233) conjectures that this act was caused by the great amount of corn brought into England by the Hanseatic merchants. In this Stow is not to be followed, for he was probably antedating by about a century the corn importing activities of these merchants.

[2] 3 Ed. IV, c. 2. *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, p. 395.

A law of 1448–49 dealt with the use to which money received from the sale of imported corn should be put. It ordained that all merchants, aliens, and denizens, importing corn, victuals, or any other merchandise, should export, not English coin or bullion, but English goods. 27 H. VI, c. 3. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 350.

[3] 21 Jac. I, c. 28. *Ibid.*, iv, pt. 2, p. 1238 (1623–24).

[4] The second navigation act, passed in 1660, decreed that no masts, timber, boards, salt, pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, flax, raisins, figs, prunes, olive oils, *corn or grain*, sugar, potash, wines, vinegar, or spirits were to be imported except in the ships of the country of the origin of the goods, or in English ships, owned by English subjects and under an English master with three-quarters of the crew Englishmen.

This act was passed probably with no thought of increasing or diminishing the importation of corn. The aim was to encourage and to increase English, at the expense of foreign, shipping. Whatever may have been the intention, it is likely that the import corn trade would in fact suffer from such restriction. 12 Car. II, c. 18, § 8. *Ibid.*, v, p. 248.

The navigation act of 1651 (Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, c. 22, pp. 176–177) does not specifically mention corn.

paid on imported corn. The duty was 5 s. 4 d. per quarter of wheat, when the latter was not over 48 s., 4 s. for rye, peas, and beans when not over 32 s., 2 s. 8 d. for barley and malt when not over 28 s., 2 s. for buckwheat when not over 28 s., and 1 s. 4 d. for oats when not over 13 s. 4 d.[1] By implication, the old rates were to hold when prices were higher than those expressed.

This was the first time in English history that English agriculture was protected by high import corn duties. Clearly the government was bending every effort to make agricultural production for the market a profitable occupation.

In 1670 this policy was carried to its logical conclusion. The English market was guaranteed to native producers of corn when prices were low. When prices were moderate, they were given a great advantage over foreign producers. And only when prices were distinctly high could corn be imported at anything like reasonable rates. This was accomplished by creating three ranges of prices: the first was up to 53 s. 4 d., and while prices were within this range the importer had to pay a duty of 16 s. per quarter; the second 53 s. 4 d. to 80 s. when 8 s. were due; and the third above 80 s. when the older and lower rates had to be paid.[2]

Trial proved this law ineffectual, because of the lack of machinery for determining the market price. The corn dealers were accused of raising the price in the district where they imported a cargo, so that they would have less duty to pay — " to defraud us [the king] of the higher duty due by Law." [3]

By way of remedy, " An Additionall Act for the Improvement of Tillage " was passed in 1685. It commenced by reciting the act of 1670. Then it stated that since no provision had been made for the determination of prevailing prices, great quantities of corn had been imported without paying the duties as prescribed by the act of 1670. As a remedy it was ordered that justices of the peace within the counties to which the corn was imported were to learn what the current price was and to certify this to the customs

[1] 15 Car. II, c. 7. *Statutes of the Realm*, v, p. 449.
[2] 22 Car. II, c. 13. *Ibid.*, p. 685.
[3] MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Jac. II, i, fol. 521.

official, so that it might be hung up within the customs house. London prices were to be certified by the mayor, aldermen, and justices of the peace of London. The duty upon foreign corn imported was to be paid according to these certified prices.[1]

It seems, indeed, that this act, like the one it amended, had comparatively little effect, since two years later in 1687 the law of 1685[2] was again proclaimed. This suggests either that it had not yet been made known to the local officials or that it had been neglected by them. Governor Pownall's testimony, made in the latter half of the eighteenth century, was that it had not been "actually carried into execution,"[3] though it was not repealed till the beginning of the last decade of the century.[4]

This legislation may be thus summarized. There were but three noteworthy *general* corn laws dealing with importation during the period. The first (1463) came late, and though not repealed till 1624, it was made inoperative by the rise of prices and, therefore, was in force little more than two generations. Two centuries later came the second and the third (1663 and 1670) and these like the first aimed to keep out foreign corn. In other words, from 1100 to 1463, so far as we know, no corn law checking importation was in existence; and from about 1550 to 1663 no import corn law was actually in force. The significance of this legislation will appear more clearly in a later connection;[5] at present it suffices to observe that in the earlier period restriction of corn importation was unnecessary, in the later not advisable. Up to the fifteenth century the English farmer had no serious foreign competition to fear, and after the fifteenth century the government dreaded to leave him without such competition.

4. Legislation Concerning Corn Dealers

We have surveyed some of the national laws which affected the dealer in corn, such as those that regulated forestalling, regrating, weights and measures,[6] and foreign trade.[7] Municipal legislation

[1] 1 Jac. II, c. 19. *Statutes of the Realm*, vi, p. 21.
[2] *Council Register*, Jac. I, i, fol. 521.
[3] A. Young, *Political Arithmetic*, p. 304.
[4] 31 Geo. III, c. 30, § 1.
[5] Ch. VIII.
[6] Ch. V, § 1.
[7] Ch. V, §§ 2, 3.

on the subject of the corn middleman,[1] and governmental ordinances regulating those engaged in the domestic trade will be considered later.[2]

In this section an examination is made only of those national laws which gave to alien merchants certain corn trading privileges within the English towns and in the country as a whole, and national measures that dealt in a general way with the occupation of a corn middleman.

It is a striking commentary upon the history of the corn trader that there were so few laws passed which singled him out for special legislation. Generally the laws had reference to all merchants, alien or denizen, or to dealers in victuals. For this reason, then, most of the acts outlined here have no exclusive reference to the corn trade.

The status of aliens trading in the towns of medieval England is part of the wider subject of town economy with its characteristic town monopoly, which led to the exclusion of aliens from certain activities such as retailing and selling to other aliens, under any but prescribed conditions. In England in the fourteenth century the central government stepped in and threw the weight of its power on the side of the alien. In the laws that were passed, favoring the foreign merchant, the purchase and sale of corn in the towns were given prominence, but corn is only one of the articles of traffic mentioned.

In 1303 the Carta Mercatoria gave to alien merchants, in return for extra import and export duties, special trading privileges within the English towns, notably the right to deal with aliens as well as denizens, and to sell by retail both mercery and spices.[3]

The exclusive policy of the towns was condemned in 1335. By way of remedy the king decreed that all merchants, strangers, and denizens, who wished to buy or sell corn, wines, avoirdupois, flesh, fish and other victuals, wool, cloth, wares, merchandise, and all other vendible goods, might do so freely in any city, borough, town, seaport, fair, market or elsewhere in the realm, either

[1] Ch. VI, § 1. [2] Ch. VIII, § 6.

[3] Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc. (Rec. ed.), ii, pt. 2, p. 747 (1302–03).

within a private franchise or without; it was also ordained that such goods might be sold to aliens as well as to denizens.[1]

This law was recited in a statute of 1351 and ordered to be kept. It was likewise explicitly stated that dealers in victuals and other goods, aliens as well as denizens, might sell in gross or by retail to whomever they would.[2]

In 1378 a similar law was enacted which expressed more fully the articles of commerce.[3] All merchants, according to this statute, whether aliens or denizens, might buy and sell corn, flesh, fish and other victuals, spices, fruit, fur, small wares, silk, gold and silver wire, and handkerchiefs, in London or other cities, boroughs, seaports, fairs, markets, and other places, either by retail or in gross, to whomever they would, denizens or foreigners.

The native, as well as the foreign corn dealer, came in for special legislative consideration. This was quite apart from forestalling, regrating, or engrossing (in the sense of monopolizing). Indeed, the object of these enactments was to create a legal status for the corn middleman engaging in the domestic trade.

The first act of importance in this connection was passed in 1552. It declared that the purchase of corn, fish, butter, and cheese by any badger, lader, kidder, or carrier was lawful when he had been licensed by three justices of the peace of the district. Such badger was, however, to sell or deliver in the open fair or market, or to another victualler or private person for household use, or he was to make provision for a city, borough, town corporate, ship, castle, or fort. Forestalling was prohibited. Any one having corn enough for seed and for household use, who bought more to sell in the market or fair, even at the prevailing prices, would be under penalty of the law. Any one authorized by three justices of the peace of the district might ship corn and cattle coast-wise under cocket, but he had to return a certificate that he had unloaded his cargo according to the specification of the cocket. When the price of corn was commonly not above a certain rate (wheat 6 s. 8 d., rye and mistlin 5 s., peas and beans

[1] 9 Ed. III, st. 1, c. 1. *Statutes of the Realm*, i, p. 269.
[2] 25 Ed. III, st. 3, c. 2. *Ibid.*, i, p. 315 (1350–51).
[3] 2 R. II, st. 1, c. 1. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 7.

4 s., barley and malt 3 s. 4 d., oats and malted oats 2 s.), then it was to be lawful for any one "not forstallinge to buy, engrosse and kepe in his or their garners or houses" such corn as might be desired.[1]

This law, at first tentative, was continued for short periods by various acts, the last of which was passed in the first year of Elizabeth,[2] until it was finally made perpetual in the thirteenth year of her reign.[3] Enforced with evident difficulty in the sixteenth century [4] and to some extent in the seventeenth,[5] it was repealed only in the eighteenth.[6] But in fact it is doubtful if the last and in some respects the most important clause of the act was in operation for any length of time owing to the great rise of prices that took place in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Never before did the middleman enjoy so clearly defined a legal recognition. Provided with a license and subject only to the prohibition of forestalling, he might buy and lay up corn when prices were low, and ship it along the coast.

[1] 5 & 6 Ed. VI, c. 14. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 1, p. 148 (1551–52). Compare the following proclamation:

"No person may buy to sell again any grain, 'misselyn,' or meale on pain of forefeiture of goods bought, and half his lands and goods, half penalty to informer. Brewers and bakers may buy for trade use. Innkeepers may sell Beanes, Pease, and Oats to guests. Broggers and common carriers may buy and sell to Brewers, Bakers, &c., not having more than 10 quarters of any one kind of grain in stock at once." *Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns*, i, no. 389 (24 Sept., 1550).

In the following month the ten quarters were raised to twenty. *Ibid.*, no. 390 (20 Oct., 1550).

[2] 1 Eliz., c. 18, § 1. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 1, p. 380.

[3] 13 Eliz., c. 25. *Ibid.*, p. 560.

[4] About the year 1565–66, this law was held to be of little or no effect. Commissions were at that time sent out to local authorities to check the activities of engrossers, forestallers, and regrators. MS., R. O., *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, xxxix, no. 16.

In 1570 the Lord Mayor of York tried to enforce the act. *The History and Antiquities of . . . York* (York, 1788), i, p. 294.

About 1572 a grant for 21 years was made by the queen to Eduard ——— of the sole privilege of enforcing the acts of 1552 and 1571 and of granting licenses to traffic in corn, cattle, and other articles. *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, xc, no. 36.

[5] In 1650 the London authorities ordered that the badgers should be licensed under £40 security under the act of 1563. MS., Guildhall, *Repertory*, lxi, fol. 4 (9 Nov.).

[6] 12 Geo. III, c. 71, § 1.

During the parliamentary session of 1563, so notable for its economic legislation, there was passed a rather detailed act concerning the licensing of badgers of corn and drovers of cattle. After having recited the act of 1552, this statute ordered that no drover of cattle, badger, lader, kidder, carrier, buyer, or transporter of corn or grain, butter, or cheese was to be licensed except in the general and open quarter sessions of the peace; only those should be licensed who had been in the shire during the three preceding years, were married men of the age of at least thirty, and were householders and not household servants or retainers; licenses were to be good for one year only. All drovers of cattle, badgers, laders, kidders and carriers, or buyers of corn, grain, butter, or cheese were to give surety not to forestall nor engross. The clerk of the peace was to keep a register of names of those licensed together with their place of residence and the date of the granting of the license; this register was to be kept so that it might be known how many licenses had been granted. No person under authority of a license might buy corn or grain, to sell again, except in the open fair or market, unless he had a special license authorizing him to do so. No city or town corporate was to be injured by this act; both might license purveyors for their provision as formerly.[1]

By this act the license system was made more efficient, and two kinds of licenses were sharply differentiated, the one permitting the purchase of corn only in the open market, and the other, a special license, providing for such purchase even outside the market.

In 1571 the same act that made that of 1552 perpetual further ordered that no one was to be a buyer, badger, kidder, or carrier of corn, cattle, butter, cheese, or other victuals, except as authorized by the law of 1563, thereby indicating the determination of parliament to keep the law in force.[2]

By the law of 1627 it was enacted that any subject might buy and sell corn or grain in markets and out of markets, and keep, sell, or transport it within England, or send it abroad. But this

[1] 5 Eliz., c. 12. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 1, p. 439 (1562–63).
[2] 13 Eliz., c. 25, § 7. *Ibid.*, p. 562.

was conditioned on low prices, that is, when wheat was not over 32 s., rye 20 s., and peas, beans, barley, and malt 16 s.[1]

This act, as far as the price limit for the storage and sale of corn was concerned, superseded the law of 1552, but, in turn, was not often applicable since prices continued to rise so that those specified in this act did not long prevail.

The Commonwealth parliament in 1650 quoted the act of 1552 as still on the statute books and applied its penalties to the offence of engrossing. "Forasmuch as of late time," ran the act, "there hath been great spoil and destruction made of Wheat, and other Corn and Grain of all sorts, and converting the same into Meal and Flour, and selling the same in private Houses, Warehouses and Shops, without bringing the same into the common and publique Markets"; it is enacted that from 20 November, 1650, no one shall buy wheat or other grain to sell again as meal, flour or otherwise, except after obtaining a license granted by five justices of the peace sitting in open sessions. The occupation of the mealman was so hemmed in as to be seemingly impossible. He had to secure a license from the justices of the peace before buying his supply of corn, and he might not sell meal in shops, houses, or warehouses in any place within the realm. Only the public market was open to him.[2]

Plainly this statute was reactionary in tone and intent. But it applied, not to all dealers in corn, but only to mealmen,[3] those who bought corn, had it ground, and retailed the flour or meal in small amounts. Although not specifically limited as to duration, this act was not in force longer than about ten years, for it suffered the fate of other Interregnum laws, and was held to be void at the return of monarchy.

In 1656 an act, passed expressly to encourage export, stated that it was to be lawful for any native to transport corn and to buy to sell again in markets and out of markets, and to keep, sell, or transport it at will.[4] The condition was that prices should be

[1] 3 Car. I, c. 5, § 5. *Ibid.*, v, p. 30.

[2] Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, pt. 2, pp. 142–143.

[3] See their complaints against the act, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Com., vii, pp. 139–140 (1654).

[4] Printed at London, 1657, by Henry Hills and John Field (ten pages).

low, wheat 40 s. per quarter, and corresponding prices for other grains.[1]

In 1663 a similar statute was passed which allowed any one to buy corn in open market, to lay it up in his granary or house and to sell it again, provided he did not forestall it, nor sell it in the same market within three months, and also provided prices were not above the following rates, wheat 48 s., rye, peas, and beans 32 s., barley and malt 28 s., buckwheat 28 s., and oats 13 s. 4 d.[2]

Taken as a whole these statutes dealing with corn middlemen seem to present a changing policy. In each case middleman activities were hedged in by regulations which, if strictly enforced, would have been discouraging and injurious. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the government saw the use of domestic corn dealers, but feared the abuses incident to their trade. Although the general purport of the corn laws is comparatively easy to discover, and although their development is simple in outline, their inner significance, as we shall see, is by no means obvious. It is one thing to read the statutes, and quite another to interpret them, to ascertain how far they really met the situation they were intended to meet, and to what extent, indeed, the government intended them to be in force. These questions can be answered wholly or in part only after a parallel study of the development of the corn middleman, the corn trade policy, and the market.

[1] For the rates see the export law of 1656 above, p. 143.

[2] 15 Car. II, c. 7. *Statutes of the Realm*, v, p. 449. Cf. p. 252 below.

CHAPTER VI

THE MEDIEVAL CORN MIDDLEMAN UNDER THE LOCAL MARKET SYSTEM, BEFORE THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1. Local Corn Dealers

There is, perhaps, no phase of the study of the grain trade more elusive than that of the middleman. There is a general lack of a definite nomenclature. And when specific terms are used, they are often applied inaccurately. Some regulations seem to legislate a certain class of dealers out of existence; others assume his existence. And, indeed, nowhere is there anything like satisfactory evidence of the actual dealings of medieval middlemen, from which deficiencies in terminology can be entirely overcome. It is not alone the modern student who suffers from this confusion; even the authorities in the sixteenth century were uncertain.[1]

A great variety of terms was used to designate corn middlemen, and it is not easy to distinguish clearly the classes of dealers engaged in buying and selling corn. It is clear, however, that several types of middlemen may be differentiated.

The corn merchant was, as here conceived, a wholesale dealer. Several problems concerning his existence and operations are dealt with separately.

The corn monger was engaged in a regular, perhaps even daily, trade in corn, usually by land, over short distances, at slight risk and generally supplying some borough or city market, the corn he carried being chiefly for use in the town. He was primarily a local dealer who bought corn from the producer and generally carried it for direct sale to the consumer in the town market. As long as he obeyed the rules laid down for his governance, not only was there no objection to his activities, but he was actually

[1] Cf. 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. 14, §§ 1, 2, 3.

encouraged. A London ordinance directed those wishing to be dealers in corn to go into the country to buy their supplies, where they might find a profit, and bring their corn to the City for sale.[1]

A third dealer was the corn broker. The derivation of the word " broker " and its early history are obscure.[2] His activities, however, are fairly well described in medieval town records. As a witness to commercial transactions, he had to be a freeman of the town.[3] Nominated or chosen by the craft concerned with the trade in which he was to act as broker, he was admitted and sworn by the town magistracy.[4] His function as witness was chiefly exercised in bargains between stranger and citizen, where, acting as a spy upon such dealings, he was to preserve the monopoly of his craft,[5] report all infractions of local ordinances,[6] and also give legal testimony in case of dispute.[7] Although there is great confusion in terminology, both in England and on the Continent, the broker, when acting in such capacity, was probably normally called a *correctier* or *courtier*.[8]

Another function of the broker, perhaps the original one, was to bring buyer and seller together, chiefly the stranger who was not acquainted within the town and the citizen who did not know

[1] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. F, p. 102.

[2] See the article of Professor Leo Wiener, " Byzantinisches," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, xxxiv, pp. 664–674.

[3] *Liber Albus*, i, p. 586 (iii, p. 231).

[4] Statuta Civitatis Londoniae, *Statutes of the Realm*, i, p. 103 (1285). *Calendar of Letter Books of London, passim.* Cf. vol. G, pp. 14, 208; vol. H, p. 198 (14th century).

[5] In the 15th century the Grocers imposed this oath upon their brokers: " Ye shall sell no manner of grocerie wares to no manner of persone owte of the feliship of the Grocerie withoute frawde or collucon but ye have licence of the wardens for the tyme beyinge.

" Ye shall geve knowleche unto the wardens of all manner sotill waris beyinge in any mannes handis oute of the felishipp." MS., Grocers' Hall, no. 300, *Register of Freemen*, &c (1345–1481).

[6] Cf. *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, ii, p. 18 (14th century).

[7] " And that the broker keep a record of particulars as evidence." *Calendar of Letter Books*, vol. H, p. 199 (1382).

[8] Cf. the following regulation of St. Omer: Et ke nus courretiers ne se melle d'autre courreterie fors de chele *où il est mis par eskevins*, sour LXS. et de perdre son mestier an et jour. Giry, *Histoire de la ville de St. Omer*, p. 505.

the stranger.[1] This part of the broker's business was accepted by the town and regulated.[2] It is probable that our term "broker" is associated with this activity.

The broker constantly tended to override these narrow bounds in order to act as commission agent and thus make additional gain. This was prohibited because, under such circumstances, the broker's official obligations would rest lightly upon his shoulders, and by covin with the stranger he might cheat the town of its customs dues and override the local restrictions placed upon the dealings of aliens.[3]

So far we have considered the broker in general. The *corn* broker occupies in the London records a more prominent place than in those of other English towns. Unlike the broker in other trades, the corn broker was not elected by a craft, at least not from the fourteenth century on, when our evidence is full. The town swore none in, and recognized none officially. Indeed, its aim was to prevent, as far as possible, the sale of corn anywhere except upon the public local market, where a broker was not necessary, at least not necessary for honest bargaining.[4] So when the town, English [5] or Continental,[6] prohibited any one from

[1] See the statute of 1 Jac. I, c. 21, § 1. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 2, p. 1038 (1603–04).

[2] "Item that each alien and stranger should pay to the brokers for every tun [of woad] that he sells to burgesses 12 d. for brokerage, and no more." *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, ii, p. 21 (14th century).

[3] It was ordered in 1315 or 1316 that "no denizen associate himself with a strange cornmonger nor avow his merchandise." *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. E, p. 56. Cf. also the oath of the brokers. *Ibid.*, vol. D, p. 9 (early 14th century).

The rise of pawnbroking is described in the act of 1603–04, 1 Jac. I, c. 21, § 1. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 2, p. 1038.

[4] In St. Omer the corn broker was not to aid the corn dealer on the market: Nus ostes ne abrokieres de blei voist avoec marchant de blei pour aidier, achateir ou pour vendre blei el markié sour le fourfait de iii libr. et de perdre son mestier an et jour. Giry, *op. cit.*, p. 502 (late 13th century).

[5] "It was agreed by the Warden and Aldermen, for the benefit of the whole City and of foreigners alike, that no one in future should meddle with brokerage of corn or malt, under penalty of the Statute." *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. C, p. 18 (1293).

[6] In St. Omer it was ordained: ke nus soit makelare [courtier] de blei sour LXS., et s'il ne les pooit paier, sour le pellorin. Giry, *op. cit.*, p. 503 (late 13th century).

being a corn broker, it had in mind, in all probability, the broker acting in an official capacity.

On the other hand, the private corn broker was accepted and his dealings, as such, regulated. We find him accused, for example, of deceit in the purchase of corn brought to town by country-folk,[1] a fact which seems to point to corn regrating.

The medieval English corn broker, then, largely confined to London, having no craft connection or official sanction, carried on the business of a private negotiator of exchanges.

A more important dealer is the corn regrator. The ordinances present a mass of confusing regulations dealing with his activities. He was prohibited from buying upon the markets to sell again,[2] and then from buying there till after a certain hour, or till the consumer had had a chance to purchase his supplies.[3] Not only was he forbidden, like other dealers, to forestall, but he was

[1] Et pur ceo qascuns achatours et abrokours de blee achatent blee en la citee de paisauntz qil mesnent en la citee pur vendre, et dounent sur lachat un denier ou un obole a ernes. *Liber Albus*, i, p. 261.

[2] For example, " It was ordained and agreed in 1344 by the said Mayor and Aldermen that the underwritten articles for avoiding dearness of corn should be proclaimed." *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. F, p. 100.

" That no blader nor retail dealer buy corn that has arrived in the City for sale within the markets or without to sell again." *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[3] " That no regrator of corn, of fish, or of poultry, shall buy provisions for resale before the hour of Prime rung at Saint Paul's; or before the substantial men of the land and of the City shall have bought their provisions." *Liber Albus*, i, p. 270 (iii, p. 88).

A Portuguese ordinance of 1229 reads as follows: Mando quod in Castello [of Mendo] fiat semper mercatum de pane, de carne, de piscibus, et de aliis rebus venalibus: et mando quod qui duxerit carregas pro ad vendendum, aut alias causas, ducat omnes illas ad locum ubi mandofieri mercatum, et ibi preconizetur et vendantur tam carnes quam pisces, quam omnia alia, *cessantibus omnibus regrateyris*, ita quod si res venales sunt multe vel magne, regatarius nichil comparet in prima die, et si fuerint pauce vel minute, regatarius nichil comparet ante nonam. Item mando quod in die de mercato, vel de feyra, regatarius nichil comparet nisi finito et soluto mercato vel feyra. *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Leges et Consuetudines*, i, p. 610. Cited by Wiener, " Byzantinisches," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, xxxiv, p. 652.

The London regulations of 1344 stipulated that corn was to be sold upon the markets " by the same persons that bring it to *all folk* for their living and sustenance of *their hosts*, and to *bakers* for the service of the people." Thus corn was neither to be sold by regrators upon the markets nor bought by them there. *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. F, p. 102.

ordered to buy only in the country.[1] That is, he was to be a corn monger. Storing up corn from one market to another was allowed to a freeman in London, but in Bristol was entirely forbidden.[2]

From these regulations it would seem that the corn regrator was bound hand and foot.[3] The persistency of the recurrence of these local laws, however, shows that he survived them, and continued his operations. Indeed, the corn regrator performed a valuable service. He could in ordinary times buy grain upon the open market after a certain hour and sell it there at a later date. In allowing him to do this the town ran no risk, for in his purchases he was not a competitor of the consumer who had the first chance to buy, nor would the presence of his corn upon the market later on, augmenting the visible supply, do aught but tend to lower prices. The only real danger was that he should plot with others who brought corn to market, to raise prices. This was prohibited, however, and the prohibition was enforced.

An apparent, not a real, injury that he might do the poor consumer was to store up grain and then in years of scarcity sell it dear. Much of the objection to him was probably based on the feeling that he produced no corn utility. At least no utility was readily apparent in buying up the market at a low price and selling at a higher price; or in storing up corn when cheap to sell again when dear. Unlike the corn merchant and corn monger, he did not transport corn from one place to another. The speculative side of his dealing was uppermost in the minds of the consumers of corn.[4]

[1] "Those who wish to be merchants of corn should go and buy it *Opeland*, where they may find a profit, and bring it and sell it in the City as aforesaid, or put it in store (*en Gerner*) if they be free of the City," but they are not to buy it upon the markets. *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. F, p. 102 (1344).

[2] Item quod nullus hospitet aliqua blada ab uno mercato ad alium mercatum ad ea carius vendenda sub pena forisfacture totius bladi. *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, ii, p. 225 (14th century).

[3] Cf. the Pisan law prohibiting the *pissicario* from dealing in grain, cited by Professor Leo Wiener, "Byzantinisches," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, xxxiv, p. 653.

[4] Matthew Paris has given us an interesting account of regrating in years of dearth.

About March, 1257–58, fifty big ships or thereabouts, carrying wheat, barley,

As in Florence,[1] so in London,[2] bakers acted as corn regrators. They bought corn upon the market place after consumers had been supplied and sold it, legally upon the open market to all who would buy, illegally in their shops.

Corn hucksters seem to have played little or no part in medieval English towns. One of the chief services that the huckster can render, the rapid disposal of a surplus supply, was not possible in the corn trade as in the fish and fruit trades. Corn was not a rapidly perishable commodity, and, furthermore, although corn might exist in abundance, it would not be marketed very rapidly owing to the slow process of threshing and owing to the fact that in a local market the producers, knowing conditions of supply and demand, would hold back their crops for a higher price.

Forestallers and engrossers did not form middleman classes. Shop keepers dealing in corn [3] are apparently not mentioned in the early records of London,[4] though in Florence they occupied a well-defined position.[5] Indeed, their operations would have run counter to the cardinal policy of the city.

The commission agent was apparently banned in London. The measurer at least, who was most likely, along with the broker, to act in such capacity, was prohibited from carrying samples of

rye, and bread arrived in the port of London. Et acclamatum est edicto regio, ne aliquis civium Londoniensium de blado illo aliquid emeret ad reponendum in cumeram, ut indigentibus carius et postulantibus *secundum suam consuetudinem* venderent. Quia infames habebantur dicti cives, quod in tempore caristiae naves victualibus onustas vel subdole averterunt vel in solidum emerunt, ut ad placitum eorum ea venderent postulantibus. *Cronica Majora*, v, p. 673.

[1] Bakers sold bread, " flour of all kinds, as well, and bran and sifted grain of every description. There was consequently a sort of rivalry set up between them and the Granaiuoli, — Corn-chandlers, — who were associated with the Arte degli Oliandoli." Staley, *The Guilds of Florence*, p. 441 (early 15th century).

[2] See above, p. 69.

[3] In a document of the time of King John (p. 163, n. 4 below) corn mongers are ordered to sell only in their shops (" sopes "); but it is not unlikely that this word " sopes " refers to booths or stalls on the market or wharf of Queenhithe.

[4] In 1646–47 and 1650 it was clearly stated that selling corn from shops was even then illegal and of very recent practice. The open market was still the only recognized place for selling corn or meal. See Appendix L.

[5] Item quod biadaiuolus vel trecco, qui publice habeat apotecam in civitate Florentie, moretur in platea Orti Sancti Micaelis. *Statuti della Repubblica Fiorentina* (ed. R. Caggese), i, p. 35 (1322–25).

corn for sale.[1] Had London, in the middle ages, been a corn importing city, then such agents would have performed a useful service, like the *Fonticarii* of Venice, who were sellers of corn and pulse in the *Fondaco*, and were themselves not allowed to buy corn for sale, nor, indeed, any more than for the use of their own households.[2]

2. Rise of the Corn Monger

Contemporaneous with the growth of the towns of medieval England was the rise and development of the corn monger (*bladarius* or *blader*, *mango bladi* or *mangun de ble*) [3] to supply the increasing need for corn. Thus the beginning of the class would date back at least to the twelfth or thirteenth century. The earliest references to them belong to the years 1204 [4] and 1222.[5]

[1] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. F, p. 101 (1344).

[2] Fonticarii — i venditori di biade e legumi nel Fondaco [Fontico] del comune a Rialto e fuori. Capitolari delle Arti Veneziane, ii, pt. 1, p. 391 n. (1271).

They took the following oath: non comparabo nec comparari faciam aliquo modo vel ingenio blavum vel legumina in Veneciis nec extra Venecias causa revendendi, nisi tantum pro domo mea. et si sciero quod aliquis emat frumentum vel aliquem blavum vel legumina in Fontico causa revendendi vel extrahendi de Veneciis, cicius quam potero dominis justiciariis manifestabo. *Ibid.*, ii, pt. i, pp. 393–394 (1271).

[3] For a philological account of the word " monger," see the interesting article by Professor Leo Wiener, " Gypsies as Fortune-Tellers and as Blacksmiths," *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (N.S.), iii, pp. 253 f.

[4] Adam Beremund debet quartam partem de XXXVIII quarteriis frumenti qua exigit versus petrum le cornmongere. MS., R. O., *Pipe Roll*, L. T. R., no. 50, memb. 8a (6 John).

Cf. also De mangonibus bladi. Nul mangun de ble ne doit estre en Lundres fors ces ki sunt en la rive de la roine, et ces ne doivent achater al plus fors une cumbe de ble, deske il aient cel vendu; ne il ne poent, ne ne doivent, cel ble ne altre mettre en celiers, ne aillurs, fors sulement en lur sopes, et la vendre le apertement. "A London Municipal Collection of the Reign of John," ed. Bateson, *English Historical Review*, xvii, p. 724 (John).

[5] Adam palmerius [liber tenens in manerio de Sandun' in comitatu Hertfordiae] X acras pro IIII solidiis. Idem dimidiam virgatam quae fuit ailrici cornmongere unde reddit IIII solidos. *Domesday of St. Paul*, p. 15.

Cf. also Stepho le Cornmongere, and many others assessed in 1296, 1327, and 1332 for subsidy in Sussex at a very low rate. *Sussex Subsidies*, Sussex Record Society, x (ed. W. Hudson), pp. 83, 86, 100, 110, 117, 133, 232, 240, 246.

Cf. also Robert Saleman, " flouremongere." *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. E, p. 270 (1330–32).

The information about the local corn dealer from Edward I on is fullest in the London records. A large number of corn mongers or *bladers* are mentioned by name, above forty in all, between the years 1281 and 1379, one in 1281, eight between the years 1312 and 1324, twenty-five between the years 1332 and 1350, one in 1364, one in 1369, three in 1370 and one in 1379.[1] None of these corn mongers seem to have been men of prominence in London. They are mentioned as granting a "parcel of land" to another monger,[2] as leasing a house to another,[3] as landlord and tenant of a holding worth ten marks per annum,[4] as renting a tenement for twelve years,[5] and for sixteen years,[6] as being entrusted with the keys at Cripplegate,[7] as wardens of the corn markets at Gracechurch and at Newgate,[8] as mainpernors,[9] as surety,[10] as guardian appointed by the Lord Mayor,[11] as furnishing soldiers,[12] as assessed for a benevolence,[13] as giving two marks present to the king,[14] and as having an apprentice.[15]

Though none of these men appear to have been prominent, they were all probably men of substance. The approximate wealth of at least four[16] corn mongers, mentioned in the *Calendar*

[1] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vols. B, C, E, F, G, H.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. E, p. 151.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 272.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. F, p. 161.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. E, p. 144.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. F, p. 83.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. B, p. 8.
[10] *Ibid.*, vol. F, p. 201.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*, vol. E, p. 93.
[13] *Ibid.*, vol. F, p. 146.
[14] *Ibid.*, vol. G, p. 171.
[15] *Ibid.*, vol. H, p. 443.

[16] In 1324 Peter de Staundone, blader, held a plot of ground from the city at a yearly rental of 12 d. (*Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. E, p. 193). His will, dated 1330, shows his possessions to have been in part two bakehouses, a tenement near the Tower, and "all the houses left to him by his uncle" (*Calendar of Wills*, pt. i, p. 358).

In 1345 there was taken out "lease by Walter Neel, blader, to William de Thorp, blader . . . of a brewery in the parish of St. Andrews at Castle Baynard" (*Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. F, p. 119). This same Walter Neel had been sheriff in 1337–38 (*Calendar of Wills*, pt. i, pp. 673–674). In 1351 he made his will bequeathing chantries for over six persons, "his tenement in the parish of St. James," "other tenements in the parishes of S. Michael de Paternostercherche and S. Thomas the Apostle," and finally tenements and rents in the ward of Queenhithe (*Calendar of Wills*, pt. i, pp. 673–674).

Hamo le Barber, blader, died between 1348 and 1350, leaving a "certain tenement in the parish of St. Margaret," "all his tenements in the vill of Henlee,"

of Letter Books of London, may be roughly determined by their wills enrolled at the Court of Husting and printed in Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*. This evidence shows that corn mongering was a paying occupation as early as the fourteenth century.

Most of the corn mongers who are found at this period well developed as a class seem to have been Londoners and to have resided in the city. Mention is made, however, of a corn monger living in a nearby borough, Great Marlow.[1] He rented to another corn monger for thirty marks for three years "certain tenements in the parish of St. Michael de Bassieshawe" in London, probably corn warehouses or granaries. And this corn monger of Great Marlow did not stand alone. A corn monger of Fulham sold corn in 1370 in London, and was pilloried for putting the good corn on top and the bad beneath.[2] Another corn monger from St. Albans was offered a higher price than the prevailing market price at which he had been willing to sell his corn.[3] There were doubtless many other corn mongers like these living in Hertford, Wycombe, and other towns, and engaged in supplying London with corn from the local market towns, "strange corn mongers" or "foreign dealers" as they were called, association with whom was forbidden to all denizen corn mongers.[4]

It is obvious, therefore, that by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, London's demand for corn had developed a class of

"a tenement formerly belonging to John de Kyngeston," and his leasehold interest in certain tenements of Fridaystrete" (*Calendar of Wills*, pt. i, p. 533).

Perhaps the most flourishing corn monger in this period in London, of whom the records make mention, was William de Thame who in 1349 and 1350 was surety and was then called *blader* (*Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. F, pp. 193, 211). In 1355 his will was made, and it enumerated the following possessions: "his capital tenement with shops in the parish of St. Michael" [Queenhithe], "shops in the street called 'la Riole,'" "rents" in la Riole Street, and "shops in Hoggenelane," a "tenement in the parish of St. Michael de Paternostercherch," a "shop in Westchep," and finally "a granary in le Derkelane in the parish of St. Michael Queenhithe" (*Calendar of Wills*, pt. i, pp. 697–698).

[1] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. F, p. 161 (1347).

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. G, p. 261 (1370).

[3] *Ibid.* Cf. the corn mongers found in a list of twenty-three tradesmen of St. Albans, MS., R. O., *K. R. Accounts*, 399/14 (Ed. III).

[4] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. E, p. 56 (1316); vol. F, p. 101 (1434); vol. H, p. 138 (1379).

middlemen living in London itself and in the neighboring towns and villages.

The existence of such corn mongers elsewhere than in the lower Thames area does not rest on inference only. In the districts about Bristol and Lynn [1] there were dealers who, though they may have engaged in the wholesale trade, were probably also retailers or corn mongers. And in all parts of England, just as in backward Sussex, we may safely assume there were country corn mongers who supplied the local towns with corn.[2]

Unfortunately the earliest history of the corn monger cannot now be written, since the extant records deal largely with the period from the reign of Edward I onwards. We cannot say that corn mongers are found first in the village and then in the towns, or that they were originally producers of corn who took to buying corn from their neighbors to sell on the nearby market. Nor can we hold that when we find a town corn monger, say of the reign of John, he was not himself a producer of corn in the half-agricultural, half-commercial town of the day. Although there are far more instances of rural than of urban corn mongers in the records of the early thirteenth century, it is not unlikely that some early townsmen, not engaged in agriculture, took to buying and selling corn as a means of livelihood.

In the early development of the rural community with urban ambitions, the corn monger doubtless played an important part. So we may add him to the list of manorial artisans and tradesmen, such as the smith, the butcher, the tanner, the fisherman, and the merchant, as an example of the growing specialization of employments.

Municipal regulations of the corn monger have been handed down from the reign of John. They did not prohibit, but restricted and regulated his activities. He might not buy more than a certain amount, nor sell secretly,[3] nor forestall corn on the

[1] Cf. below, pp. 175–176.

[2] See the subsidy accounts of 1296, 1327, and 1332 referred to above, p. 163, n. 5.

[3] p. 163, n. 4.

The corn monger in Paris in the thirteenth century, when about to buy or sell more than one sétier (about four and one-quarter bushels in the 17th century), was obliged to make use of the sworn measurers. Nus Marchans de grain, c'est

way to market,[1] but it was lawful for him " to go into the country and buy such things [as " corn or other victual "] on a farm or in a barn and bring them to London." [2] Indeed, as has been seen, he was even encouraged by the authorities to carry on his legitimate functions of town purveyor of corn,[3] and was in this respect doubtless at once the envy and the despair of his less fortunate contemporaries, the corn brokers and the corn regrators.

3. Organization of the Corn Mongers in London, 1350–1450

The organization of corn mongers has received but scant attention. Though Herbert sets out to treat of " the whole of the Minor Companies " as well as of the greater companies, yet he does not mention the corn mongers' mystery, regarding it, perhaps, as of less than " minor " importance.

The first notice of the corn mongers' mystery in London [4] seems to occur in a document of December, 1328. In a list of twenty-

a savoir vendeur ou achateur de grain, quelque il soit, dedenz la vile de Paris, ne puet ne ne doit mesurer chose que il vende, plus haut d'un sextier a une fois. Et se il li convenoit plus mesurer, il devroit apeler un Mesureur jure. *Le Livre des Métiers d'Etienne Boileau* (ed. Lespinasse and Bonnardot), p. 20.

[1] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. G, p. 103 (1357). [2] *Ibid.*

[3] pp. 157–158 above. Cf. also the Paris regulation: Quiconques vent estre Blaetiers, c'est a savoir venderes de blé et de toutes autres manieres de graim [sic] boin et leau, et achateres, a Paris, estre le puet franchement, par paiant le tonlieu et la droiture que chascuns grains doit.

Quiquonques est Blaetiers a Paris, il puet avoir tant de vallès et de aprentis comme il leur plaist, et avoir mine leur propre, boine et leau, seingnie au seing le Roy; et en puent mesurer dessi a I sestier tant seulement, au vendre et a l'achater, se il plaist a l'achateur; et le sourplus de I sestier qu'il vendent ou achatent, doivent il faire mesurer aus Mesureurs de la ville de Paris, mis et etabliz par les Borgois de Paris, c'est a savoir par le prevost et par les jurés des Marchans. *Le Livre des Métiers d'Etienne Boileau* (ed. Lespinasse and Bonnardot), p. 18.

[4] The gild organization of corn retailers is found in towns other than London. In the fourteenth century, a Southampton gild merchant regulation said that " no one, except a gildsman . . . [shall] keep more than five quarters of corn in his granary to sell by retail " (Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i, p. 47; ii, p. 218). This may have reference to the members of the gild merchant in general, as seems probable, or to a special class of corn retailers within the gild. A clearer case is to be found in Newcastle. The gild merchant of Newcastle, dating at least from the fourteenth century, was made up in part of Mercers, Drapers, and Boothmen or " Merchauntes of corne " (*ibid.*, i, p. 152; ii, p. 383. Boothman means shopkeeper. Cf. apothe-

five crafts, the corn mongers' came twelfth. The names are given of nine men elected and sworn in the mystery of the *Bladarii*, for the government of the craft.[1] In the year 1364, various sums were presented to the king by "divers misteries," and among those mentioned is Robert de Thame "cornmonger" giving two marks, probably on behalf of his fellow corn mongers.[2] Five years later, reference is made to Thomas Blossè apprentice to John Pountefreyt, corn monger (bladarius), who "had been admitted to the freedom of the City [in the Mistery of Cornmongers.]"[3] In 1382 "John Foxtone [was] convicted of having deceitfully caused William Warde a cuteler of the city of York, to be admitted a freeman in the mistery of Bladers (corn mongers) instead of that of the Cutlers."[4] In 1422 the mystery of the corn mongers is mentioned along with one hundred and ten others.[5] If the reference here be to a corn mongers' craft, then this is the last discoverable trace of it. When did it die out? In 1518 it is not found among those companies "keeping the watch" in London,[6] nor among those "suscribing for the purchase of corn in 1545,"[7] nor in any of the numerous lists of

cary and regrator). From the context — a complaint that these merchants object to non-gildsmen's buying to sell again — it seems clear that these boothmen were retailers of corn. The "botman," boothman, or corn retailer, is likewise found in the lists of the gild merchant of Shrewsbury (Hibbert, *English Gilds*, p. 28). While it is probable that in all of these cases corn retailers are referred to, it is uncertain whether they were corn mongers or corn regrators, or both.

[1] *Facsimile of . . . MS. . . . of the Grocers*, pt. i, pp. 4, 5 (ed. J. A. Kingdon). In the *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. E, p. 233, the term *Bladarii* is erroneously translated Beaders.

[2] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. G, p. 171.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. H, p. 443. The meaning of the agreement of 1293 by which "no one in future should meddle with brokerage of corn or malt" is uncertain (*Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. C, p. 18). Brokers were usually "elected" in the fourteenth century by the craft of the trade concerned, and this policy of 1293 regarding corn brokers is enunciated at the end of a list of such recorded "elections." A religious craft or fraternity of corn mongers may have existed in London in 1293 and may have been accustomed to elect the brokers of corn. If so, this practice was henceforth to cease.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. H, p. 206.

[5] Unwin, *Gilds and Companies of London*, pp. 167, 370, 371, quoting the Brewers' records, p. 167.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 371.

[7] Herbert, *The Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, i, pp. 134, 135.

companies in the city *Repertories* and *Journals* for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1]

Little, if anything, except the above is known about the corn mongers' craft. Much of the history of the other companies might be read into this company to explain its history, but the records themselves are silent as to its particular story. It is probable that the corn mongers' mystery rose under the three Edwards and decayed or died out in the fifteenth century.

The relative position of the craft among the London companies and the explanation of that position are of interest. In 1364 the company of the corn mongers is not listed among those crafts giving an offering to the king, at least not in the chamberlain's accounts [2] in which no company is put down as giving less than £2, while the corn mongers seem to have given only two marks.[3] In 1377 a list of forty-eight companies electing the common council of London has no mention of the corn mongers' craft.[4] In 1398 Thomas Blosse, who had been apprentice to a corn monger and had been admitted to the freedom of London in 1369, undoubtedly as a corn monger, in the mystery of corn mongers, now (1398) wanted to be admitted to the freedom of the City in the mystery of stockfish mongers, saying that "he had always used" the mystery of stockfish mongers, and not the mystery of the corn mongers.[5] Can it be inferred from this that at these dates, 1369 and 1398, the mystery of the corn mongers was either of little importance or in disrepute ?

One reason for the lack of growth and minor importance of the corn mongers' craft may have arisen from the fact that the London corn mongers never had a monopoly of their own trade. The corn mongers of St. Albans, of Great Marlow, and many other neighboring towns and villages shared in the business of providing London markets with corn, and it was obviously to the interest

[1] See Appendix H. In a list of fifty crafts in the city of York of the year 1623 there is likewise no mention of a corn mongers' gild. *The History and Antiquities of . . . York* (York, 1788), i, p. 322.

[2] Herbert, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 31, 32.

[3] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. G, p. 171.

[4] Herbert, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 33, 34.

[5] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. H, p. 443.

of London consumers thus to prevent monopoly prices of a commodity of such general and necessary use. Then, too, the farmers of the immediate neighborhood no doubt brought some of their corn to London markets. Competition in the trade with outsiders, " strangers," as well as a general distrust of all corn dealers, felt by the London consumers, tended to check the growth of the corn mongers' craft.

4. Rise of the Corn Merchant under the Local Market System

The word " merchant " in the middle ages had a much broader application than today, for it included craftsmen who manufactured goods; [1] perhaps even manorial tenants [2] whose only or chief merchandise consisted in the products of the soil; men who, like pedlars or hucksters, went from place to place selling their wares; [3] petty retailers, shopkeepers or boothmen [4] whose activities were confined to a limited field; as well as the monger [5] or seller of goods in general, or indeed any one who bought and sold.[6]

The recognition of this fact makes it necessary to reject such inexact and untechnical usage in favor of a nomenclature more discriminating. Adopting the modern practice, I apply the term " merchant " to a wholesaler [7] who sells not to consumers,

[1] Mercatores se trahunt ibidem sicut tannatores et alii mercatores a civitate praedicta [Canterbury]. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, i, p. 203a (3 Ed. I).

[2] *e.g.*, Adam Mercator tenet de eodem Simone viii acras terrae. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 419a (7 Ed. I). Cf. also Rogerus Carnifex, Philippus le Tannour, Thomasius Mercator, Nigellus Piscator, etc. *Ibid.*, pp. 640–641 (9 Ed. I).

[3] Mercator, de quacunque patria sit, portans mercimonia sua super dorsum suum, vocatus haukers, *Black Book of Winchester*, MS., Br. M., Add., 6036, cited in Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i, p. 107, n. 2.

[4] " Merchauntes of corne called Bothemen," in Newcastle, 1516. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, ii, p. 383.

[5] Mangere, nostra lingua mercator. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ii, p. 493.

[6] Nus Marchans de grain, c'est a savoir vendeur ou acheteur de grain. *Le Livre des Métiers d'Etienne Boileau* (ed. Lespinasse and Bonnardot), p. 20 (13th century).

[7] Four types of *urban* " merchants " may be distinguished, possibly equivalent to four stages of development. They are: (1) traders, shopkeepers, or handicraftsmen, who bought and sold, (2) those who, not being handicraftsmen, bought to sell again, whether in large or small amounts, (3) those who dealt only in large

but to the trade, usually to the retailer. It is necessary further to qualify this definition to distinguish the corn merchant from the general dealer casually trading in corn. At least the greater part of his goods should be corn, or in case of the merchant shipper, only the greater part of the cargo outwards or inwards.

A search for the native corn merchant importing corn under the local market system is needless, since, as has already been observed, the import trade during this period was insignificant and unorganized.

The problem of the existence of the corn merchant in the domestic trade is not so simple. It has already been noted that the typical trade under the local system lay within the area and was in the hands of the corn monger. Some scattered instances of inter-area trade may, however, be found in which the middleman participated. In the middle of the fourteenth century a citizen of London bought 120 quarters of wheat in the county of Cambridge, which was loaded on a small vessel to be carried to London, doubtless by way of Lynn.[1] Granted that such trade was unusual, could such a cargo have been wholesaled in London? In favor of the view that an importing merchant could wholesale his corn are the following facts. The regrator was at hand to purchase incoming supplies, especially in years of dearth when profits were large. Warehousing and selling in gross seemed to have been given some sanction.[2] And the Hanseatic merchants were privileged to store up their grain for forty days and to "sell it in their store-houses and granaries."[3] On the other hand, it is doubtful if these operations were ever unaccompanied by retailing. It was a usual regulation that corn arriving by ship had to be left open for sale to all comers for at least "one whole day,"[4] or according to another rule, "for three market days."[5]

amounts, and (4) those who, usually dealing in large amounts, sell only to retailers, that is to the "trade." See Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i, p. 157, for "three stages."

[1] *Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London*, p. 60 (1352–54).

[2] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. H, p. 147 (1380); *Liber Albus*, i, p. 261.

[3] *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, i, § 902 (1282).

[4] *Liber Albus*, i, p. 261.

[5] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. G, p. 77 (1356); *Liber Albus*, i, p. 460.

Bearing in mind, then, that such inter-area trade was exceptional, that the regrator was a suspected dealer, and that the theory and law were that all corn thus brought in should be first open to consumers, we are justified in concluding that the out-and-out wholesaler as a class was practically non-existent in the purely domestic corn trade.

There still remains the merchant engaged in the corn export trade. The Cambridge district best lends itself to the study of such a dealer, on account of the considerable export trade through Lynn.

Very scanty information exists of the activities of twelfth century corn exporting merchants.[1] It is only in the first half of the fourteenth century that we get sufficient specific information to be of service. Lynn merchants of that period came into prominence in national affairs, and their doings are amply recorded in the *Patent and Close Rolls*, and to some extent in the *Ancient Correspondence* of the period.

Thomas de Melcheburn was the head of a prosperous mercantile house in Lynn. His commercial and political doings can be followed for the period from 1319 to 1352, during which time he dealt in cloth, stockfish, ale, wool, but above all in corn. For thirty years he was engaged in buying and selling corn, and exclusive of the numerous entries referring to his supplying the king or the army with victuals and corn, we find between 1319 and 1349 at least thirteen notices of his dealing in corn purely as a commercial venture. Twelve were exportations: six to Norway,[2] two to Holland and Zealand,[3] one to Zealand and Norway,[4] one to Flanders,[5] one to Gascony,[6] and one to "foreign parts."[7] And on one occasion, he traded with Norway and other foreign lands "for corn and other victuals."[8]

[1] Cf. Madox, *The History . . . of the Exchequer*, i, p. 558 (24 and 29 Hen. II).

[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Ed. III, ii, p. 302 (1332); *ibid.*, p. 420 (1330); *ibid.*, p. 424 (1333); *ibid.*, iii, p. 57 (1334–35); *ibid.*, p. 542 (1337); *ibid.*, vii, p. 287 (1349).

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 339 (1336); *ibid.*, p. 456 (1337).

[4] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 46 (1338).

[5] *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Ed. III, vi, p. 694 (1342).

[6] *Ibid.*, Ed. II, iii, p. 216 (1319).

[7] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Ed. III, iii, p. 57 (1334–35).

[8] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 372 (1332).

William de Melcheburn, brother of Thomas, exported corn for at least twenty-one years, from 1332 to 1353, to Norway,[1] Flanders,[2] Zealand,[3] and Holland.[4]

Another Lynn merchant trading in corn was John de Wesenham,[5] a contemporary of the Melcheburns and in business and other relations with them. All three merchants were in close connection with the court and the administration of the country. But while the Melcheburns were constantly engaged in the corn trade, Wesenham, active as a corn merchant for at least nineteen years, ultimately became a royal official pure and simple, the king's clerk, one of the collectors of customs at Boston, one of the three farmers of the customs and subsidy, the king's chief butler, farmer of alien benefices, king's sergeant, changer of the king's moneys in London, farmer of the temporalities of the bishopric of Ely in the King's hands, and, finally, the recipient of an annual life pension of £46 13 s. 4 d., as reward for his services. We find him, when he was a merchant, exporting 1000 quarters of corn to Norway "to make his profit of,"[6] and 800 quarters "to trade with in foreign parts;"[7] he also had license to buy up 1000 quarters in northern parts to sell in Lynn or London "to make his profit of."[8]

Undoubtedly these Lynn merchants could be ranked with such fourteenth century capitalists as John Lovekyn, fishmonger of London,[9] John de Pulteney, draper,[9] the De la Poles of Hull, and the Canynges of Bristol.

But granted their wide trade connections, their wealth and position, were they really wholesalers? The answer to this depends upon the laws and practices of the several foreign yorts where they sold their corn. These, as is well known, however, had practically the same regulations with respect to the sale of

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Ed. III, ii, p. 372 (1332).
[2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 171 (1335).
[3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 171 (1335); *ibid.*, ix, p. 477 (1353).
[4] *Ibid.*, ix, p. 477 (1353).
[5] Lived about 1310–1390.
[6] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 415 (1332–33).
[7] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 80 (1335–36).
[8] *Ibid.*, ix, p. 363 (1352).
[9] Law, "Nouveaux Riches," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (N. S.), ix, p. 59.

foreign goods as London, and so like the domestic corn merchants, dealing in London, they were probably both wholesalers, for the greater part of their sales, and also retailers.

One other case remains to be considered, the local trade organization supplying the export merchant with corn. The Cartulary of Ramsey Abbey contains an account of such a local trade dating from about 1300 to 1331.[1] The occasion of this account was the judicial trial resulting from the blocking up of the river Ouse at Outwell in Norfolk. The writ sent to the Justices as well as the separate reports of the juries of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, and Lincolnshire are all preserved.

Corn, wood, wool, fish, etc., were being traded in between Lynn and the nearby shires. The question at once arises as to who did the carrying, the lords of manors and the tenants themselves, Lynn dealers, or middlemen from the local villages. The answer to this question depends in part upon the determination of the direction in which the various commodities were carried. We have already seen that Lynn was a great corn depot and that it drained the nearby district of corn for export abroad. A similar trade in wool, though of smaller dimensions, was probably also carried on. But the chief business was the transportation of corn from the neighboring shires to Lynn,[2] and the transportation back from Lynn of various kinds of victuals, especially fish.[3]

[1] *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia* (Rolls Series), iii, pp. 141–157.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 144. Formerly the common route of ships and boats was from Crowland to Lynn, cum bladis et aliis mercimoniis.

The Nen flows directly from Peterborough to Lynn by which the men of the county of Northampton were accustomed cariare et recariare cum navibus et naviculis, mercimonia, blada, et omnimoda victualia. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

" Corn brought for sale to the town " of Lynn, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Ed. III, vii, p. 388 (1347).

[3] Quod homines ibidem transire volentes, cum navibus et naviculis, cum bonis et mercandisis suis, de Holm', Jakesle, et de aliis partibus superioribus, usque ad praedictum portum de Lenne Episcopi in comitatu Norff[olciae] necnon homines redire volentes directe a praedicto porto versus Holm', Jakesle, Burgum Sancti Petri et alibi, versus partes superiores, ibidem transire nequeunt cum navibus et naviculis suis, sicut antiquitus ibidem, ante obstructionem praedictam, transire solebant. *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, iii, p. 141.

But who did the carrying, who stood the venture ? As might be expected, perhaps, both the men of Lynn and the men of the counties round about were engaged in the trade. " The men of the the ports of Lynn and elsewhere in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, with their victuals and merchandise " came to " the markets of Holm " in Huntingdonshire.[1] It is probable that these dealers took fish and other " merchandise " up to Holm and corn back to Lynn. Most of the references, however, are to corn being carried to Lynn by men living in Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and other adjacent districts in "the upper parts." We find men going to Lynn, and " wishing to return direct " to their homes by water,[2] and others " wishing to pass . . . towards the aforesaid port [of Lynn] and then returning to the upper places." [3] It would seem that there were two groups of dealers sending corn to Lynn, those of Lynn and those of the nearby places. The former may have been either factors of the export merchants of Lynn or local merchants of Lynn feeding the export trade. The latter came from such places as Yaxley, Glatten, Holm, Ramsey, Peterborough, and Crowland, and carried " corn and other merchandise and goods of theirs " to Lynn.[4] Although the agents of manorial lords and the tenant farmers themselves doubtless participated in supplying Lynn, nevertheless it would seem that middlemen were especially active in the trade, for in the enumeration of the outlying villages of supply

[1] Dicunt etiam, quod dominus Rex est dominus manerii de Glatton', ad quod mercatum de Holm' pertinet, ad quod mercatum homines partium de Lenne et aliunde de comitatibus Norff[olciae] et Suff[olciae], cum victualibus et mercandisis suis transire nequeunt, cum navibus et naviculis suis, nec redire, causa obstructionis supradictae. *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, p. 146.

[2] See above, p. 174, n. 3.

[3] Quod cursus cujusdam aquae descendentis de Burgo Sancti Petri in comitatu praedicto, usque ad portum de Lenne Episcopi, in comitatu Norff[olciae], viginti et octo annis elapsis, obstruebatur apud Outwelle, in dicto comitatu Norff[olciae], per quendam Walterum de Langeton . . . per quod prata, pascuae, pasturae, et marisci erant superundata, ad nocumentum hominum comitatuum praedictorum, ac comitatuum Hunt[ingdoniae], Lincoln[iae] et Cantebr[igiae], contiguo adjacentium, necnon omnium hominum ibidem transire volentium, cum bonis et mercandisis suis versus portum praedictum, et abinde redeuntium versus partes superiores, cum victualibus et aliis necessariis suis. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[4] *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 144, 146, 147.

only market centers are mentioned. Support is given to this inference by the existence of analogous local dealers about Bristol, who were said to have suffered in their trade of carrying and selling corn by the forestalling of the corn exporters. The exporters bought direct from the producer and thereby eliminated the local merchants who had been supplying the export trade.[1] Though most of the corn arriving in Lynn was sent abroad, it need not be assumed that the local dealers (and much less those about Bristol) sold all their corn to exporters and none to consumers in Lynn. But the evidence on the subject is not sufficient to enable us to follow the local trader into the town of Lynn. It would be unsafe to apply the analogy of most medieval towns to Lynn in respect to the rule for the first sale of corn to consumers, because Lynn's position was unique, and such a rule, except in years of great dearth, would have been entirely superfluous.

To the discussion as to the existence and character of the medieval wholesale merchant, carried on in Germany,[2] the study of the English corn merchant under the local market system adds but one conclusion of value. No clear case can be made out for the existence of the wholesaling apart from the retailing function.

5. Comparison of the Corn Dealer with other Middlemen

In spite of the fact that generalizations concerning mercantile classes in the middle ages are fraught with difficulty, a comparison of the position of the corn middlemen with that of other dealers yields some results of interest. The variation between the town regulations regarding middlemen was on the whole not great, but, nevertheless, there was some variation. And though it cannot be exactly measured, there was a difference between theory and practice, legislation and its enforcement.

The corn merchant and analogous dealers may be first considered. We search in vain for examples of importing corn

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II, iii, p. 281 (1386–87).

[2] For a discussion of the subject and a review of the literature, see Keutgen, "Der Grosshandel im Mittelalter," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, xxix (1902), pp. 67 f.

merchants who were restricted by law to wholesaling. By wholesaling of course is meant, not selling in bulk, but selling to "the trade."[1] Such restrictions, however, existed as between handicraftsmen and traders. For example, in the thirteenth century in Stendal and other German towns weavers were forced to sell to drapers (Gewandschneider) and drapers in their turn were compelled to give up all manufacture of cloth.[2] In the fourteenth century, London drapers were granted the monopoly of the sale of English cloth to the exclusion particularly of weavers, fullers, and dyers.[3] Thus local manufacturers were compelled to sell to the drapers, in other words, to wholesale their products. These are but early examples of a general movement, seen more clearly in the modern period, toward the differentiation between trade and industry which had been so closely associated in the handicraft system, and toward the growing dominance of commercial interests in industry which was a marked feature in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The theory of medieval town trade was that the importing merchant was to sell both to the consumer and to the retailer, though in the case of the stranger not to sell in small parcels. The actual working out of this theory, however, would seem to justify a distinction between those who normally sold only to retailers and those who were usually compelled to dispose of part of their wares directly to the consumer. Examples of the first class would be importing grocers and mercers; of the second class, importing vintners, who, in London at least, during the first three days after storing their wines could sell only "to great lords and to other good folks,"[4] after which they might sell to local vintners and taverners.

The corn merchant apparently does not come under these categories. Since the town was supplied from the local area, corn was imported from other areas or from abroad only in years

[1] See above, p. 170, n. 7.

[2] Keutgen, "Der Grosshandel im Mittelalter," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, xxix, p. 92.

[3] Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pp. 75, 79.

[4] Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 81–82 (1311).

of dearth, when regulations about selling to the consumer would be enforced. In this respect importing corn merchants would resemble importing vintners. But while the latter sold to lords and wealthy burgesses who bought in bulk, the former sold also to poorer consumers. This may be inferred from the fact that it was the poor who needed the regulation most, and from such fragmentary direct evidence as the proclamation of 1258, cited by Matthew Paris.[1]

Retailers or regrators may be divided into two groups. The first consists of shopkeepers, such for example, as retailing vintners, taverners, grocers, mercers, butchers,[2] and "free" poulterers.[3] The second is made up of non-shopkeepers, those who were allowed to sell their wares upon the streets, such as hucksters of cheese and butter,[4] and those, chiefly the corn regrators, who were permitted to dispose of their goods only upon the markets.[5]

No such distinction was made in the case of the corn monger who occupied a position in nowise different from that of other mongers. Victualling mongers, whether free of the town or not, and non-victualling mongers, whether citizens or strangers, were encouraged to go into the nearby district and bring supplies to the town markets for sale, first of all to consumers and, if any remained after this, to other retailers.

The town authorities, judging each case upon its merits, looked differently upon different trades. Some they encouraged to organize into craft gilds; others they discouraged. The non-victualling crafts in general and at least one victualling craft in particular, the poulterers, were encouraged and trusted by being given supervising functions in their own trades. Others, notably the taverners, were apparently not allowed to organize, and

[1] See above, p. 161, n. 4.

[2] "All butchers, as well freemen as foreigners, who are wont to sell flesh-meat within the City, shall close their shops in the day, before the time for candles being lighted." Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 426 (1378).

[3] "No person resident of the City who sells poultry, shall be so daring as to come to the Leaden Hall, to sell or buy poultry there among the strangers, on pain of imprisonment; but let such persons sell their poultry at the stalls [in the Poultry], as of old they were wont to do." *Ibid.*, p. 221 (1345).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 406 (1377).

[5] See above, p. 162.

certainly not given any official supervision over the trade, which was, indeed, entrusted to the vintners.[1]

Considering the corn middleman's organization, we note first of all that there could be no question of a gild of corn merchants owing to the undeveloped state of the merchants' trade. A corn mongers' gild, however, did exist, but so little is known about it that we are left to surmise the attitude towards it of the town magistracy, whether the latter regarded it favorably, as in the case of the poulterers, or unfavorably, as in the case of the taverners. The friendly attitude of the City of London towards corn mongers in general would, however, indicate that the authorities would have classed it with the poulterers' craft, a victualling craft worthy of trust.

Brokers in non-victualling trades were regarded as desirable and necessary, as in the case of the grocers, skinners, and vintners. Information about brokers in victualling trades seems to be confined to corn brokers, who, as has been seen, were refused any official position.[2]

In conclusion, then, the town, realizing the importance of the victualling trades to the welfare of the municipality, put them into a special class by themselves,[3] and conscious of the purely local nature of the corn trade, distrusted all those corn middlemen (who of course fell within the class of victuallers), such as merchants, regrators, and brokers, who did not play a part in the all-important business of supplying the town from the nearby country district.

[1] Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 213–214, 341.

[2] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, vol. C, pp. 17, 18 (1293).

[3] This is recognized also in the following instances: —

Quod nullus negociator seu mercator in villa predicta de cetero merces suas seu venalia venditioni exponat aut vendat nisi in hallis communibus ville predicte et quod omnes negociatores seu mercatores, causa emendi vel vendendi seu contractus faciendi, ad eorum hallas communes et non alibi debeant convenire, victualibus tamen cothidianis preter carnes exceptis. Giry, *St. Omer*, p. 435 (1282).

No merchant stranger, being an alien, "shall put to sale [at 'retail'] any Manner of Wares or Merchandises, except Livings (provisions) and Victuals." *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, p. 83 (1392–93).

6. Factors in the Development of the Local Middleman

The chief factor in the development of the corn dealer was the corn market. In normal years the local market gave rise to three classes of middlemen, the monger, the regrator, and the broker. The corn monger was a necessary supplement to the corn producer who brought his own products to market for sale. It is evident that since the producer was not always able to go to market, notably in the spring and summer when tillage occupied his attention, and since the market had to be regularly supplied, a special dealer such as the corn monger was necessary. Further, since the tenant-farmer needed his capital for tillage, the capital of the corn monger, even though small in individual cases, was an important factor in the trade.

The corn regrator, also, arose naturally under the local market system. The very poor people of the town might not have the time nor the money with which to buy their corn upon the market, even though the latter was open to them two or three times a week. Or the market might be void of corn when they went to it, a serious matter in case the household supply was exhausted. Although the poor did not need much corn, for they purchased their bread from the baker, and although they could in theory buy it in small quantities from all sellers upon the market, they, nevertheless, found the corn regrator, or the baker acting as such, a great convenience in the purchase of just such small quantities as they needed.

The corn broker, doubtless, served the purpose of bringing the corn grower or the corn monger into touch with the corn regrator, when the former had corn remaining on his hands after having met the needs of the consumer.

In years of dearth the local market system was inadequate. Corn had to be brought in from distant areas or from abroad. The domestic corn merchant, or the merchant importer, was then called into requisition, or, perhaps, we should say the general merchant was tempted to venture into the corn trade. Upon such occasions the corn broker would bring together the merchant

selling the corn and the corn regrator willing to buy it, but this he could do legally only after the consumers had been supplied.

There was in addition to the influence of the market, the influence of town regulations, which conformed on the whole to the marketing conditions. The underlying principle of these regulations was that the interest of the consumer was paramount, a very different situation from that found in other trades. The question is, however, whether this bias in favor of the consumer was a factor determining in any way the course of middleman development.

In the case of the corn monger the answer is simple, as has been seen, for town policy allowed him a free hand so long as he carried on purely corn-mongering functions. The town magistracy, then, did not seek to modify in this case the business of a dealer made necessary by the conditions of the market. But the town regulations did, nevertheless, see to it that the corn monger sold his goods as a monger should, that is, first to the consumer, and only after the latter was supplied, to the regrator. In other words, the tendency of the corn monger to become a local wholesaler, while not prohibited altogether, was checked. This was, of course, not peculiar to the corn trade.[1] The object was to prevent the regrator from wedging himself in between the monger and the consumer as an indispensable middleman.

The restricted nature of the market area, on the other hand, did not call for any marked development of the corn merchant, as it did of the corn monger. To some extent, also, the local ordinances tended to work in the same direction, in so far as they prohibited him from selling to the trade till after the consumers had been satisfied. In the case of most articles of trade, the importer wanted to retail, not to wholesale. Not so, however, in the case of the corn trade, for the regrator in time of dearth found it profitable to buy up the corn of the importer in moderate quantities even at a rate higher than the market price with the

[1] A Worcester ordinance of 1467 reads: "That no ffyssher citezen by no ffysshe of no foreyn, commyng to vitelle the cyte, tylle the comyns be served, yf they wylle bye of yt. And that the straunge vittellers sille it them self, and none other ffyssher." *English Gilds* (ed. J. T. Smith), p. 396.

idea that prices would of themselves rise further, or that he could force them up.

The corn regrator, most of all, was interfered with by town authorities. He was prevented from capturing the supply of corn whether brought in by the local market organization, or by a corn merchant when that organization broke down. Was the town justified in so hampering this dealer? The answer can be neither emphatically in the negative nor in the affirmative. While he performed such services as the purchase of the surplus corn on the markets and the sale of this to the poor according to their necessities, he did not, through lack of capital, store up any large amount of grain which, in years of dearth, could be regarded as a relief to the stringency of supply. Thus the chief service open to him, he did not perform. And, also, in years of dearth he stood as a costly and often unnecessary middleman between the importer and the consumer.

In estimating the respective influences of market development and town policy, we must obviously focus attention upon the position of the corn regrator. The necessity that the town magistracy felt of regulating his activities points undeniably to the fact that market conditions were favorable to his existence. The question is, however, not one of regrator or no regrator, but of a regrator without monopoly or one with a practical monopoly. Although the town ordinances worked against monopoly, it was primarily market development that determined the question. A monopolistic regrator class involved an increase in the price of corn sold to consumers. So long as the area of supply was local, however, producers and country corn mongers would always enter into direct competition with regrators to profit by the higher price. Municipal authorities gauged the situation nicely. Their regulations were largely reflections of market conditions. The former decreed that at no particular moment should the corn regrator monopolize supply; the latter really made such a monopoly impossible as a normal condition.

CHAPTER VII

THE CORN MIDDLEMAN UNDER THE METROPOLITAN MARKET SYSTEM

1. Development of the Corn Monger and the Corn Regrator in the Metropolitan Period

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the corn monger, or town purveyor of the middle ages, came to be known by the name of badger [1] (bodger, bagger, brogger, etc.). The identity of the badger and corn monger is proven, not merely by the alternative use of the words, but by the similarity of activities as described by contemporaries.[2] Other analogous but less usual terms are lader, kidder, carrier,[3] and cornman.[4]

It is easier to follow the activities of the corn mongers, or corn badgers, as we may now call them, during the sixteenth and

[1] " Badgers and such other Commongers " were in 1600 accused of engrossing corn. Dyson, *All suche proclamacons*, p. 374.

An early occurrence of the word badger is found in a miracle play of 1415, in which " Broggours " played the parts of " Jesus, Luke and Cleophas in the guise of pilgrims." A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, p. xxxiv.

[2] " The Bagers, such as bryngeth whete to towne, as wele in trowys, as otherwyse, by lande and by watir." *English Gilds* (ed. J. T. Smith), p. 424 (1500).

On 21 Feb., 1586–87 the justices of the peace wrote to the Privy Council: " yt is necessarye, that bodgers, and cariers of corne & mault, be permitted to buy in other places where store remayneth to be brought to our marketts to furnishe & relieve them." MS., R. O., *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, vol. cxcviii, no. 77 iii.

In 1594 the *Book of Orders* (ed. 1594, p. 15) declared that millers " have begunne lately a very corrupt trade, to be common byers of Corne, both in markets, and out of markets, and the same doe grinde into meale, and doe use as Badgers, or otherwise to sell the same at markets and in other places, seeking therby an inordinate gaine."

[3] The mealmen of London petitioned in 1646 that the justices of the peace should allow " noe Badger Lader Kidder Carrier or Bager of Corne or Graine " to violate the act of 1563. MS., Guildhall, London, *Repertory*, lviii, fol. 82.

[4] In 1590, over 46 quarters of wheat were bought by London bakers " Off Thomas Hastler of Purley in the county of Essex Corneman." MS., Bakers' Hall, *Wheat Book*, fol. 63 (18 Dec.).

seventeenth centuries than during the preceding period, for the dealers were increasing so greatly in number [1] and in the amount of their business as to attract the special attention of contemporaries [2] and of the authorities. They were required to be licensed [3] and were limited in purchases to ten quarters of any one kind of grain.[4] Some badgers were becoming "country mealmen," and both badgers and country mealmen were coming into sharp competition with the regrators or corn chandlers, as they were later called.

The evidence as to the transmutation of badgers into mealmen is threefold. There is the general fact that as time went on the records to an increasing extent deal with mealmen rather than with badgers. Besides this there are statements more or less explicit. For example, in 1586 a corn dealer of Herts was called a "mealeman or Badger"; [5] in 1594 it was asserted that millers, like badgers, were selling meal on the markets; [6] and in 1630 that barley flour was being mixed with wheaten flour through the connivance of millers and badgers.[7] There are also ordinances prohibiting the change from selling corn on the markets after the fashion of the badger, to selling meal. It was to the interest of the town millers [8] that those bringing in meal should also be forced to bring in a specified amount of unground corn for sale,[9] an unmistakable blow aimed at the metamorphosis from badger to mealman.

[1] The opinion as to the excessive number of badgers was especially likely to be expressed in time of dearth. *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, clxxxiv, no. 38 iii (10 Nov., 1586); *Book of Orders*, fols. 22–23 (1622).

[2] Harrison, *Description of England*, Book II, ch. 18 (1587); Best, *Rural Economy in Yorkshire*, p. 101 (1641).

[3] See pp. 152 f., 237 f.

[4] Dyson, fols. 86–87 (24 Sept., 1550); MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Car. I, vi, fols. 191–192 (31 Nov., 1630).

[5] One "Sebrooke of Waterford in the Countie of Hertford mealeman or Badger, who dothe weeklie sell & utter in the said markett of wheat & Rye meale II^te^ [?] quarters or there abouts." MS., Br. M., Lansd., 49, no. 7.

[6] *Book of Orders* (1594), p. 15. [7] *Council Register*, Car. I, vi, fols. 191–192.

[8] *Letter Book*, vol. X, fol. 378 (1575).

[9] *Repertory*, xv, fol. 249b (10 Jan., 1563–64); *ibid.*, fol. 303b (25 Jan., 1563–64); *Journals of the Common Council*, xviii, fol. 156 (25 Jan., 1563–64), *Letter Book*, vol. X, fol. 378 (16 Apr., 1575).

Most of the dealers called " mealmen " were foreigners,[1] that is, not citizens but inhabitants of the nearby rural districts.[2] Their normal work was to carry meal to London for sale upon the City markets. Nevertheless, there were others handling corn, also called " mealmen," who lived in the city and normally purchased their supply at the city markets rather than in the country. There was the competition between these urban mealmen, corn regrators or corn chandlers, on the one hand, and the rural mealmen, corn mongers or badgers, on the other.

Before this competition can be discussed, it will be necessary to outline the development of the corn chandler. The corresponding dealer in the middle ages, the local corn regrator, who dealt chiefly in unground corn, came in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to handle principally meal, and, as we have just mentioned became an urban " mealman." This mealman, called also a corn chandler, commenced gradually to sell his wares in shops. In provincial towns the rule was that citizens might sell corn in their shops or elsewhere outside the market;[3] but in the metropolis the law was that no one had such a right. Nevertheless, corn chandlers did gradually arise in London in the sixteenth century who regularly sold meal in their shops,[4] and in

[1] Some Norfolk wheat was to be sold to the " mealemen & other forrey[ner]s." *Repertory*, xvi, fol. 35b (1566).

[2] In 1562 " The mealemen of the Contry " were to be allowed for a day or two to sell as they could without having to accept any official price. *Repertory*, xv, fol. 132.

In Aug. and Sept., 1585 and May, 1587, the Drapers of London sold wheat, wheat meal, and rye to the mealmen of Stratford and Putney. MS., Drapers' Hall, *Renters Accounts*.

[3] In the City of York it was decreed " That no franchised man of this city do take upon him or them, from henceforth, to set any stall within any market-place of this city, but that they shall sell their wares only within their shops." *History and Antiquities of . . . York* (York, 1788), i, p. 296 (19 Mar., 1549–50).

Two men " being not Citizens of Chester, had privately sold Mault (out of the Market) at their own Houses, and were thereof convicted at the Quarter Sessions, and fined for the same." MS., Br. M., Harl., 2104 (15 Sept., 1609).

[4] A " Chaundler, who dothe sell by retayle in his shoppe weekelie " four quarters of rye meal which he gets " from Billingsgate and other marketts as he saithe." MS., Br. M., Lansd., 49, no. 7 (Dec., 1586).

Complaint was made " against Chaundlers and Bakers and others, that sell meale in their shopps and other obscure places within this Cittie to the great decay

1630 they were, much to our surprise, encouraged to continue to sell in shops.[1] Later evidence, however, indicates that the attitude of 1630 was not regarded as a precedent.[2] Only in the eighteenth century did corn chandlers retailing in shops along with all other kinds of corn dealers gain general recognition, and only then were they left, in theory as in practice, to work out their own business relations. In this respect corn dealers were discriminated against for much over a century after retailers of butter and cheese had gained a recognized position and a legal status.[3]

The corn chandlers of the seventeenth century displayed an astonishing activity in tapping the source of supply in the rural districts. In the middle ages this was just what the local authorities had encouraged the urban retailer to do,[4] as indeed, was the case also in the year 1574.[5] But when the dearths of

of the Common Meale Marketts within this Cittie." *Repertory*, xxxii, fol. 364 (10 Oct., 1616).

[1] It was complained that the chandlers had engrossed great quantities of corn and out-sold the county mealmen. By way of remedy it was ordered that " the said Chandlers from henceforth shall not be permitted to bring or sell any meale in the said marketts, but that theye shall utter the same by retayle in theire shopps as formerly theye have bin accustomed." *Repertory*, xliv, fol. 242.

[2] " That no Meal shall . . . be sold in any Shops, Houses, Warehouses, or other places within the City of London, or within Twenty miles thereof; Nor . . . in any other City, Town, Borough, or other place within this Commonwealth, in any Shops, Houses, Warehouses or other places, but onely in the common publique Market-place usual for that purpose." *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, ii, p. 442 (23 Oct., 1650).

A " setting upp againe of Meale Shopps " was reported to the London Aldermen. *Repertory*, lxiii, fol. 93b (18 April, 1654).

" The Bill now brought into this Court to prevent the selling of Meale & Flower in Shops and within this City and Libertyes & by reducing the selling thereof to the Comon Marketts appointed for that purpose Is by this Court referred to " a committee. *Journals of the Common Council*, xlvi, fol. 77 (4 July, 1665). See also Appendix L (year 1646–47).

[3] Cf. the act of 1549–50, " for buyinge and sellinge of Butter and Cheese ": no one " shall buy to sell agayne anye Butter and Cheese, unlesse he or they sell the same agayne by retayle in open Shoppe fayer or markett and not in grosse." 3 & 4 Ed. VI, c. 21. *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 1, p. 120.

[4] See above, p. 158.

[5] The Court of Aldermen ordered " that from hensforthe yt shall not be lawfull for any parson retaylinge of meale or Corne within this Cytie or the liberties thereof to buy any Corne or meale within any of the Commen markets of the same Cytie

1622–23 [1] and 1630–31 [2] came, the authorities found it necessary to impose restrictions and attack the very activity they had formerly encouraged.

A conflict naturally arose between country mealmen and urban corn chandlers because both aimed at supplying London with meal and both sought a monopoly of the trade, the former working from the basis of rural supply to the marketing within the city, the latter starting from the marketing end and pushing back to the areas of supply. Further, the chandlers sought to exclude the country mealmen from the city markets. For example, in 1629, there was a "Complaint against the freemen chandlers," a "Peticon of diverse mealmen in the Country resorting to the severall Marketts of this Cittie for that they are of late deprived of their roome and standing in the said Marketts by the Chaundlers in and aboute the Cittie." [3]

This competition offered by the corn chandler was the inevitable outcome of a remarkable growth in his business position.

or the lybertyes thereof and cominge to be brought to the same, but to make his or theyr provision in the Contrye." *Repertory*, xviii, fol. 277b (14 Oct., 1574).

[1] A committee was appointed to consider *engrossing* and regrating in and about London by chandlers to the enhancement of prices. *Ibid.*, xxxvii, fol. 211b (27 July, 1623).

[2] On 23 Dec., 1630, the Privy Council wrote to the Mayor of Wickham carefully to "restrayne all Bakers and Chandlers as well of London, as of other places, from buying up the same [corn]; who doe usuall carry the Corne they buy to their owne houses; and never vent it in any publique Markett." MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Car. I, vi, fol. 254.

"The Chaundlers of London haunt all the Marketts neare unto London, and sweepe the Marketts of all the Corne that comes offering a greater price then the Seller would aske, and by that occasion rayses the Markett prices exceedingly." *Ibid.*, fol. 433 (2 April, 1631).

Chandlers — "many of them in nature of Badgers bought up much Corne" — in Westminster. *Ibid.*, fol. 442 (6 April, 1631).

It was even ordered that chandlers should henceforth buy up no corn in the vicinity of London even if beyond the former limit of thirty-five miles, since they had caused corn to be taken outside that circuit and there sold to them. *Ibid.*, fol. 476 (27 April, 1631).

[3] *Repertory*, xliii, fol. 131 (22 Mar., 1628–29). Compare also the following: "the Chandlers in and about this Citie do ingrosse greate quantities of Corne, and sell the same in meale in the severall marketts of this Citie, and thereby force the Country Mealemen out of theire accustomed standinge in the said marketts, and by reason thereof do greatly enhance the Prizes of meale." *Ibid.*, xliv, fol. 242 (25 May, 1630).

He tended more and more to buy from the producer rather than from the country mealman, invaded, indeed, the country district itself and competed with the rural mealman for the local supply, tapped, as will be seen later, an even more distant source of supply in his dealings with corn merchants, and lastly sold meal openly in shops as well as on the city market places. The chandler, doubtless, reached a climax when he sought a charter of incorporation for his craft in 1662, 1688, and 1690.[1]

The explanation of this extending influence is more difficult to discover than the facts themselves. Some determining factors, however, stand out fairly clearly. The rise of prices and the increasing demand of London for corn gave an impetus to the local corn trade that it had never known before, and encouraged competition to an unprecedented extent. With the supplanting of the old town regulating system by a less effective national system, the increased competition was subjected to less official restraint, there was less interference with operations carried on for private gain. The growth of capital enabled the corn chandler to organize and expand to an extent unknown to his predecessor, the corn regrator. Capital enabled him to combine milling and boulting with trading, to employ factors, to extend operations into the country and to set up his shop in the City. Likewise, the importation of foreign corn as well as the widening of the corn supply area gave the chandler the advantage in the purchase of corn, for he could buy part of his supply from the holds of ships on the Thames, often at a lower rate than that prevailing in the country-side about London. The widening of the area of supply tended seriously to check the purchase of corn by the consumer directly from the producer, and thus the middlemen became indispensable as never before. Furthermore, it was discovered that the best flour was made from mixed grains, and this explains in large measure why the badgers (or corn mongers) and the regrators became dealers in meal rather than in unground corn. The discovery was probably originally made by the urban retailers who bought corn upon the city markets from various

[1] *Repertory*, lxix, fol. 100; *Council Register*, Jac. II, i, fol. 689; *ibid.*, Wm. III, i, fol. 422.

sources, had it ground, and sold the flour to consumers. This dealer thus obtained an advantage over the rural competitor, which, apparently at the suggestion of the wily miller, was met by the country dealer himself turning mealman and marketing the products of his own mill.[1]

Of all these factors the greatest was the growth of the market area, which made direct dealings between consumer and producer impracticable, and gave a great impetus to the development of the urban dealer, the regrator of the middle ages, the chandler of the early modern period.[2]

2. An Elizabethan General Merchant

Before studying the specialized corn merchant of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is advisable to consider the general merchant who traded in corn along with other commodities. Much information about the dealings of such general merchants may be compiled from private accounts and from customs accounts. A London merchant, for instance, recorded in his private books during the period 46 Edward III (1372–73) to 19 Richard II (1417–18) that he had bought corn in Kent, sent it to Bayonne, bought another lot from a Lombard Street baker, sent herrings from Scarboro to Sandwich, sold iron to citizens of London and to a Croyden squire, wainscots to a Londoner, iron and herrings to another, and so on.[3] Numerous examples of this sort could be given which show the corn trade among the miscellaneous activities of the general merchant throughout a long period, but a typical case is presented in a document from the Elizabethan *State Papers*. During the last decade of the sixteenth century or thereabouts, a merchant of the southwestern part of England wrote a practical treatise on the foreign trade of

[1] This was stated in the *Book of Rates of 1594*. See above, p. 183, n. 2, par. 3. In 1758 it was stated that "Mealmen and Mealfactors are employed in Meal and Flour, as Merchants and Factors are in Corn, and often have Mills of their own, tho' they sometimes hire." Many millers have added "to their old Occupations those of Mealmen and Mealfactors." *Short Essay on the Corn Trade and Corn Laws*, p. 17.

[2] See chart, p. 200.

[3] MS., R. O., *K. R. Accounts*, 509/19.

his day, giving special directions about the goods sent to various nations and those received from them.[1] This tract is of particular interest since it shows clearly the position of corn in the cargo of a general merchant; and not only does it state where corn was sent, but also where it was not sent. It forms, therefore, the basis for an interesting comparison with the trade of a century later, about which abundant statistics exist.

To all parts of Galicia, the treatise begins, should be sent coarse cloth, Bridgewaters, and many other kinds of cloth, hides, calf-skins, sheep-skins, wheat, butter, and cheese. From Galicia come the wines of Ribadeo, oranges, lemons, chestnut and walnut boards, which are to be found there in plenty and very cheap.

To Bayona in Galicia and Oporto, we send the same goods (enumerated below) as to Lisbon, excepting only certain cloths and wheat. From these places we can ship only oranges, lemons, and great onions of twelve or fourteen inches in circumference. Merchants use these places to " make monnye twyse a yeare."

Bilbao in Biscay receives our hides and calf-skins in great numbers, and a variety of English cloths are welcomed by both Bilbao and St. Sebastian. In these parts we load the best iron in all Spain, whale oils from Newfoundland, pitch, rosin, liquorice, cross-bows, and sword-blades. From them we carry all our money, both gold and silver, to Bordeaux, and in doing this we incur great risks.

Wheat, butter, cheese, fine cloths, lead, tin, hides, and calf-skins are sent to Lisbon, which in turn supplies oils, salt, soap, calico, spices, and cloths from the East Indies.

To Andalusia we ship hides, calf-skins, fine white kerseys, Reading and Newbury kerseys, lead, tin, pipe staveys, and many other articles. From it we get all our wines called sack, all our wool, oils, rosins, spices, cordovan skins, silks, and Seville soap.

From the port of Santa Cruz, we carry Barbary sugars, both fine and coarse, saltpetre in abundance and of the best quality, dates, molasses, carpets, and cotton.

[1] Appendix J.

To the Canaries and Madeira we send Newfoundland fish, English and Galician pilchards, herrings, lead, and coarse cloths. We take away various wines and the finest sugar. This is only a summer trade, for winter storms make their harbors unsafe.

Wheat, many kinds of cloths, and calf-skins are sent to the islands of St. Michaels and Terceira of the Azores group, where everything is exchanged, not for money, but for woad, which is the chief export from the islands.

To the West Indies and Brazil our merchants send cloths and small wares. From the former they bring back gold, silver, and pearls; from the latter various kinds of woods.

The best merchandise to be sent to the Levant is lead, very fine cloths, hides, calf-skins, a small quantity of dry fish from Newfoundland, pilchards, red herrings, and wrought tin. The cloths sent, it is to be noted, must be the finest we can get, for the people of the Levant prefer fine cloths to velvet or any other silk.

Barbary takes from us very fine cloths, "sad" blues of the value of £30 per cloth, red caps for sailors, all kinds of great ordnance and other artillery, ash for oars, and armor of all kinds. But if the Spaniards capture us while engaged in such trade, we die for it, so it is advisable to go in great ships and with safe conduct.

We go to Tripoli in Syria in the winter to avoid the Moorish galleys. Our cargo consists of kerseys, expensive cloths, and lead which we sell in the ports on the way. Returning we carry currants, galls, cottons, and the sweet oils of Greece.

The places in the Mediterranean most frequented are Leghorn, Majorca, Minorca, Barcelona, Civitavecchia, and Venice. From them we get oils, notably from Majorca when there is a restraint of trade with Spain, as well as all kinds of silks, galls, cotton, muscatels of Candia, malmseys, currants, alum, cypress chests, and the finest earthern dishes called porcelain.

To St. Jean de Luz in France are exported all kinds of coarse wares, wax, tallow, butter, cheese, wheat, rye, beans, biscuits about Christmas so as to be available for the Newfoundland men, candles, hides, calf-skins, and Irish friezes. This port serves when trade with Spain is prohibited. From it we get pitch and

rosin at a very low rate, the best feathers in all France, Navarre iron, and the white wines of Toulouse.

To Bordeaux in Gascony we ship friezes of many sorts, some at 30 s. and others at seven nobles. We must see to it that we have all the new collars that we can find in England to send to this place, for they sell most readily. To this port our merchants carry a great amount of English gold, more, indeed, than French, Portuguese, or Spanish gold. Wines and woad are carried back from this port. For the benefit of the merchants there are two fairs held yearly, in March and October, at which we are free of customs, both on entering and leaving.

To Rochelle we send such English wares as lead, tin, hides, calf-skins, tallow, cloth, Irish hides, friezes, ordnance, and "any kinde of victualls, wheat only except, because they have greate store of their owne." Here we take on salt, pitch, tar, and many other goods. We can buy in this port from the pirates of France many commodities from the Indies at a lower rate than in Portugal, but it is necessary to use a big ship in trading with this port for fear of robbery.

In Rouen, Morlaix, and St. Malo are sold lead, fine Devonshire kerseys, and many other kinds of cloth fine in texture and variegated in color. At these ports are loaded linen cloth, Normandy canvas, and small wares such as cords, pins, paints, bolts of black thread, and a number of other commodities for mercers.

To Flanders, Emden, and Hamburg the Merchant Adventurers send our wools and unfinished cloths. To these places are also shipped a great quantity of English beer both in times of peace and of war. In return for these articles we get groceries and other small wares.

We supply Neva, Riga, and Revel with all kinds of coarse cloths, corrupt wine, cony-skins, dressed and undressed, salt, and some *aqua-vitae*. We must always take heed not to trust any one in this country, and demand ready money, for the inhabitants are very false people and they will deny both the bargain and the receipt of our wares if we sell on credit. From these places we get flax, hemp, pitch, tar, tallow, wax, and all kinds of furs. Much of our traffic was with them before we opened up the

trade with Saint Nicholas in Russia. Our cables and all our best ropes, however, came from Danzig in Poland and also "greate store of wheate and Rye yf it be skante in england."

St. Nicholas in Russia takes from us decayed and refuse wines, salt, and coarse cloths. In return we get a large amount of wax, skins, hides, and furs.

For the fish trade of the out-islands of Scotland, we must be ready early, for the best returns of cod and linge are at Michaelmas. In these islands and in the north of Ireland, we buy salmon and sell all kinds of decayed wines. We must, however, take heed of the people for they are false and full of treachery to such an extent that it is necessary to keep good watch by night and rely upon our own strength for safety.

The western part of Ireland takes our sack, Gascon wines, raw silk, and a little woad and alum. The natives bargain well and are much more civil than those of the north. From this place we carry a great amount of salt, hides, tallow, salt-beef, Irish coverlets, mantles and friezes, cotton, linen yarn, herrings, and salmon which we send to Rochelle, Newhaven, Rouen, or Flanders.

Finally, we must always take heed not to export prohibited goods to a foreign country; and in loading our cargo there we have to deal very circumspectly to avoid being undone.

In brief, our informant tells us that English merchants in the latter part of the sixteenth century imported corn from Danzig in years of dearth; and in ordinary years, particularly during the winter, they exported corn, notably wheat, to Galicia, St. Jean de Luz, Lisbon, and the Azores. It is specifically stated that no corn was sent to Bayona, Oporto, or Rochelle, and by implication to no other places than those above mentioned.

3. Development of the Corn Merchant in the Metropolitan Period

The alien corn merchant has so far not been considered. The customs accounts for the years 1303–11 show considerable activity on his part in the export trade, and less in the import trade. Although much information about the dealings of these merchants is recorded, it is uncertain whether they were merely

general merchants or corn merchants. At any rate, no remarkable development took place until the sixteenth century, up to which time the alien dealer handled small amounts of corn as advantageous opportunity offered. In the Tudor period he came to the rescue of London,[1] and throughout the century did a large import trade. As the rest of England imported practically no corn at all, his import trade was confined to the metropolis. But while in years of dearth he brought in corn in considerable amounts, still in normal years, as the petty customs accounts show, his imports were insignificant or non-existent.

In the period 1600–60, there was no marked change; but for this period we have some interesting facts concerning individual Dutch corn merchants.

Lucas Jacobs, " corn merchant " of London,[2] imported corn to the metropolis for at least thirty-seven years (1608–45).[3] Between 1608 and 1639, he is said to have brought in 120,100 quarters, and to have lost £3000 in this trade during the years 1638–40. His example during the earlier years, it is stated, caused others to enter the trade, whereby London " has been from time to time provided." [4] His activities were characteristic of the second period of the metropolitan market, for he exported

[1] The evidence for this is most abundant in the *Customs Accounts* in the Record Office. See Appendix B, London and Members.

There are also many specific references in the records to foreign merchants importing corn. For example, in the year 1528, Joachim Hochstetter of Augsburg was said to be " one of the richest merchants in this land (Flanders), and a great importer of wheat to London." *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, iv, pt. 2, § 4018. Cf. R. Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger*, i, p. 214. In 1539 it was estimated that two German merchants of the Steelyard had in one year supplied London with 15,000 quarters of corn. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, xiv, pt. 1, § 210. In 1550 the Lord Mayor of London " made bargaine with divers merchauntes, both Englishe and straungers, for grayne for the city of London, to be had out of Danske and Hambrough," Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, ii, p. 45. And in the following year " in Easter weeke their came tenne or twelve shippes with rie and wheate out of Hollande, which merchantes of the Styliard and Englishmen brought thence, and some out of Brittanie." *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[2] MS., Guildhall, London, *Repertory*, lvii, pt. ii, fol. 123b (1645); MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Car. I, iv, fol. 465 (1628).

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Car. I, xvi, p. 4 (1640); *Repertory*, lvii, pt. ii, fol. 123b (1645).

[4] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Car. I, xvi, p. 4 (1640).

corn (at least once by his English factor) as well as imported it.[1] Jacob Cornelisson of Amsterdam, about whom less is known, claimed to have imported 48,543 quarters of corn in the "last two years of scarcity" (1621–23), and to have lost three corn ships in the trade, for which he believed himself entitled to a license to export 20,000 quarters of English corn to the Low Countries.[2]

Peter van Velde in 1640 received a license to export, claiming that he "had often, in times of scarcity in England brought over hither a supply for his Majesty's subjects."[3]

At least from 1549, when certificate books begin, foreign merchants took no part in the coast trade in corn, and when London ceased to need foreign corn, they lost their strongest hold. And as if the double or treble duties on imports of aliens' corn, together with the Navigation Acts, were not enough, the foreign merchant desirous of exporting English corn was further handicapped by the superior position of the English dealer who received a handsome premium on every quarter of corn sent to foreign ports, so that between the year of the Restoration and the year of the Revolution, the alien was ousted from all branches of the corn trade.

It is quite practicable to compile elaborate statistics illustrating the activity of the denizen as well as the alien merchant in every port of England from the fourteenth century onwards. Where this has been done, the following facts for the period up to 1600 have been observed: (*a*) the corn merchant was a general dealer trading in commodities other than corn, and only in Lynn approached the condition of specialized corn dealer;[4] (*b*) the normal foreign trade in corn was too precarious, uncertain, and insignificant to give rise to any important class of corn merchants;[5] (*c*) the metropolitan domestic trade, which arose in the sixteenth century, was not at first attractive to the merchant

[1] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 594 (1629); *ibid.*, iv, p. 203 (1630); *ibid.*, xvi, p. 4 (1640).

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Jac. I, x, p. 607. [3] *Ibid.*, Car. I, xvi, p. 240.

[4] For example, between 29 Sept., 1549, and 14 June, 1550, the ten merchants transporting coastwise from Lynn four or more shipments of corn each, out of a total of 97 merchants, handled in all 59 shiploads, only two of which contained aught but corn. MS., R. O., *K. R. Customs*, 100/5.

[5] An example of the more progressive foreign dealers is Henry Middle-

because of the regulations and restrictions which hedged him in, both in the coast trade and overland, especially in years of dearth when the *Book of Orders* was in force, and when much of the provision was made by general merchants, by drapers, grocers, and others of the city, by brewers and bakers direct and by gentlemen and yeomen, the corn producers themselves. In London itself, the corn merchant was liable to be forced to take less than a fair market price, since he had to compete with municipal non-profit institutions ready to incur any cost to keep prices down. The *Certificate Books*, therefore, though they show merchants regularly shipping corn to London, fail to disclose any increasing specialization in this trade.[1]

What has been said of the first, may also be said of the second metropolitan period, only to a less degree.[2] But in the third period there was a marked development. Corn merchants came upon the scene, who transported large amounts of corn to the metropolis, both for sale there and for export abroad. The period of their coming into existence coincides with that of the ousting of the alien merchant, the decline of the London corn import trade, and the practical abolition of restrictions upon engrossing and regrating, the final decay of the municipal provisions of corn, and the growth of a considerable and unrestricted export trade. It is, indeed, significant that one of these merchants, Anthony Sturt, should have rented the granaries formerly used by the City companies,[3] and when an attempt was made to revive the old municipal system, some of the companies engaged

more. He exported beans in the following amounts (quarters) and from the following ports: —

Year	Bridgewater	Gloucester	Boston
23 Eliz.	406	100	...
24 "	234	54	...
25 "	666½	62	87

MS., Br. M., Harl., 306, fols. 26–31.

[1] From Michaelmas, 1549, to 14 June, 1550, the merchant who sent most corn from Lynn to London was John Baynarde, 4 of whose 9 shipments went to the metropolis. No other merchant equalled or approached this record in the period. *K. R. Customs*, 100/5.

[2] From Christmas, 1646, to Christmas, 1647, John Lowry sent 13 cargoes from Lynn, 10 being corn only, and all to London. *K. R. Port Books*, 435/12.

[3] MS., Haberdashers' Hall, *Court Assistant*, i, fol. 64a (4 Mar., 1658–59).

him to provide their yearly complement: in the case of the Fishmongers for a period of seven years.[1] The merchants of the companies saw that the old order had passed away and that the new type of corn merchants, with granaries and large stores of corn, had come to stay.[2] Besides Anthony Sturt, some of the most prominent of the metropolitan corn merchants were Robert Buckle of Thames Street,[3] George Moore, and William Russell, all of whom may be compared with the importing alien merchants, Lucas Jacobs and Jacob Cornelisson, of the early Stuart period.

SHIPMENTS OF CORN ABROAD FROM LONDON[4]

Year	Buckle		Moore		Russell		Sturt		Total	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
		qrs.		qrs.		qrs.		qrs.		qrs.
1676–77	18.	5,044¾	48.	13,567⅛	1.	60	14.	4,261	81.	22,932⅞
1677–78	13.	3,168½	42.	17,355½	8.	5,826	17.	4,399½	80.	30,749½
1682–83	8.	990	8.	663	13.	1,027	13.	2,113	42.	4,793
Average	13.0	3,068	32.6	10,528½	7.3	2,304¼	14.6	3,591¼	67.7	19,492

When we compare these figures with the totals for the three years, we find that thirty per cent of the total number of corn shipments were made by these four merchants, that fifty per cent of the total amount of corn exported was through their agency, and that the average shipment of these dealers was seventy per cent greater than the general average.

It is unnecessary to proceed farther in statistical inquiry. The export corn trade of London was fully organized. A few merchants exported corn in shipments averaging from 100 to 200 quarters. The others sent smaller amounts.

[1] MS., Haberdashers' Hall, *Court Assistant*, ii, fol. 146a (3 July, 1668); MS., Fishmongers' Hall, *Wardens Accounts*, i, fols. 658–682 (25 Mar., 1670 to 25 Mar., 1677).

[2] Compare the custom that grew up among the companies, on the decay of the municipal provision, of relying upon chandlers, etc., for provision. The magistrates constantly sent warnings against this practice. Cf. MS., Stationers' Hall, *Liber A*, fol. 92b (1618), fol. 106 (1626–27), fol. 116 (1630), etc.

[3] Cf. *K. R. Port Books*, 96/8 (9 May, 1681); MS., Guildhall, London, *Repertory*, xcvi, fol. 138 (1691).

[4] Compiled from MS., R. O., *K. R. Port Books*.

Under the medieval local system the corn merchant had arisen only in the most favored local districts such as in Lynn, and there chiefly in the foreign trade which for long periods at a time was precarious, especially in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, and which, as the statistics of export show, was often non-existent. The growth of London ultimately introduced the necessary basis for the creation of an important merchant class. There was a continuous demand for corn in the metropolis, and, when the supply there was so great as to reduce prices, there was a good opportunity of disposing of it abroad through the excellent commercial connections of that city.

We have seen that the medieval corn regrator (urban mealman or corn chandler), originally limited to the sale of corn upon the market place, added to his activities the sale of corn in shops. As a shopkeeper he purchased his supply of corn upon the urban market as of old, scoured the nearby country-side for it, or bought it from merchants who drew upon more distant domestic areas of supply as well as upon foreign countries.[1] The purchase from the corn merchant tended to become the normal method of supply. In other words, the growth of the metropolis in the Tudor and Stuart periods not only added to the recognized activities of the corn regrator, but provided a regular outlet whereby the corn merchant might dispose of his corn entirely by wholesale.

Once the regrator and merchant shipper have become established, it is natural that an intermediary should arise, the engrossing merchant buying from the shipper and selling to the regrator. This capitalist performs the same functions for the wholesale trade as the regrator does for the retail trade; he buys up corn shipped to the town and sells it later within the same place. While the shipper and the monger, both regarded with favor under the medieval local market system, increased the utility of the corn by transporting it from one place to another, these two newly

[1] For the relief of the merchants who had imported corn the Privy Council ordered in 1638 that the "Chaundlers Mealmen, and some others trading for Corne" along with the bakers and the City companies, should take up 3000 quarters. MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Car. I, xv, fol. 349.

recognized dealers were concerned, not with the element of place, but of time. They stored corn primarily, it is true, to sell for current use, but secondarily for profitable sale in dear years. They were thus in large part responsible for the diminishing hardships felt in times of dearth or failure of crops, because of the fact that their stock or supply was then available.

Expressed in terms of the corn trade, the medieval town policy was so framed as to make all would-be corn merchants into corn mongers. At least the town assumed that the corn monger, who bought in the open country market and sold in the open town market, was the normal dealer. It is, indeed, as we have seen, doubtful whether there were specialized corn wholesalers in medieval England. During the first period of the metropolitan market,[1] though gradually declining, and to a less degree during the second period, the old policy continued. The third period of the metropolitan development, however, gave rise to a recognized class of regrators retailing corn and meal in shops, who made it possible for a corn merchant to sell to the " trade " all the corn brought to the metropolis. The increasing distance of supplies gave rise to new middleman complexities, which necessitated domestic *laissez faire* or the abolition of the restriction that one part of the country put on the activities of the middlemen of another. The medieval mercantile organization was broken through by the preponderating development of one community, the metropolitan. And the direct, if not the lineal, successor of municipal provision, domestic restraint, staple policy, and granary proposals was in part the wholesale trade made possible by the combined activities of corn merchant and corn regrator.

4. Growth of Appreciation of Corn Middleman Functions

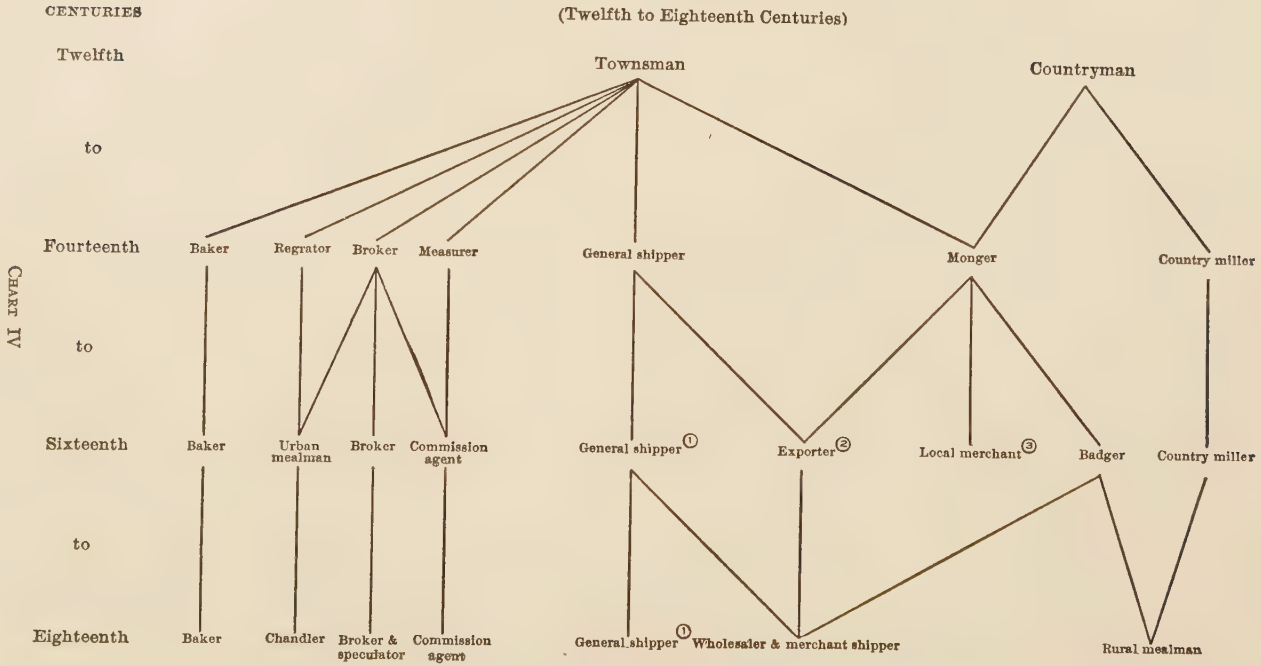
One of the considerable gaps in economic history is our lack of knowledge of the changes in the attitude of successive generations of men towards middlemen functions. We need a careful analysis of the attitude of the public towards dealers in certain

[1] See ch. VIII.

CHART IV

THE GENESIS OF CORN MIDDLEMEN IN ENGLAND

(Twelfth to Eighteenth Centuries)



① Importer and exporter. ② Semi-merchant; only part of cargo exported, rest retailed at port. ③ Sold corn to merchant exporters

classes of goods under certain market conditions. A preliminary analysis is here attempted for the English corn trade in the town and metropolitan stages of market development. Such an inquiry necessitates a classification of corn dealers according to the favor received from the public, and an examination of the attitudes of successive economic schools to middlemen in general and to corn dealers in particular. It will then be possible to indicate the classes of persons first recognizing the value or necessity of corn middlemen as a class, and the determining factors in the formation of public opinion.

Dealers who shipped corn from place to place, whether it was in the foreign or domestic trade, were in normal times favorably regarded by the public. It mattered not whether the dealer exported the surplus from an overflowing local market, imported it into a hungry metropolis, sent abroad the corn remaining after that metropolitan center had been satisfied, or transported grain from a producing to a consuming area — such a dealer was regarded as a legitimate middleman. But on the other hand, he who bought up part of the supply for sale in the same district was looked upon as performing no necessary service, and to be either restrained or legislated out of existence. In other words, the element of space, not that of time, was appreciated in middleman activities.

Regarding the attitude of the successive schools of economic thought towards corn middlemen a few points may here be noted.

What the schoolmen thought of corn traders may be inferred. Agriculture and industry were " god-fearing " occupations, but commerce was not. The corn dealer would, doubtless, have been tolerated, if he exacted only a " just price " and never deceived his customers in the matter of quality or quantity.

Of far more practical importance for the corn trade was the urban mercantile policy, which was made up of the practical rules of buying and selling evolved by town magistrates themselves. The essence of this policy was local advantage, at the expense of other towns and of the rural district around the town. The method of bringing about this desired end was the grant to

citizens of a monopoly of production, sale, and regulation. Certain trades were favored with full municipal confidence; others were not. In the case of the former the regulation was in the hands of the organized trades; in the case of the latter, of which the corn trade was a conspicuous example, it was generally kept in the hands of the magistrates. More than this, the town authorities firmly believed that they were able to distinguish between corn dealers who were serviceable and those who were not. The former, such as the corn mongers, were encouraged, but such dealers as the corn regrators were regulated and restricted.[1]

To the mercantilists, whether public authorities or writers, it was no longer local but national advantage that was sought. In aim and methods mercantilism was largely a glorified urban economic policy, with certain additional elements not here of concern. The differentiation between corn mongers and corn regrators disappeared, but one of the new features was the critical attitude towards foreign trade.[2] In a brief statement worthy of quotation, John Hales, writing probably in 1549, divided all traders and artificers into three classes.

"And now, because we are entred into communication of artificers, I will make this devision of theim. Some of theim doe but bringe monie oute of the countrie; some other, that which they doe get, they spend againe in the countrie; and the third sorte of artificers be they that doe bringe treasour into the countrie. Off the first, I recken all mercers, grocers, vinteners, haberdashers, mileyners, and such as doe sell wares growinge beyond the seas, and doe fetche oute oure treasure of the same. Which kinde of artificers, as I recken theim tollorable, and yet are not so necessarie in a common wealth but they might be best spared of all other; yet yf we had not other artificers, to bringe in as

[1] pp. 160 f., 182.

[2] Witness the following passage of the period 1509–1536: "merchauntes in London hath gretly distroyed the common weale of the holl realme by receyvyng such thinges of strangers as hath been to the distruction of the common people, for no strangers could hurte Englond by bringing in any merchaundises into the realme, yf no English merchauntes wold by it and receyve it to the distruction of the Realm." "How to reforme the Realme," etc., Pauli, *Drei volkswirthschaftliche Denkschriften*, p. 77 (1509–36).

much treasoure as they bringe furth, we should be greate losers by theim. Of the second sort be these: Shomakers, tailors, carpenters, masons, tilers, bowchers, brewers, bakers, vitailers of all sortes, which like as they get theire livinge in the countrie, so they spende it; but they bringe in no treasour unto us. Thearfore we must [cherishe] well the third sorte; and these be clothiars, tannars, cappers, and worsted makers, only that I knowe, [which,] by theire misteries and faculties, doe bringe in anie treasour." [1] Applying this classification to the corn trade we see that the importer of corn would be regarded with least favor, the domestic trader would be tolerated, while the exporter would be held most beneficial to the realm. Just how far Hales himself would have included the corn trade in his analysis is not clear, though he did advocate the unrestricted export of corn, as well as a free domestic trade.[2]

The economic doctrines of the schoolmen, and of the exponents of the town economy and the national economy in its mercantilistic aspects, all upholding a policy of regulation and restraint, gave place to the advocates of liberty or unrestricted trade, the metropolitan free-traders, the physiocrats, and the "classical" economists.

Following the Restoration in 1660, came a group of Tory free-traders, chief of whom was Sir Dudley North. These protagonists of freedom in trade did not often deal directly with the corn trade; but one of the leading members of the school, Sir William Petty, has expressed himself in a way that indicates that he at least did not approve the unrestricted activity of middlemen. He held that "a large proportion of these [merchants and retailers] also might be retrenched, who properly and originally earn nothing from the Publick, being onely a kind of Gamesters, that play with one another for the labours of the poor; yielding of themselves no fruit at all, otherwise then as veins and arteries, to distribute forth and back the blood and nutritive juyces of the

[1] Hales, *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, pp. 91–92 (1549). Cf. "How to reforme the Realme," etc., Pauli, *Drei volkswirthschaftliche Denkschriften*, p. 77 (1509–36); Thos. Starkey, *A Dialogue*, pp. 80–81 (Hen. VIII).

[2] Hales, *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, pp. 53–56, 123.

Body Politick, namely the product of Husbandry and Manufacture." [1] This antagonism is, perhaps, the more surprising in view of the contemporary public attitude towards the dealers in corn, as expressed in legislation,[2] which at this period was giving them a new recognition as performing legitimate functions in the trade of the country.

The physiocratic school in France drew its inspiration from the Tory free-traders, and in turn profoundly influenced the founder of classical political economy, Adam Smith. The physiocrats, like their prototypes, reacted strongly from the position of the mercantilists in their emphasis upon exchange. Some physiocrats maintained that the only useful exchange was that between farmer and consumer. Buying to sell was a perversion of function. Although such was the attitude of the school in general, there were some notable exceptions. Turgot seemed fully appreciative of the middleman's value to society.[3] The physiocrats in general laid great stress on free-trade, and especially free-trade in grain, its export abroad, and its transportation from place to place within the realm. And also, they made an exception for the *dealer* in corn; they deprecated his harrowed existence and indicated that he played a useful part.[4]

Hérbert (1700–58), who may, perhaps, be classed as a moderate physiocrat,[5] developed in some detail the social utility of the corn

[1] *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* (1662), p. 11.

[2] pp. 156, 196, 252.

[3] C'est l'object de la profession des Marchands, qui achettent la denrée de la main du producteur pour en faire des amas ou des magasins, dans lesquels le consommateur vient se pourvoir.

Par ce moyen l'entrepreneur assuré de la vente et de la rentrée de ses fonds, s'occupe sans inquiétude et sans relâche à de nouvelles productions, et le consommateur trouve à sa portée et dans tous les momens les choses dont il a besoin. Turgot, *Oeuvres*, v, p. 75.

[4] See Gide et Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, pp. 32 f.

[5] Hérbert is to be associated with the physiocratic school in that he protested against restriction and regulation and emphasized the importance of agriculture by way of reaction from the mercantilist exaggeration of the value of industry. He was, however, not an extremist, for he maintained that though the welfare of the state depends ultimately upon agriculture, it requires also prosperous trade and industry.

He deals with such subjects as granaries, liberty, merchants, plenty and dearth, commerce, the history of prices, and agriculture. Clear in statement, presenting

middleman. The merchant, he points out, in buying up the surplus crop in plentiful years, releases the peasant from the necessity of keeping his corn till another year. Since the merchant buys up only part of the peasant's supply two sets of corn reserves exist, that in the hands of the merchants and that in the hands of the peasants. The private merchant is a more economical husbander of grain than the state and, when left alone by the state, does not establish a monopoly for undue gain, but is content with moderate profits. The merchant equalizes supply, when let alone, by carrying corn from places of plenty to places of dearth. "It is the free merchant who should do this and not the peasant, who cannot undertake this duty; and moreover, it is important not to turn him aside from his daily work." The merchant also prevents the lowering of prices, as injurious as a bad harvest, by equalizing the supply from year to year. Merchants enrich the realm by exportation and in times of stress they can import most easily and cheaply.[1]

"Ah! what profession," he continues, "is more useful than that which provides the needs and food of men? We fear that our subjects may get rich from trading in our products; we hold such profits illegal; and we do not see that we pay to the foreigner the expenses of storage and transportation, and the usurious interest of his loans. Thus it follows that we know neither how to avoid a dearth nor to take advantage of plenty." [2]

He advocates not governmental granaries, but those in private hands, in accordance with an economic system based upon the "self-interest" of merchants following "a natural instinct." [3] In no clearer way could his views regarding the service of merchants be summed up than in the following sentence: "It is a new value that they introduce, and that encourages them to continue this trade." [4]

his subject in the form of general principles, but exemplifying his points by historical reference and contemporary instance, he suggests somewhat in form as in attitude Adam Smith himself, who probably made a study of his treatise.

[1] *Essai sur la police générale des grains*, pp. 48–53

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

It was left to Adam Smith to popularize the conclusions of Hérbert, to point out most convincingly the services of the middleman to trade in general and to the corn trade in particular. It is unnecessary to quote from Adam Smith at length. Two passages are typical of all.

"The interest of the inland dealer, and that of the great body of the people, how opposite soever they may at first sight appear, are, even in years of greatest scarcity, exactly the same."

"After the business of the farmer, that of the corn merchant is in reality the trade which, if properly protected and encouraged, would contribute the most to the raising of corn. It would support the trade of the farmer, in the same manner as the trade of the wholesale dealer supports that of the manufacturer." [1]

Followers of Adam Smith were not less explicit. Thus in 1826, Torrens said: "As Dr. Smith most justly observes, next to the trade of the farmer, no trade encourages the growth of corn so much as that of the corn merchant: and, if his trade were unfettered, it would not be easy to calculate the impulse which agriculture would receive through all the growing countries of the world." [2] Much later Thorold Rogers declared: "The corn dealer equalizes supply, and if by withholding his corn from market he makes it dearer, he also makes it cheaper than it would be by bringing it out when it otherwise would be scarce." [3]

The third task set before us is to discover who first recognized the value of corn middlemen as a class. To do this it is in large part necessary only to refer back to the preceding sections,[4] and here simply to put together evidence used above.

The people may at once be eliminated, because in times of plenty they do not consider the matter at all, and in times of dearth they rise in revolt, or at least did so in the middle ages and in the Tudor period, and are today prejudiced judges in the matter. It rests, then, with the local or metropolitan government, national government, and publicists.

[1] *The Wealth of Nations*, Book IV, Ch. v.
[2] *An Essay on the External Corn Trade*, p. 35.
[3] *Work and Wages*, p. 143.
[4] Ch. VI, §§ 1, 2, 5, 6; Ch. VII, §§ 1, 3.

The corn merchant does not seriously enter into the situation for his services were generally and widely recognized. The most unreserved appreciation of this dealer was shown by Adam Smith, who maintained that the merchant importer, the merchant exporter, and the merchant carrier increased the available supply of corn in a country and were in other ways of benefit.

Corn mongers, as has been seen, were actively encouraged by town governments in the middle ages, though their excesses were checked.[1] On the other hand, in the Tudor and Stuart periods, the national government, considering not only the interest of the urban consuming centers, but of the country-side and market towns as well, held that there were too many such dealers, that they should be licensed to carry on their trade, and that they should submit to rules laid down for their guidance.[2] Some of the latter were that they should not buy in large quantities till after the poor had been served, that their supplies should be purchased in open market, and that no corn should be laid up in granaries when beyond a certain price.[3] The last official editions of the *Book of Orders* embodying the national government's policy was issued in 1630, and the last corn law setting forth important limitations upon the activities of corn middlemen, and thereby displaying distrust in them, was passed in 1663. It is significant that in 1758, the *Book of Orders* was privately printed and dedicated to Pitt, Secretary of State, and to Legge, Chancellor and Under-treasurer of the Exchequer, with a recommendation that they be again put in force to remedy the prevailing dearth. The government did not adopt the suggestion, which was inopportune indeed, in so far as it came at a time when freedom of trade was in the air.

Regrators, whether dealing within or without shops, came in for a great deal of attention at the hands of local authorities in the middle ages and, indeed, throughout the Tudor period and the early part of the Stuart period. It is difficult to discover just what the attitude of the national government to this class of

[1] pp. 157, 167, above.
[2] See the *Book of Orders*, various editions, 1586–87 to 1630.
[3] 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. 14. See above, pp. 152–156.

dealer was, for his own activities were essentially local. Certainly, however, some of the legislative enactments of Tudor and Stuart parliaments would seem to act as a check upon his operations.

In 1680, the author of *Britannia Languens* said: "It is impossible that the occasions, vanities, or the remaining stock of the Kingdom can ever support such a prodigious Increase of Retailers and Shop-keepers as are in and about London, being near 100000 in number, when in Amsterdam they are not 5000." [1] Contrast this with the later view. Although Adam Smith did not single out the regrator for special treatment, he apparently included him among "the inland dealers" whose trade is "so beneficial to the public."

It is a matter of common knowledge that the theories of Adam Smith had great influence in moulding the *enlightened* opinion of the nation on many economic questions. And this probably applies to some extent to the corn trade. But although it was the theorist in France and England who gave to the world a statement of the contributions of traders to economic life, it was, nevertheless, the urban magistracy, itself largely mercantile, that stood first in point of time in fully recognizing the value of the corn middleman. This applies to the merchant, the monger, and to the regrator whether shopkeeper or not.[2] The urban magistrates, although they made mistakes, had truer instincts than those at the head of the nation's affairs, because they had more knowledge of the facts, and more quickly learned the lessons that experience taught.

The explanation of the conclusion that the metropolitan magistrates were the first to appreciate fully the value of the middleman functions is doubtless that they most clearly understood the needs of a wider market, the metropolitan. We may accept it as a well-established fact, that, up to the modern period of rapid and easy communication and transportation,[3] the wider

[1] p. 455 (ed. McCulloch). Cf. also Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* (1662), p. 11.

[2] See above, p. 186, n. 1.

[3] On this ultra modern phase, see Shaw, "Some Problems in Market Distribution," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xxvi, pp. 728–731 (1912).

the market the more necessary the middleman. The year 1630 may be regarded as a landmark, for it was then that the metropolitan authorities acknowledged the part that shopkeepers were to play in the corn trade, an acknowledgment of a chain of mutually dependent mercantile relationships.

CHAPTER VIII

MARKET DEVELOPMENT AND THE EVOLUTION OF CORN POLICY

1. Nature of a Corn Policy

On the subject of the English grain trade policy, there are two excellent German monographs by Faber [1] and by Naudé,[2] and most writers on English economic history have much to say on the subject. It is not intended here either to review or systematically to emend the analyses already made, because any treatment of the subject on so narrow a basis as that of Faber and Naudé must end in misleading and unsatisfactory results. Nevertheless, many of the arguments and deductions of those who have written about the corn policy will be touched upon in this fresh examination of the subject.

The explanation of corn policy which makes constitutional development the determining factor deals only with the obvious, not with the underlying, causes. Briefly put it is this: up to 1394 the crown managed the corn trade for its fiscal advantage; thenceforth parliament, gaining the upper hand, introduced a mercantile policy; the early Tudors, victorious over parliament, reverted to the fourteenth century policy, while Elizabeth beneficently re-introduced the mercantile policy; Charles I, rode rough-shod over this policy substituting one of restraint, the licensing system; the Civil War, however, brought the mercantile system to the front again, a system which the Restoration parliaments carried to its fullest development.[3] What is here not apparent is the relation these changes bore to the actual trade in corn.

[1] *Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, Strassburg, 1888.

[2] *Die Getreidehandelspolitik der Europäischen Staaten vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (*Acta Borussica*), Berlin, 1896.

[3] Faber, *Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, pp. 138–140.

This conception of the English corn policy has two main defects: firstly, it is the policy of the central government as a unity that is alone considered; and secondly, the statutory corn policy, for the period it covers, is taken to be the only policy of importance, a gross anachronism.

Corn policy is here understood to refer to those policies, personal (inter-manorial), local, metropolitan, or national, in accordance with which, in normal as well as abnormal times, the corn trade was carried on. It will be seen that the possible permutations and combinations here introduced are considerable, but no simpler analysis of the subject is adequate either at any given moment or over a long period of years.

The full meaning of this conception will appear in what follows, but it is essential to note that the chief purpose here is not so much to explain the evolution of corn policy as to examine the corn policy for the light it may throw on the development of the market.

2. Manorial Marketing and Corn Policy

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, only crude elements of a governmental corn policy are found. The king thought chiefly of the political and fiscal advantage to be derived from the export trade. To keep corn from an enemy and to supply it to an ally is a state policy not peculiar to any age or nation, though it occupied an important place in the unwritten annals of the early grain trade of England.

The fiscal was the first interest taken by the king in the affairs of his subjects, and there are two points at which this fiscal interest touched the corn trade. On the internal trade in corn the king, like other feudal chiefs, collected a regular toll on the grain brought from the country to the town, or from town to town by those not "free" of the town receiving the corn, or by those not "free" of any privileged town. The accounts of the tolls throw considerable light upon the internal trade, and are among the earliest extant evidences of the domestic trade. When the export of corn to foreign lands was first seized upon as a legitimate object of taxation, it is difficult to say. The earliest export

tax on corn in England was in all probability the lastage,[1] which probably antedated the Conquest,[2] and where not feudalized, appears as an item of income in the earliest pipe rolls.[3] Henry II, by means of a system of fines, taxed the carrying of corn to foreign lands. Licenses to export, for which a fee was charged, were frequent throughout the thirteenth century, especially in time of war. The national subsidy, generally a tenth and fifteenth, was a tax upon the production of corn (*inter alia*) and not primarily upon the trade. It appears that the export of corn was subject to no regular national tax throughout the period, except, perhaps, the early lastage and the abortive export and import tax of John, due alike from aliens as from denizens.[4] The history of these impositions belongs, however, more to the domain of indirect taxation than to that of the grain trade.

The absence of a policy of corn supply on the part of the central government is a commentary upon the economic condition of the country. Export, not import, came under the purview of the government. Nor did the internal trade in corn receive any special consideration. As a matter of fact, no national corn trade policy was necessary during a period when we have assumed the manorial organization to be satisfactorily functioning. Manorial marketing, already tentatively outlined,[5] undertook to have one manor supply the deficiencies of another manor, to sell the surplus in the local market, and in exceptional years to export part of this surplus. It is possible that we see in the Magna Charta a reflection of what might be called manorial policy, the policy of the lords of manors. When, in this document, it is declared that weights and measures, including the measure of corn, shall be uniform, and that foreign merchants are to be allowed to import and export without excessive tolls, we may hear the protest of the lords, whose interests were not local, against the annoying local variations in standards of

[1] MS., R. O., *K. R. Customs*, 16/17a. Corn is not specifically mentioned. At a later date, however, corn exported from Lynn was subject to this tax.

[2] *Domesday Book*, i, p. 262b.

[3] *Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii* (31 H. I), p. 91.

[4] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, i, pp. 42–43 (6 John).

[5] See above, pp. 17 f.

weights and measures and the protest of those who occasionally sold to exporters, against the fiscal policy of the king. This was, to be sure, not confined to the corn trade, but the inter-manorial situation is a factor which cannot be overlooked.

As towns of importance grew up within the kingdom, the local market system, according to our hypothesis, came to replace the manorial marketing system. Synchronous with the decline of the inter-manorial organization and policy, came the development of a local territorial organization and a corresponding local corn policy. The former was aristocratic and personal, and was peculiarly fitted to an agrarian form of economic organization; the latter was bourgeois and regional, and adapted to the necessities of growing commercial and industrial communities.

3. Local Market and Corn Policy

It is in connection with the local market, that we find arising a corn policy based upon territorial or local interests as contrasted with the personal interests of king or magnate. Here we find two policies coming into existence and diametrically opposed the one to the other, policies which correspond to the analysis made of local market areas, policies on the one hand of the consuming area, and on the other of the producing area.

The consuming area, tending towards an insufficiency of supply, and having a high average price, looked with disfavor upon exportation abroad, or the carriage of corn to other parts of England, and was suspicious of those who dealt in corn at all, as the agents who diminished supply either by sending corn out of the district or by raising prices for their personal gain. The result was, as we have seen, the development,[1] where possible, of local regulations against exportation,[2] and regulations restricting

[1] Chap. VI, §§ 1, 2.

[2] *e.g.* in Bristol in the fifteenth century: "Further it is ordained that no burgess of the town of Bristol by himself, nor by his servants, nor by any one else in his name, purchase or cause to be purchased any grain . . . in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Somerset, or the county of Glamorgan in the parts of Wales, before the feast of St. Michael next ensuing, for the purpose of taking it out of the kingdom, or of the liberty of Bristol in any manner, under a penalty of twenty pounds, provided however that if any one otherwise shall wish to purchase beans

the activity of corn dealers. Where such regulations were not possible, through lack of political organization, there occurred sporadic riots and deeds of violence to enforce the policy of the district.

At the other pole was the producing area, with a strong tendency to a surplus of corn, and with a low price level, whose chief desire was to profit by this surplus, whether it be by sale abroad, or in distant parts of England. Here the corn merchant first showed his head; here were made the first attempts to export corn and to organize a regular trade.

The policy of the central government remained practically the same in the early part of this period as before. Permanent machinery was set on foot in 1303 to tax the foreign corn trade, whether export or import, when carried on by aliens. In 1347 was initiated the tax on the exports and imports of both denizens and aliens. Here royal innovations ceased.

One of the great contributions of this period to political organization was the working out of a national institution, the parliament, representative of local desires and needs. It is obvious that the corn policies of town consumers, manorial producers, and of the crown had few points of contact. The work of parliament was to unify the local interests and to fuse these with royal aims. The compromise of the three interests was effected in the statutory corn policy.

One of the results of the development from the manorial or inter-manorial organization to the local and inter-local organization was the gradual dislocation of the whole trade. The surplus corn had formerly gone abroad in years of plenty; but under the new order the tendency was to check exportation.[1] The somewhat meagre records seem to indicate that from 1315 to 1327 export took place only when permitted by royal license; from 1327 to 1339 export was generally unrestrained;[2] but from 1339 to 1394 there was, by the request or order of the Commons, a

for the purpose of taking them into the parts of Ireland, he shall in no wise purchase these beans for twelve leuce round the liberty of Bristol." *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, ii, p. 64.

[1] *Patent and Close Rolls, passim.*

[2] Except in 1330 and 1333.

continuous restraint of corn exportation.[1] Though the local corn trade was developing much earlier than this legislative expression of its characteristic policy, it was not until the fourteenth century that the local trade became of sufficient importance to have its interests voiced by its recently developed representation in parliament.

Up to the Remembrance of Parliament of 1339,[2] the Commons seem to have been content with the restraint on export imposed by the Crown. From that time onward they frequently petitioned against even licensed export, and in 1361 the Crown assented to their petition, which thereby became the first important statute on the subject.[3] This expressed the policy of the consuming districts and towns.

Judging from the letters patent and close of the period, we should say that importation of corn in the fourteenth century was not inconsiderable; but the customs' statistics do not substantiate this view.[4] What is of greater importance here, however, is that importation was not only unrestricted but even favored by the government, a policy which doubtless agreed well with that of consuming districts. We find the Commons petitioning in 1371 for unrestricted trade in corn throughout England.[5] Again Crown and parliament were in agreement, and the petition received royal assent.

It might be expected that the increased demands on corn production, and the advantage of the new market conditions, would have given rise to improvements in agriculture. But an

[1] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii, p. 106a (1339); *ibid.*, p. 277a (1363); *ibid.*, p. 287a (1364–65); *ibid.*, p. 350a (1376); *ibid.*, iii, p. 141b (1382); *ibid.*, p. 164a (1383).

[2] Item, Qe Briefs soient faitz a touz Viscountz d'Engleterre, et as Mairs & Baillifs de Portz sur meer, de crier & defendre et de per nostre Seignur le Roi, que nul de qecunque estat ou condition q'il soit, amene ne face amener Bledz hors du Roialme, sur greve peine, tan que le Roi ent eit autrement ordenez. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii, p. 106a.

[3] 34 Ed. III, c. 20. See above, pp. 134, 135. [4] Cf. above, p. 100.

[5] Item, Qe chescun soit a la commune Leye, sanz estre restreint per nulle Ordinance faite a l'encountre, de vendre ou achater tote manere des Bledz & toutes autres maners de Vitailles & Biens qiconqes deinz le Roialme, come avant ces heures ont fait, sanz empeschement, ou d'estre restreint per nulle Commission notre Seigneur le Roi. Responsio. Il plest au Roi. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii, p. 305a.

examination of the manorial accounts of over thirty manors of the bishopric of Winchester, for the years 1208–09, 1299–1300, 1396–97, while it shows an increase during the thirteenth, indicates none for the following century.[1]

The new market conditions were first met by restricting exports, by favoring imports, by furthering internal transportation, and probably by an increase of the surplus corn of tenants who had commuted their services on the demesne, as well as by bringing new lands under cultivation. But even these developments and precautions were not for some time sufficient to restore the equilibrium of the market.

Such is the explanation of the otherwise unsolved policy of plenty of the fourteenth century,[2] necessitated by occasional "dearths" and met by prohibitions of exportation, otherwise unsolved because the alternative explanation would be a century of bad harvests.

The course of adjustment of the local market had almost run out by 1394, when the policy of the producing area was listened to in parliament. The result was an act allowing exportation with a reservation of the political and fiscal interests of the Crown.[3] In 1401 a concession was made to the consuming areas, when imported corn was exempt from the poundage subsidy; that is, on corn brought in (chiefly by aliens), a petty custom, but no extra duty, no poundage, was to be paid.[4] But the producing

[1] PRODUCTION PER ACRE IN QUARTERS

	1208–09	1299–1300	1396–97
Wheat	(32) 0.54	(38) 1.38	(43) 0.76
Barley	(25) 0.92	(36) 1.56	(37) 1.86
Oats	(32) 1.03	(38) 1.13	(39) 1.24
Total Average	0.83	1.35	1.29

The figures for 1208–09 are from Hall, *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*, pp. xliv–xlv. Cf. above, p. 14. See Appendix A. It is to be noted that these results are not beyond criticism. It has been assumed that the number of acres sown in the previous years to produce these crops was the same as in these years to produce the next year's crops. The averages of groups of years would, of course, be preferable to the averages of single years. The number of manors is placed in parenthesis.

[2] Faber, *Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, p. 139.

[3] 17 Rich. II, c. 7. See above, p. 136.

[4] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iii, p. 455b, *et passim*.

areas were not satisfied with their gain of 1394, and in 1426 petitioned (with special reference to "the Commens of the Shire of Kent") against the royal restrictions placed upon the export of corn and victuals to Calais, Guines, and other places within Picardy. The reply to this petition was that the act of 1394 should be kept in all points, that is, the corn trade should remain under the control of the Crown.[1] In 1437, however, a compromise was reached, by which the Crown gave up its right to check or regulate exportation when wheat prices were not above 6 s. 8 d., up to which price corn might be exported at will.[2] This was only a tentative measure, but was prolonged in 1442[3] and made permanent in 1445.[4]

But the corn producing areas were still not content, and having carried their point with the Crown, they tackled the problem of importation, which, while not greatly affecting the Crown, since the import duty was not high, very much concerned the consuming areas. Again, a compromise resulted (1463): no corn was to be imported unless prices were high, that is, until there was a dearth in the supply of home-grown corn.[5] Thus at the close of the fifteenth century, a very understandable statutory policy was actually carried out, based on the needs and possibilities of the corn trade organization of the day. Conditions of corn production and market organization had arisen which enabled the producing areas to supply the consuming areas whenever necessary, and also to have a surplus to export abroad. Stated briefly, the corn policy at the end of the period was a follows: in times of emergency, the regulation of the trade reverted to the Crown; in normal years, exportation was allowed on the payment of duty, unless prices were above a moderate level, when importation without excessive duty was possible.

Taken as a whole, the period under consideration, prior to 1500, presents two main phases of market organization and of corresponding corn policy. The first up to 1394 covered the

[1] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iv, p. 307; cf. 4 Hen. VI, c. 5. *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, pp. 230–231.

[2] 15 Hen. VI, c. 2. See above, p. 137. [3] 20 Hen. VI, c. 6. See above, p. 137.

[4] 23 Hen. VI, c. 5. See above, pp. 137–138.

[5] 3 Ed. IV, c. 2. See above, pp. 147–148.

growth of local market areas having differential price levels due to local (more or less isolated) territorial trade, falling more and more into the hands of tenants, and marked (especially during the last few decades) by market disorganization. The second, from 1436 onwards, was one of stability, in which the intermanorial had wholly given way to the local territorial organization. The earlier emphasis on importation was followed by an interest in exportation. The policy of the consuming area gave way to that of the producing district. The years from 1394 to 1437 may be regarded as transitional.

4. Inclosures, 1450–1600

In the agrarian history of England the pendulum has swung to the right and to the left, now in favor of the tenant or peasant now in favor of the landlord: whatever may have been the case prior to the ninth century, apparently from that time to the twelfth century favoring the landlord; in the direction of the tenant farmer from the thirteenth to the sixteenth and thenceforward again swinging toward the landlord. But the metaphor is inaccurate since it is by no simple, regular, unimpeded movement that social forces operate and social classes rise and fall. Struggles and manifold complications mark the devious path of social advance.

The tenants who had gained practical freedom in the period of the local market area (1100-1500), became, with the rise of the metropolitan market, actually divorced from the soil. The connection between the agrarian change and the market organization is intimate.

But before examining more closely this interesting correlation, attention should be directed to a much-discussed phenomenon which forms a vital part of the process of change. The break with the old agricultural organization goes by the name of the inclosure movement. The open fields of the traditional husbandry were fenced in. For what object? The question is, how far in the period from 1450 to 1600 were inclosures made for pasture and how far for tillage, how far for the production of wool and how far for the production of corn?

The writers who have treated this question, whether they rely chiefly on contemporary statements and legislation,[1] or whether they adduce also statistical evidence,[2] do not agree.[3] From the point of view of this study, the problem of inclosures resolves itself into one of corn surplus. On this subject there are three opinions: Professor Gay holds that though the inclosures were chiefly for pasture, they were insufficient in extent to produce any serious effect upon the corn productivity of the country; Professor Ashley maintains that inclosures were both extensive and for pasture, and, therefore, a stringency of corn was inevitable; on the other hand, both Leadam and Nasse conclude that there was no dearth of corn because the inclosures, though considerable, were chiefly for tillage.

The test of a surplus of corn is to be found in the amounts of corn (*a*) exported abroad, (*b*) imported from abroad, (*c*) sent from producing areas to consuming districts either in the coast

[1] Nasse, *The Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages and Inclosures of the 16th Century in England* (trans. 1872).

Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory* (1st ed., pt. ii, 1893).

[2] Leadam: "The Inquisition of 1517. Inclosures and Evictions," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (N.S.), vi (1892). "The Inquisitions of Depopulation in 1517, and the Domesday of Inclosures," *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, xiv (1900).

Gay: "The Inquisitions of Depopulation in 1517, and the Domesday of Inclosures," *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, xiv (1900). "Zur Geschichte der Einhegungen in England," Berlin (1902). "Inclosures in England in the Sixteenth Century," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xvii (1903). "The Midland Revolt and the Inquisitions of Depopulation of 1607," *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, xviii (1904).

[3] Two noteworthy recent books have been written by Tawney and Gonner.

Mr. R. H. Tawney (*The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1912), using all types of evidence available, comes to conclusions roughly approaching those of Professor Ashley, that the inclosures of the sixteenth century were mainly for pasture and that the movement was so considerable as to justify the name Agrarian Revolution.

Professor E. C. K. Gonner (*Common Land and Inclosure*, London, 1912) covering the whole course of the inclosure movement, takes a position of his own, to some extent at least. He seems to regard the movement of the Tudor period as less than a revolution, and, dividing up that period as to the use to which the inclosed land was put he holds that, while up to about 1550 the inclosed land was chiefly for pasture, after that date it was for tillage. One of the merits of both these works is that the influence of market development is to some extent taken into account.

trade, or (*d*) overland. For the three first, statistical evidence is deducible from the *Custom Accounts*, and from the *Certificate Books*. For the fourth only fragmentary statistics exist, and they are quite inconclusive one way or the other. But the coast trade is doubtless typical and indicative of developments in the domestic trade. All of these three classes of evidence have been examined above,[1] and show in brief no increase in importation except to London, a gradual increase in exportation throughout the period, and a great increase in the coast trade to London during the latter part of the sixteenth century. In other words, the corn producing sections of the country show a surplus (for export) increasing in amount not only throughout the period, but at the very time when the movement was attracting most attention and arousing most opposition, the early years of the sixteenth century. It is apparent then that the fewer people on the soil (after the exodus to the towns) were producing a greater corn surplus for the consumption of non-producers at home, and for exportation abroad.

It may be well in this connection to restate the evidence already presented as to the exportation of corn, which shows that the amount of the surplus of corn exported bore no relation to the progress of the inclosure movement. Before 1470 the exportation of corn was inconsiderable, since the export trade had not regained its position lost in the disorganization of the market in the fourteenth century. From 1470 to 1500 there was practically no change at all. But while the inclosure movement was active, from 1500 to 1534, corn exports doubled. From 1534 to 1554 exportation diminished, and almost ceased in the period from 1554 to 1563, after which it increased rapidly. In the early seventeenth century exportation quickly declined, except in the case of London. It seems clear that the amount of corn surplus did not vary with the known activity of inclosers and the chain of cause and effect forged to explain the agrarian policy of that most interesting century of Tudor rule seems to be defective. Our explanation must be sought in the development of the metropolitan market.

[1] Ch. IV, §§ 2, 3, and 4. See also Appendices B, C, D.

5. First Phase of Metropolitan Policy under the Tudors

It has been urged that in the attitude of the early Tudors to the corn trade, no "settled policy" can be detected, except that of revenue.[1] But this is not the view of such writers as Schanz,[2] Faber,[3] Hasbach,[4] and Tawney.[5] Henry VII, according to the generally accepted explanation, desiring the political support of the middle-class townsmen, sought to win them over to his line at any cost. They were interested in an abundant supply of wool for the chief manufacturing industry and in low corn prices.[6] The result was the initiation of the license system for the exportation of corn. By this means corn was kept within the country and made cheap, and pasture farming was stimulated to produce more wool. There are some serious objections to this theory. Prices did not rise during the reign of Henry VII;[7] the exportation of corn flourished to a greater extent than immediately before this reign;[8] the license system was not established till later;[9] and as Busch[10] remarks, a policy hostile to exportation would have been "strange" indeed, when we remember that Henry VII aimed at the encouragement of agriculture. The whole theory, in short, seems to rest upon a mistaken conception of the proclamation of 1491,[11] that it introduced a new and regular policy of restraint on exportation.[12]

[1] Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii, pt. 1, p. 87.

[2] Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, i, p. 479.

[3] Faber, *Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, pp. 87–89.

[4] Hasbach, *History of the English Agricultural Labourer*, p. 31.

[5] Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 113, 197.

[6] Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, i, p. 409.

[7] The average price of wheat for the three decades, 1461–90, was 5 s. $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. and for the three decades, 1491–1510, 5 s. 9 d. These figures are based on Rogers' decennial averages.

[8] p. 112 above.

[9] That is when the system of prohibitions had begun, in 1515. Cf. p. 226, n. 3, below.

[10] Busch (*England under the Tudors*, i, p. 261) holds to the restriction view and accepts the inconsistency, pointing to the petition of the Pope in 1504 for a license to export corn from England.

[11] *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* (Rolls Series), ii, p. 372.

[12] Schanz (*Englische Handelspolitik*, i, p. 641) made this unwarranted assumption,

The sequel to this theory is that the encouragement given to inclosures for pasture by governmental restriction on corn export was counteracted in 1563,[1] in accordance with the policy enunciated by Hales in 1549, by permitting exportation, and that, therefore, tillage after that date flourished. This act will be considered later,[2] but the flaw in the argument is the assumption that there was any close connection between the unrestricted exportation of corn and a flourishing condition of the trade. This assumption is particularly inapplicable at a time when the characteristic and important trade was domestic and not foreign.

The rise in the price of corn cannot be taken as the sole, though it was the partial, explanation of Tudor policy of restraint and supervision. The two were closely connected, and of course it is impossible at any time to disconnect price from supply. The persistent rise in prices aggravated the difficulty of supply, but that was all. In the early seventeenth century, when prices went up far higher and faster than in Tudor England, there were signs of the lessening and even the ending of the metropolitan difficulty. What London objected to at first was not so much the general rise in prices, as that the level of prices within its midst should be higher than in any other place in the kingdom, a development which shows that the seat of the trouble was not primarily in far-off mines newly opened up, nor a less aggregate corn production, but a reorganization of the market at home which put London into a new category, a reorganization comparable to that of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although the latter was not accompanied by an increase in prices.

There is one undeniable fact about the much discussed inclosures: they did much to depopulate many rural districts, and helped people the towns, notably London. The growth of London's trade, population, and corn consumption has been dealt with. The policy arising therefrom was to secure sufficient corn,

and Faber (*Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, p. 88) has followed it. Naudé (*Die Getreidehandelspolitik der Europäischen Staaten*, p. 80), with truer instinct assigned the date 1515 as the time when the law of 1437, allowing the unrestricted exportation of corn, broke down. See also below, p. 226.

[1] Faber, *Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, p. 92.

[2] p. 231.

if possible at home, if not, abroad. And the corollary of this was that London was opposed to all exportation which tended to divert corn from its gates.

The difficulty of the situation was not caused solely by the growth of London, but in part also by the agrarian and urban movement which sent people to the towns to be supplied with corn, and left fewer upon the land to supply them with it. The difficulty was enhanced by the continuance of the hampering restriction on sale and purchase in accordance with the medieval policy. But London was not the government and its actual power was confined to its walls and its liberties. Nevertheless, it made its policy felt beyond its own precincts by inducing the national government to adopt its policy, just as the producing areas had done in the period from 1394 to 1463, though with modifications where the rights of others were closely concerned.

An examination of the correspondence between the London magistracy and the central government, to be found in the city *Letter Books*, *Repertories*, and *Journals*, has thrown new light on the corn policy of the sixteenth century. From this source we get some idea, not only of what the policy of the city was,[1] but of how this policy was thrust upon the Privy Council and taken over as the national policy.

At least as early as 1516, London began to send agents out to see if corn was going abroad,[2] a practice also found at a later

[1] London's policy is seen in the following petition: corn is conveyed "down to the sea by Lynne" from Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and parts of Northamptonshire, by rivers. "Boates and barges come from the sea coast up into the land by those rivers, both with foreign commodities, and with sea coale and other things nedfull for those contreyes. These boates and barges do not willingly goe downe againe empty, but lode them with corne and either by the way do sell it at certaine usuall places, or carrie it forward to the sea, and being once there we know no further accompt of it," except that it does not reach London. "It may please your Lordship that order be taken, that of such boates and barges so laden with graine in those inland partes and passing downeward, we may have the corne for the provision of this citie, at such resonable prices as the like is then solde in the markets thereabout." MS., R. O., *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, lxxxviii, no. 53 [1572].

[2] "Yt ys agreed that in consideracon of the grete Scarcyte of Whete now beynge within this Cite & dayly ys lykley more to be my lord m[ayor] shall send an Officer in to be sent to see what Shippes Crayers & other vessals be charged with whete

date.[1] In the mayoralty of Yarford, 1519–20, two proclamations were made out at the suit of the city, one "for Regratyng of Cornys," the other "for enlargyne of Corne," for each of which the city paid a mark.[2] Such accounts are frequent.[3] The habit of appealing to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, or other high official to enlist his support to London's policy began no later than 1520 when a letter was sent to Wolsey, for commissions inviting and commanding those having corn to bring it to London.[4] At other times documents serving a similar purpose, under the king's signet or sign manual, were sued for and obtained,[5] or Letters Patent under the great seal were made the object of a formal visit to Court of the emissaries of the city.[6] Aldermen were appointed in 1558 to draw up a petition to the queen to have the city's providers exempt from certain "statute Lawes lately

for to be conveyed over the See and what other vessells be lykely to be & thereof in all goodly hast to make reporte ageyn." MS., Guildhall, London, *Repertory*, iii, fol. 63 (15 Jan., 1515–16).

[1] On 11 Jan., 1569–70, it was reported that London was sending out a man to "all the ports Townes and Havens" in Kent and Sussex to discover whether there was any corn being exported abroad, and if so how much, by whom, whither bound and at what price. MS., Guildhall, London, *Letter Book*, v, fol. 272b.

On 7 Nov., 1581, it was recorded that a man was to be "sent into the Countye of Kent, . . . to make enquirye & searche what and howe muche corne ys intended and provyded to be shipped from the Coasts of the sayd Countye into the partyes beyond the seas by any person or persons whatsoever." *Repertory*, xx, fol. 257b.

[2] *Repertory*, v, fol. 198 (18 June, 1521).

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 159b (3 Jan., 1520–21); *Letter Book*, vol. O, fol. 63b (21 Nov., 1527).

[4] Under the date 11 Nov. 1520, it was recorded that London sent to Wolsey that "certeyn comyssions may be directed in to Essex & Kent Commanding the Inhabitaunts of the same to lade & cary ther Whete in to all parties of this Realme at their pleasure in to the Citie of London, Any Restraint heretofore made to the contrary notwithstanding." *Repertory*, v, fol. 71.

In 1531, seven aldermen were appointed to ride to the Duke of Norfolk at Court "for provision of whete to be made for this Citie." *Ibid.*, viii, fol. 180b (28 Sept.).

On 17 Jan., 1543–44 it was resolved to make an effort to bring the Lord Bishop of Winchester and Lord St. John into "the favor of thys Citye for & concerning the provysyon of Wheat." *Ibid.*, xi, fol. 25b.

Cf. also *ibid.*, fol. 53b (3 April, 1544); *ibid.*, fol. 468 (18 Sept., 1548); *ibid.*, xv, fol. 167 (7 Jan., 1562–63); *ibid.*, fol. 468 (18 Sept., 1565); *ibid.*, xvii, fol. 111 (22 Feb., 1570–71).

[5] *Repertory*, vii, fol. 217b (26 Sept., 1527).

[6] *Ibid.*, ix, fol. 122 (27 Aug., 1535).

made," doubtless the act against regrators, etc., a law in itself part and parcel of the city's policy down to the late seventeenth century, but in this instance found to have a double edge.[1] The Lord Mayor and other city officials regarded it as part of their duty to watch closely the course of foreign exportation, a fact which explains why the London records are so full on the subject. In 1538 the Mayor reported to the Court of Aldermen that a general license to export had been given.[2] In 1563 the Aldermen ordered a speedy report to be made to the Lord Mayor of the amount of English grain exported to Middleborough.[3] When corn ships were stayed in 1563, London petitioned to be preferred in the disposal of the corn.[4] The Lord Mayor's agents were to be sent to seize corn about to be exported from Norfolk.[5] And a long series of petitions sent to the government to check exportation is preserved.[6] Indeed, the city went so far in 1586 as to advocate that no corn ships putting in at an English port be allowed to carry their cargoes away again, and that corn ships passing by England be forcibly brought to land their grain in England,[7] a petition which unlike the others, however, was not adopted as governmental policy. The result of London's constant pressure upon the government was a long series of proclamations in its favor, an examination of which shows to what a surprising extent London was dictator of the Tudor corn policy. The governmental policy reflected the market changes of the period, the development from a local to a metropolitan market.

Shortly after 15 January, 1516, when London first began sending out officials to watch the corn exports,[8] a proclamation

[1] *Repertory*, xiv, fol. 12 (8 March, 1557–58). [2] *Ibid.*, x, fol. 46 (17 Sept., 1538).

[3] *Ibid.*, xv, fol. 169 (12 Jan., 1562–63).

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 171 (13 Jan., 1562–63).

[5] The Lord Mayor was to " cause some honest & dyscret person to go to all the haven Townes in Northfok & ther to sease all such wheate and other graynes as he shall fynd prepared & shipped to be carryed and conveyed out of this Realme into any of the partyes beyond the seas." *Ibid.*, xv, fol. 473b (25 Sept., 1565).

[6] *Ibid.*, xvi, fol. 172 (6 March, 1566–67); *et passim* in *Repertories* and *Journals* throughout the Tudor period.

[7] *Repertory*, xxi, fol. 359 (15 Nov., 1586).

[8] *Ibid.*, iii, fol. 63 (15 Jan., 1515–16).

against export was probably issued, for on 30 January, 1516, a license was required for exportation[1] and licenses were demanded for about two years following.[2] The system of prohibitions of corn exportation had begun,[3] and was to last through the period.[4] This was in accordance with London's desire, and London officials were expected to watch and guard against its infraction.[5] This step may be taken as marking the beginning of the metropolitan period. An act of 1534 ostensibly made such prohibitions permanent, no corn being exportable except by license.[6] This act has little importance in itself except to show that parliament was ready to confirm the policy already adopted by the Crown.

The prohibition of exportation might be lifted by a permissive proclamation,[7] often issued for a stated period, at the end of which time an extension might be granted or the lid again closed on the trade. The system of prohibitions might also be modified by the granting of licenses to export. The Tudor corn licenses illustrate the individual characters of the princes, and the fiscal necessities of the time, as well as the gov-

[1] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, ii, § 1464 (30 Jan., 1515–16).

[2] *Ibid.*, §§ 2588, 2595, 2708, 2714, 2945, 3795, 3877, 4253 (23 Nov., 1516 to 22 June, 1518).

[3] There had been sporadic and isolated prohibitions earlier, for example in 1471 (26 Oct., making a license to export necessary, *K. R. Customs*, 52/57), in 1482 (21 Nov., a proclamation prohibiting exportation on account of scarcity and in favor of London, *Letter Book*, vol. L, fols. 181–182), in 1484 (26 Feb., a restraint in East Anglia. Harl., 433, fol. 155), in 1487 (3 June, a license to export, *K. R. Customs*, 11/2), as well as in the well-known years 1491 and 1512. There is as much warrant for emphasizing any of these years, notably 1482, as to date the beginning of a new policy from 1491. Cf. Faber, *Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, p. 88; Naudé, *Die Getreidehandelspolitik der Europäischen Staaten*, pp. 79 f.; Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, i, p. 641; cf. also *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (eleventh ed.), article " Corn Laws," where the law of 1437 is said to have ceased to be effective at the Wars of the Roses.

[4] *e.g.* 1519, 1531, 1544, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1565, 1572, 1588, 1590, 1595–97.

[5] *Letter Book*, vol. X, fol. 219b (26 May, 1573).

[6] 25 H. VIII, c. 2. " Noo person or persons oneles it be by licence under the Kynges greate seale, from hensforth shall cary or conveye or cause to be caryed and conveyed any corne beoffes muttons veales porkes or any other of the above said victualles to any the parties behonde the see."

[7] *e.g.* 30 March, 1548, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns*, i, no. 325.

ernmental corn policy. The license is, of course, about as old as the monarchy. Often it was a mere safe-conduct, a guarantee of good treatment at the hands of officials, at other times it partially or wholly exempted the recipient from the payment of duties. But reference is here made to the special permission given to override a general order prohibiting exportation. The practice reached its height in the reigns of Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts. In one year, 35 Elizabeth (1593–94), the license money for corn, etc., amounted to £4664 10 s. 6 d. ("pro licentia grani &c.").[1] Corn exported from Milford in 39 Elizabeth (1597–98) was subject to 1 s. duty per quarter, and 6 s. 8 d. per quarter for license.[2] The chief point to be noted here, however, is that exportation was carried on under this licensing system, just as the domestic trading in corn was carried on under a complicated and stringent system requiring (in theory) every dealer to take out a general license to buy and sell, and a special license to buy and sell apart from the common market.[3]

London had an import as well as an export policy. This also it pressed upon parliament[4] and the government and gained a responsive hearing.[5] And it is of great significance that when the

[1] MS., R. O., *K. R. Customs*, 171/21.

[2] Pro licentia 6 s. 8 d. pro quolibet quarterio, *K. R. Customs*, 171/21. Cf. also MS., Br. M., Harl., 306, fols. 26–31.

[3] Cf. 5 & 6 Ed. VI, c. 14; 5 Eliz., c. 12.

[4] On 5 Dec., 1562, it was recorded that the Lord Mayor was to "move my lord tresorer for the discharge of the Custome that is clamed in the custome house of the Cytyes wheate & rye lately bought & provided in the partyes beyond the sea for the onely store of the same Cytye." *Repertory*, xv, fol. 154.

Later on, 9 Feb., 1562–63, "A bill [was] devised and drawen to be presented unto the parlyament house for the discharging of the custome & Subsidies of all wheate meale and other grayne what so ever provided and brought and herafter to be brought to the Cytie by merchaunts Denysyns or other what so ever for the provicon and store of the same Cytie was this daye here red and delyvered." *Ibid.*, fol. 189.

[5] The Lord Treasurer wrote to the Lord Mayor, according to an entry of 26 May, 1573, that "towching the bringing in of grayne out of Estland or other forren places and liberties ether to sell the same at prices reasonable here or otherwise recarry the same frelie without further charge into other places. We think this your request reasonable and for the releve & benefite of the Cittie are content to be suters to the Queenes ma[jes]tie." MS., Guildhall, London, *Journals of the Common Council*, xx, pt. 1, fol. 49b.

import law of 1463 had been nullified by the general rise in prices, it was not renewed. Indeed, such a renewal would have run counter to the import corn trade already well organized for supplying London's needs.

The domestic corn trade of the period was, however, much more important than the foreign trade. Here also we see the metropolitan corn policy taken over by the government as its own. In 1565 Cambridge petitioned against the transportation of so much corn to Lynn. But the government refused to check this because the corn was shipped by sea from Lynn for the victualling of London.[1] As between London's needs and those of another district there was no choice.

The institution of the coast-bond had nothing specially to do with the corn trade.[2] But corn was the most important single commodity carried along the coast. In 1580 the coast trade in corn shipped to London came in for special treatment at the hands of Lord Burghley. The commissions for the transportation of victuals [3] were ordered to send periodically to the ports of their district a statement of how much corn could "be conveniently spared out of that cuntrey (their district) for London." This amount was freely to be allowed to pass, but under bond that it should go to the metropolis. When this amount of corn had been shipped, the commissioners were to consider if any more grain might be spared for London.[4] No clearer example than this could be found of the pressing needs of the metropolitan market.

So far discussion has turned mainly on the difficulty that London felt in normal years in obtaining a sufficient supply of domestic corn. This metropolitan difficulty, properly regarded as normal, arose, as has been seen, through a disorganization of the market caused by the phenomenal growth of the metropolis.

[1] MS., R. O., *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, xxxvi, no. 68 (25 June, 1565).

[2] Coast-bonds had been used in the middle ages. Some belonging to the period Hen. VIII–6 Ed. VI, are extant, and a great many dating from 1549, when apparently they were regularly returned to the Exchequer, are preserved as abstracts in the *Certificate Books*.

[3] Appointed 1565.

[4] *Letter Book*, vol. Z, fols. 45–46 (8 March, 1579–80). See Appendix L.

and was unintentionally aggravated by the practice of fixing prices and minutely regulating the dealings of middlemen.

There were, nevertheless, great dearths in Tudor England caused by bad harvests, which gave rise to an organized restraint of the corn trade. It is fatal to a proper understanding of the Tudor corn policy and practice if this restraint be regarded as aught but abnormal. For a study of this policy of "restraint," the *Book of Orders* is the most important source.[1] *The Book of Orders*, along with which must be read the supplementary orders qualifying and adding to it, aimed at discovering the corn surplus of the country, and then controlling the sale of that surplus in the interests of consumers. The commissioners of restraint were to make a survey of the number of people in their district, the amount of corn, and the surplus or deficit, and to regulate corn movement accordingly. No export was to be allowed; no dealers were to be permitted to engross or hoard corn; and no waste in the consumption of the precious grain was to be tolerated. The husbanded surpluses of the country were to be allowed to go to the towns, and especially to London.[2] By this means, then, as well as by the importation of foreign corn (under encouragement from the government), London's needs were to be met in time of dearth.

Having examined both the "normal" and the "abnormal" corn policies actually in practice during the Tudor period, we may ask to what category does the statutory policy belong, which it has been customary to regard as almost the sole subject of study? The answer is that the statutory policy is almost negligible as far as it concerns the actual trade in corn. It was largely a registration on the one hand of the mercantilist aims of the government under non-existing ideal conditions, and on the other, of the policy of corn producing communities, to the interests and prejudices of which it was politic to give attention, even if it was not possible to follow them.

[1] pp. 236–240.

[2] *Acts of the Privy Council*, xiv, p. 338 (1586–87); cf. also *Book of Orders* of 1622, p. 50.

The reason why the statutory corn policy is almost negligible is twofold. In the first place, the acts regulating exportation were applicable only when corn was sufficiently cheap, and, as the following table shows, this condition rarely existed. And

Periods	Price at which Export was Allowed	Number of Years below this Level	Number of Years below this Level + 1 s.[1]
1514–34	6 s. 8 d.	9	11
1534–54	no such limit	..	..
1554–63	6 s. 8 d.	0	0
1563–71	10 s. 0 d.	1	3
1571–93	"reasonable"	..	..
1593–1600	20 s. 0 d.	0	0
Total	..	10	14

in the second place, the Crown used its prerogative to override the corn legislation in times of emergency which became frequent with the metropolitan development. The Crown permitted the export of corn only at such prices as it thought fit,[2] or restored the legislative limit of 6 s. 8 d., even during the period when no act was on the statute book to this effect.[3]

Now to argue that because the corn statutes were not in force, there was no export, is as far from the truth as the assumption that because they were on the statute book at all, exportation must have taken place. The statistics already examined [4] show that corn was exported throughout the period. They also show that, while corn was exported even in the period 1534–54, when the export law was in abeyance, the export was greater when the statute law was not against it, than when it did not exist at all. But this is not saying very much, and though the corn laws of the period should not be neglected, they form no clue to the situation, and taken by themselves are positively misleading.

Five Tudor statutes dealing with corn exportation are of special interest: (1) that of 1534, substituting a royal license for the

[1] This column is added to show that in all but a few years the market price was *considerably*, more than a shilling, higher than the price at which exportation was allowed.

[2] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, ii, §§ 2595, 2786, 2817 (1516 to 1517).

[3] *Journals of the Common Council*, xv, fol. 335 (16 May, 1548); MS., Br. M., Titus B II, fol. 12 (30 March, 1548).

[4] See above, p. 112.

6 s. 8 d. regulation, (2) 1555, restoring the 6 s. 8 d. limit,[1] (3) 1559, giving the 6 s. 8 d. limit a special application to Norfolk and Suffolk,[2] (4) 1563[3] and (5) 1593,[4] increasing the price limit to 10 s. and 20 s. respectively. With the exception of the third case, these acts did little to promote exportation. The intention of the first is obvious and has been already considered.[5] The second, fourth, and fifth were passed when prices were too high to allow them to come into force.[6] If they were not only void in effect, but also at their passage manifestly nugatory, it is clear that they were passed simply as a sop to the producers who thereby were enabled to register their aims, and nothing more. In 1559 a bill with a 10 s. standard was introduced, but not passed.[7] As prices were then, it would have favored export. And again in 1571,[8] a bill raising the export limit to 13 s. 4 d. (for wheat) was drawn up. This would have taken the regulation of exportation out of the government's hands, for at the time the price of corn was below 13 s. 4 d. Though the bill was passed, it was shorn of this, its most important clause, in place of which was substituted the phrase " at al tymes as the severall pryces thereof shalbe so reasonable and moderate," etc., and long regulations about the course of action to be taken by the justices of

[1] See above, p. 139. [2] 1 Eliz., c. 11, § 10.

[3] 5 Eliz., c. 5, § 17. Cf. p. 140 above. Faber (*Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, p. 92) and Naudé (*Die Getreidehandelspolitik der Europäischen Staaten*, pp. 87–88) both refer to the law of 5 Eliz., c. 5 allowing the exportation of grain when not over 10 s. (for wheat) as the beginning of a new order of things; and both quote Camden to substantiate their view. But there is some discrepancy here: Camden (*Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Regnante Elizabetha* (ed. 1625), p. 61), refers to the great development of agriculture owing to the permission given to export corn, but the year is 1561. The date of the act of 5 Eliz., c. 5, is given by Faber and Naudé as 1562, while it is really 1562–63, and the act was not to go into force until 1564. Camden then refers to a period at least three years previous to the act of 5 Eliz., c. 5, undoubtedly to 1 & 2 P. & M., c. 5 and 1 Eliz., c. 11, § 10.

[4] 35 Eliz., c. 7, § 5. See above, pp. 141–142.

[5] p. 226 above.

[6] p. 230 above.

[7] *Journals of the House of Commons*, i, p. 61.

[8] Wrongly assigned at the Record Office to " March, 1562–63," and thus made to refer to 5 Eliz., c. 5; it is verbatim the draft of the unamended bill of 1571, 13 Eliz., c. 13, § 1. Cf. above, p. 141.

the peace, and other officials. Clause 4 of the act states that the queen may prohibit exportation.[1] The third act making a special case for Norfolk and Suffolk lasted only from 1559 to 1563, but it indicates clearly whence the export policy came. The high-sounding prefaces were, as usual, administrative utterances of a general mercantilist policy, favoring a corn policy which circumstances did not allow the government really to adopt. The government sympathized with the ambitions of corn producers to export abroad, but mindful of the difficulties of London's corn supply, refused to allow the control of the corn trade to be taken out of its hands. Exportation was in itself no crime in the eyes of the government, but it must be only at such times as the non-producing part of the realm, notably London, was satisfied. No longer was the medieval corn surplus of one district to be sent to the Continent while another district lacked supply. The surplus corn of the metropolitan area, however, might go abroad, and under government license was exported. The uncertainty of such a surplus was what held the government's hands and nullified legislation ostensibly made to promote exportation.

In the medieval period, as has been seen,[2] the corn policy of the time was the resultant of three forces, the royal fiscal needs, and the policies of the consuming and of the producing areas. In the sixteenth century a fourth and distinctive force, the metropolitan policy, was added. The chief aim of the Crown, so far as its narrower interests were concerned, was still fiscal; witness the licensing system, the official valuation of corn in the *Book of Rates*, and the laws of 1571 and 1593 increasing the export tax. Producers of corn left their mark chiefly upon the statute book, but not in any marked degree upon the national policy. Consumers outside the London area saw their interests partly protected by the " restraint " policy of the Crown. But London was able to impose its policy upon the government to such an extent that the metropolitan policy is the real key to the complicated regulations of the period.

[1] Cf. 35 Eliz., c. 7, § 5; 1 Jac., i, c. 25, § 3; 21 Jac., i, c. 28; 3 Car., i, c. 5, § 6.
[2] pp. 211, 213, 217–218 above.

6. Tudor Regulation of the Corn Trade

Trade ordinances, licenses to trade, the customs system, the staple system, the giving of security or bonds, were all tools in the hands of the Crown for controlling the trade in grain. What is of particular interest here, and what is peculiar to the corn trade, is the commission for the restraint of grain which came into prominence in the Tudor period, especially in the reign of Elizabeth, and which touched the lives, directly or indirectly, of many Englishmen.

Since restraints were exceptional occurrences in the grain trade of England, no very lasting machinery or means of control was ever set up. Local machinery already in existence was used. The earliest record of such machinery comes from the year 1315, when effort was made to keep corn from going to Scotland. The sheriff was made the chief instrument of supervision of the corn trade. He was to associate with him two law-worthy men for whom he was responsible. They were to watch over the grain trade, to see that no grain sent down to the ports and rivers went abroad to the king's enemies, the Scots. Security was taken of dealers in corn suspected of carrying corn to Scotland.[1] In every shire, or sheriff's bailiwick, therefore, there were two men whose chief business was to " survey all corn and other victuals " leaving the district by water.[2]

In 1527 special commissioners were appointed to search " all barns, etc. for wheat and other grains, to demand of all mayors, bailiffs, etc. whether any be hidden or kept secret, to inquire as to forestalling, regrating, and engrossing of the same." [3] But there was no special machinery under Henry VIII to prevent the transportation of corn, and so rewards were offered to informers.[4] A local and temporary measure regarding the corn trade was

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc. (Rec. ed.), ii, pt. i, p. 276.

[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Ed. II, vol. ii, p. 420.

[3] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, iv, pt. ii, § 3822 (cf. §§ 3544 and 3665). Cf. the inquisition of Charles I in Sicily in 1269, Yver, *Le Commerce et les Marchands dans l'Italie Meridionale*, p. 108.

[4] H. MSS. C., Thirteenth Report, App., pt. iv, Rye and Hereford, etc., p. 311 (1531).

taken in 1541 when three gentlemen of Sussex were specially appointed to investigate the transporting of grain from Chichester to other parts of England.[1] A fairly comprehensive list of articles for the restraint of grain was drawn up in 1556.[2] The justices of the peace were collectively to take action in each shire. They were to make a survey of all existing supplies of corn and to order the surplus sent to the nearby market towns. The justices were themselves to be present at the sale of corn upon the markets, and they were to see to it that the customs officials allowed no export abroad.

It remained for the advisers of Elizabeth to elaborate the system which influenced the corn trade throughout most of her reign. The commissions of 1315, 1541, and 1556 were temporary and transitory. Following these came a scheme for restraint which lasted, with some breaks, about a generation, technically called "The Commission for Restraint of Grain." It was an order for repressing pirates,[3] dated November 8, 1565, that ushered in a remarkable attempt to restrain the corn trade. The elaborate mechanism used to carry out this policy of paternalism is worthy of some attention. At the center of all was the queen in council, or the Privy Council, which infused vigor into the whole mechanism and by untiring zeal kept local officials to what at times was a tedious task. The Lord Treasurer was especially concerned in all that pertained to the customs system.[4] Below him were the numerous local officials requisitioned for this special work, such as the deputy lieutenants of the counties,[5] the sheriffs,[6] the justices of the peace,[7] the justices of assize,[8] the mayors of the towns,[9] and finally the officers of the customs, the customers, comptrollers, and searchers.[10] In part supplementing

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council* (ed. Nicolas), vii, p. 142.

[2] Appendix L.

[3] *Acts of the Privy Council*, vii, pp. 280 f.; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, i, p. 259 (6 Oct., 1565). Cf. also 13 Eliz., c. 13.

[4] *Acts of the Privy Council*, viii, pp. 104, 148 (1573).

[5] *Ibid.*, vii, p. 360 (1570).

[6] *Ibid.*, xi, p. 222 (1579); *ibid.*, xiv, p. 320 (1586–87).

[7] *e.g.*, 13 Eliz., c. 13; *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxviii, p. 144 (1597).

[8] 13 Eliz., c. 13; *Acts of the Privy Council*, xi, p. 222 (1579).

[9] *Ibid.*, xxvi, p. 188 (1596).

[10] *Ibid.*, viii, p. 104 (1573).

these officers and to a large extent made up of these were the specially appointed commissioners of restraint, and a "convenyent and sufficient nombre" of deputies.[1]

All three sets of eyes were upon the grain trade, those of the customers, the commissioners, and mayors; and keenest and most vigilant of all, were the eyes of the councillors themselves.[2] The normal method of procedure was for the commissioners or justices to report monthly to the Privy Council the condition of the grain supply. If corn was plentiful in the county, its transportation was allowed,[3] and an order to this effect was sent to the commissioners who in turn gave licenses to any desiring to transport corn. If prices were below the statutory limit, this license would be an order to the customers to allow the corn to pass and to collect the customs. The Council would check the reports of one set of officials by those of another set for the same district. If the commissioners gave a license to export corn, but if prices were above the statutory limit at which the exportation of corn might take place, and if special restraint of corn had been made, the customs officials stopped the shipment and reported the matter to the Council.[4] It was probably in part because the government of the day distrusted the customers, and had some reason, indeed, to doubt their strictness and their honesty, that the commissioners of restraint were appointed to check the customs officials by their regular and frequent reports of local conditions, but the customers were useful in turn, as in the case just cited, to check the commissioners. Care was taken of the interests of the various localities which might suffer through the orders of the administrative officials of the central government. The justices of the peace, if they found the orders of the justices of assize "hurtfull to the County by meanes of Dearth, or to be a

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, vii, p. 278 (1565).

[2] *e.g.* in 1573 the Privy Council heard that two men were going to export 200 qrs. of corn to Ireland, and sent down to the local authorities about the matter (*Acts of the Privy Council*, viii, p. 105); in 1577 the Privy Council summoned the Bishop of Chichester and his chancellor before it, in connection with the attempt made by an Irishman to export 90 qrs. of grain to Ireland. (*Ibid.*, ix, p. 318.)

[3] *e.g.*, *Acts of the Privy Council*, xi, p. 222 (1579).

[4] *Acts of the Privy Council*, ix, p. 318 (1577); *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, vii, p. 513 (1577).

greate Hyndraunce to Tyllage by meanes of to much cheapnes" were allowed to countermand their orders.[1]

The earliest functions of the special commissioners were the suppression of piracy as well as the checking of exportation of uncustomed and unlicensed grain.[2] They were to see that no corn was exported abroad under color of transportation from port to port.[3] This was, perhaps, their chief duty, and to fulfil it they had to watch all movements of grain and to take bonds from all persons transporting grain anywhere by water, ostensibly for another port in England, that the corn might not go abroad. Besides this they were to take "special charge for the furnishing of the several markets with grain," [4] a relic of the duties of the Henrician commissioners. They were ordered on one occasion to have 250 quarters of corn to be provided for the royal navy.[5] The justices [6] and sheriffs, if we may differentiate them from the commissioners, were ordered to restrain badgers and regrators, to keep the markets duly supplied with corn, and to take such measures as to bring down the price of grain and keep it at a reasonable level.[7]

The regulations embodying the Tudor policy of restraint were finally consolidated in one document, the *Book of Orders*, which marks indeed the apogee of paternalism in the history of the corn trade. Originally published on 2 January, 1587,[8] the *Book of Orders* was, in time of need, frequently re-issued. We have such re-issues for 1594,[9] 1608,[10] 1622, and 1630.[11] Though its

[1] 13 Eliz., c. 13, § 1. *The Statutes of the Realm*, iv, pt. 1, p. 548 (1571).

[2] *Acts of the Privy Council*, vii, p. 280 (1565); *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, i, p. 585 (1578).

[3] *Acts of the Privy Council*, xiv, p. 45 (1586).

[4] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, ii, p. 328 (1586).

[5] *Acts of the Privy Council*, viii, p. 174 (1573).

[6] By 13 Eliz., c. 13, the justices of the peace were given special functions in regard to corn trade regulation.

[7] *Acts of the Privy Council*, ix, p. 219 (1576); *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, ii, p. 328 (1586); *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxx, pp. 733–735 (1600).

[8] Br. M., 291 d 33. The original in manuscript (Lansd., 48, no. 54) was probably drawn up between Christmas and New Year's, 1586.

[9] Br. M., 6426 b 55.

[10] Br. M., 104 k 39.

[11] Br. M., 1029 e 4. Reprinted, 1758.

authorship is probably to be assigned to Burghley, it was the codification of past Tudor practice,[1] not without a very early precedent,[2] and at first sight quite in accordance with the medieval policy of self-sufficiency.

The best commentary upon the chief regulations of this remarkable piece of administrative supervision is the "Book" itself, which may be summarized as follows:

1. The sheriffs and justices of the peace are carefully to divide the county into small sections for more efficient oversight.

2. The chief men of each district are to be summoned, divided into juries, and asked to present all "great farmours for corne" living in the district then absent from the meeting. Such persons are to be forced to attend. The meeting thus augmented is asked to take the jurors' oath of presentment: to enquire into the corn supply of the district.

3. They are to present the names of persons having corn in the granary or in the field, also all agreements for the sale of this corn.

4. Likewise the particulars concerning badgers of corn are to be enquired into, the license under which they buy and sell, and the seat of their activities.

5. All malt-makers, bakers, and brewers are to be under scrutiny as to the extent of their operations, the length of time they have been so engaged, and whether they have any subsidiary occupation.

6. Extensive buyers of corn for re-sale, as well as those who buy grain growing in the fields are to be the subject of inquiry.

7. Such persons as have grain over and above their personal and household uses are to be forced to supply the nearby market as directed. The determination of this surplus rests in the hands of the local authorities.

8. This corn is to be sold to the poor artificers or laborers of the parish in small quantities as required by the purchaser.

[1] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, iv, §§ 3665 (1527), 3822, 3883, 4414 (1528). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Ed. VI, i, p. 26 (1549); *All such Proclamacons*, 4 Ed. VI (20 Sept. and 20 Oct.); MS., Br. M., *Stowe*, 152, fols. 21–22 (Mary and 3 Eliz.); *Acts of the Privy Council*, vii, p. 280 (1565).

[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc. (Rec. ed.), ii, pt. 1, p. 276 (1315).

9. The sale of larger amounts of grain is to be made only to authorized badgers or carriers, well-known bakers and brewers, and the purveyors of great households, all of whom must be duly authorized and able to prove their identity.

10. No seller of corn may carry away from the market town any unsold grain; this must be exposed for sale again next market day.

11. The farmer is not to be allowed to buy the same kind of corn as he is appointed to sell without special permission, and if he finds he has a surplus over and above his needs for consumption and seed as estimated by the officials, he is to make this fact known.

12. No farmer may buy corn for sale again nor use his servants as badgers.

13. All sale is to be on the open market except to poor craftsmen and laborers of the neighborhood who are unable to go to market, and in such case permission must be obtained in writing from the justices of the peace; account is to be kept of the particulars of each sale, and at no time is such a transaction to be for more than one bushel.

14. The names of all engrossers, together with particulars of their dealings, are to be sent to the attorney general for action.

15. Engrossers may procure special licenses from justices of the peace, record of which is to be kept by the clerk of the peace who receives a fee from the licensee therefor.

16. Inspectors are to be appointed to see that bakers deal fairly with the poor, and that clerks of the markets impose no unlawful exactions.

17. Badgers of corn, bakers, and brewers must buy only in the open market, and must present licenses from the justices of the peace, which are to specify the kind of corn to be purchased and the place where the corn is to be consumed. And the licenses are to be endorsed with the place, date, amount, and price of their purchases.

18. Badgers of corn, bakers, and brewers are to keep accounts of their dealings, which are to be scrutinized by persons appointed

by the justices. These appointees are likewise to act as censors of the conduct of the above dealers.

19. No servant of a justice of the peace is to be licensed as badger except by six justices in open sessions.

20. No badger, baker, brewer, or purveyor may buy corn in gross until at least one hour after the market has opened, so that the poor may be served first.

21. Justices of the peace, or in default of them, some rich persons, are to attend the markets to see these orders executed and the poor provided with as much favor in the prices, as by their earnest persuasion can be obtained.

22. Ministers of the Gospel are to exhort the rich to show liberality towards the poor.

23. Maltsters are to use oats rather than barley in those districts where oats are plentiful.

24. Unnecessary taverns are to be suppressed, and loitering about tippling houses prevented.

25. The justices are to take such other measures as are necessary in time of dearth.

26. No bread-corn is to be wasted on dogs or other animals nor used in the manufacture of starch.

27. The able poor are to be set to work, and stocks of goods provided for the same; clothiers are to continue to employ their workmen; and the impotent are to be relieved in their own houses.

28. Millers must not act as badgers, delay the grinding of other men's corn, change good for bad corn, nor take unreasonable toll.

29. Justices are not to own mills, and are to try personally to force the millers to obey the above rules.

30. Conferences are to be held between the mayors of towns and cities and the justices of the neighboring shires to facilitate the purchase of corn by the bakers, brewers, and private purveyors of the town, and to allot to each of the nearby counties its proper portion for the relief of the towns. Care is to be taken that in such dealings prices be not raised nor the poor left unfurnished.

31. All export abroad is to be stopped, except under the great seal, by those justices specially commissioned for the purpose; but if these be themselves corn dealers and negligent, the other justices are to take action.

32. Monthly certificates, setting forth the enforcement of these rules, are to be sent to the sheriff, who is to certify the same to the Privy Council.

33. Justices either negligent or perverse are to be reported to the Privy Council.

Such a minute system of regulation would be at best difficult of enforcement, and as time went on the zeal and vigilance of its administrators was not likely to increase. The customs officials had been corrupt of old and had not changed. One customer in 1576, for instance, had participated in the buying up of corn ostensibly for London, but really for Spain.[1] We find in 1593 the farmers of Sussex complaining that the officers of the ports, by their evil practices, engrossed corn and re-sold it, forced merchants to buy corn from them, and did all so cunningly, that the justice could not come at them.[2]

But the justices themselves, specially enlisted in the service of the corn trade restraint, and in part to act as a check upon the customs officials, were not blameless. They stood for local interests and had local prejudices, and, perhaps as well from wrong heart as wrong head, misunderstood the purpose of the whole restraint.[3] They were often reluctant to enforce the orders of the council, and that body rebuked them for complaining about farmers holding back grain instead of prosecuting them before the justices of assize.[4] The justices, however, were accused not only of consulting the interests of their particular shire-world, and of their friends, but also of having a tender regard for their own personal welfare. They were often owners

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, ix, p. 252.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, iii, p. 362.

[3] *Acts of the Privy Council*, viii, p. 230 (1574); *ibid.*, xiv, p. 383 (1586–87), "Their Lordships' [of the Privy Council] intent was not that the passage of graine shoulde be in suche sort restrayned, whereby the countyes shoulde not relieve the necessitye of eche other, their neighbors."

[4] *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxviii, p. 314 (1597); cf. *ibid.*, viii, p. 147 (1573).

of corn and exempted themselves from the working of the restrictive regulations, and were thus "both judge and party." [1]

There are signs, too, that, towards the close of the century, the Privy Council, the main spring of the whole scheme, was lagging in interest, and losing its faith in the system. With the customers lax, and the justices unmanageable, there was little hope for the successful working of the complicated plan. There is a pitiful letter of the council, in December, 1595, in answer to the complaints of the justices of the Isle of Ely. "The best helpe we can give you at this presente," they acknowledge, "is to write our letters unto the officers of that porte [of Lynn] to require of them a more streight and watchfull care." [2]

Wherein could such a body of rules be of advantage? How could these regulations help remedy the shortage of grain? It is probable that consumption was to some extent diminished by such regulations, even apart from the rise of prices; but this was not likely to effect a very large saving. Certainly public attention was at once called to the dearth, in particular the attention of municipal authorities who could encourage the importation of foreign corn; but high prices would have served the same purpose, though the warning might have come more slowly. It was, perhaps, a service to stop almost wholly and at once the transportation of corn into foreign lands though this doubtless might have been brought about without internal restraint. The farmers themselves were hindered in the purchase of corn for seed, which meant that they would often have to use the corn of their poor crop as seed for the next year's crop. The stringency would be exaggerated beyond due proportions, and, in parts of the country having plenty, would doubtless be almost wholly caused by governmental action. More serious was the fact that the middleman, whose special business it is to balance supply and demand, and whose personal interest, therefore, is, as Adam Smith has shown, very much in common with that of the community, was to a considerable extent eliminated from the situation.

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxx, p. 735 (1600).

[2] *Ibid.*, xxv, p. 133.

The chief test, however, is this: did this system facilitate the exchange of corn, its transportation from a district of plenty to one of scarcity, from the country-side to the town? The answer is in the negative. The whole underlying principle was supervision and regulation, and therefore restraint, of just such exchange. It matters not that such movement of corn was expressly provided for; such provision at best proves in practice a hindrance, and much more certainly would this be the case, when the means of enforcement was the clumsy local administrative machinery of the Tudor period.

What is the explanation of this Tudor corn supervision? The ostensible *raison d'être* of the system was the failure of crops; but crops had failed before without giving rise to such elaborate machinery. We may allow for the part played by the steady and alarming rise in prices; but this is not enough. On the one hand, the system was part of the experimenting in governance which the Tudors were pushing into almost every field of national life; and, on the other, it was a natural concommitant to the teachings and preachings of London on the subject of corn supply; it was the government's remedy for a recurring disorder, to which London had chiefly called attention.

7. Second Phase of Metropolitan Policy, 1600–1660

During the first phase of metropolitan development corn went to London for consumption only, and during the third phase it went for export in large amounts as well as for consumption. The intervening years between 1600 and 1660 are transitional in character, like the period from 1394 to 1437, displaying features of both the earlier and the later periods of the corn policy.

In abnormal years of dearth, such as 1608, 1621–23, and 1630–31, the same policy of restraint, based upon the assumption of local self-sufficiency, was carried out as before by means of the *Book of Orders*. London was still given special consideration so that the corn surplus of the country might reach it, and when this was not enough, foreign corn was to be imported. This being the case, no change in the import laws was necessary during this period.[1]

[1] See above, p. 148.

The prospective and the actual working of the maximum corn export laws of this period, outlined above,[1] is seen in the following tables.

Year	Statutory Price s.	d.	Average Price of Three Years Preceding s.	d.
1554–55	6	8	13	7½
1562–63	10	0	13	7
1592–93	20	0	23	5½
1603–04	26	8	29	2¾
1623–24	32	0	30	8
1656	40	0	26	11

Period	Statutory Price s.	d.	Years below this Level
1600–04	20	0	0
1604–23	26	8	2
1623–56	32	0	3
1656–60	40	0	1

It is apparent that the parliamentary representatives of the corn producers were able to secure a more favorable maximum price in the later than in the earlier period; but the rapid rise in prices in the early seventeenth century counteracted the apparent advantage gained by the statutes.

As in the Tudor period, the license system was in vogue, as well as the practice of prohibiting export regardless of the legislation on the subject. That this latter practice was objectionable is seen in the numerous petitions, recorded in the *Council Register*, to export from various ports where by statute such might be permitted. The figures which have already been examined show that even in normal years exportation declined. This was at a time when agriculture seems to have been progressing. Rich soil was being drained and brought under the plough; forest lands were cleared for tillage; manuring was more systematically practiced, and greater variation was made in the rotation of crops; common lands were inclosed for tillage as well as for pasture; and some pasture lands reconverted to arable. The corn surplus was apparently greater than in the Tudor period, but it was not going abroad. The statistics of the coast trade indicate its destination as London.

[1] Ch. V, § 2 especially pp. 139–143.

During these years the municipal corn-providing system declined, was revived for a time during the dearths, and then was finally given up. In other words, the readjustment of the metropolitan market had taken place. So far was this true that London not only could dispense with its former means of obtaining a supply, but actually had a corn surplus which it exported, a condition not found at any earlier period. London ceased to press its early policy upon the government in normal years, not only because the government had already adopted it, but because London was itself seeing less and less necessity for any longer holding it.

We are now in a position to consider an interesting metropolitan development, interesting as well in its failure as in its only partial success. Bearing in mind the agricultural developments of the sixteenth century, and remembering that England as a whole was exporting corn as never before, we might expect to find Tudor London desirous of extending its trade by becoming a corn staple. Corn was shipped to London from the metropolitan area, and was imported from abroad. In short London seemed even in the late sixteenth century on the way to become a corn granary like some of the Baltic and Dutch towns. At least as early as 1573 the government wrote to the city authorities that they were willing to allow imported corn to be exported custom free, if such were not required for the city's use.[1] Elizabeth was petitioned to make London a staple for corn and salt on the grounds that it would give work to laborers in the city and employment to shipping, that it would increase the corn and salt duties, at the time said to be only £60 yearly, and that a plenteous supply of corn and salt at a reasonable price would result.[2] But such a plan presupposed a corn surplus in the metropolis which did not really exist, and therefore the scheme could not materialize.

It was in the reign of James I that the advocacy of the staple plan was most pronounced. In 1613 the Council allowed five merchants to import customs free and to export without duty

[1] *Journals of the Common Council*, xx, fol. 49b (26 May, 1573).
[2] MS., Br. M., Lansd., 113, no. 24 [Eliz.].

in order to provide a "store," which should obviate a future scarcity.[1] Both in 1613 and 1614, and very often afterwards, the city magistracy allowed good corn (in the Tudor period only decayed grain) to be shipped to relieve the necessities of other places within England.[2]

In 1622 the Eastland Company sought permission to export unsold corn which they had imported.[3] And in 1628, order was given that such export without the payment of duty should be allowed, if the corn seemed "like to perishe" from want of a purchaser.[4] An unpublished mercantilist pamphlet of 1629 or 1630 advocated a staple on the grounds of plenty and low prices, as well as the saving of coin otherwise exported to pay for corn.[5] This, for the time being, was probably the high-water mark of London's ambition to be a corn staple. And although it had long exported considerable amounts of beer,[6] and was providing its growing shipping with corn supplies, as well as equipping colonizing expeditions, and although in the period of the corn bounty acts large amounts of English corn passed through London in the process of exportation, still London did not become a staple in the sense that it was a depot for foreign as well as domestic corn, a storage for corn laid up in years of plenty to be sold at home or abroad in years of scarcity.[7]

Though the staple policy, largely the policy of London merchants, was most loudly proclaimed in this period it really

[1] MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Jac. I, i, fol. 97 (10 Nov., 1613).

[2] MS., Guildhall, London, *Repertory*, xxxi, pt. 2, fols. 237b, 303b, 321b; *ibid.*, xxxii, fol. 8b.

[3] *Repertory*, xxxvi, fol. 218b (30 July). Cf. *Council Register*, Jac. I, v, fol. 428 (10 July, 1622).

[4] MS., R. O., *State Papers, Domestic*, Jac. I, Dockets No. 9 (25 March).

[5] A corn staple in London "will keepe all sorts of graine at a reasonable price, both for the buyer and seller and wee shall be allwayes provided of Corne if a dearth should come, and thereby retayne our Coyne which uppon such an occasion is usually exported." MS., Br. M., Add., 30383, *Consideracons of Entercourse*, etc., by Lord P[hilip] S[herard].

[6] About 328 tuns of beer were exported between 18 May and 29 Sept., 1559. MS., R. O., *K. R. Customs*, 88/3. In 1590 it was estimated that 2000 tuns of beer "might well" be exported yearly. MS., Br. M., Lansd., 71, no. 46. Cf. also, MS., Br. M., Harl., 420, fol. 76b (ca. 1598–1603).

[7] For an interesting definition of a general staple town, see Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade* (1664), ed. McCulloch (1856), p. 88.

belonged to the late sixteenth century, when foreign corn was so often a necessity for London. Its continuance into the seventeenth century was owing to the corn scarcities of 1608, 1621–23, and 1630–31. The explanation of its sudden collapse is just that it reflected no normal need of the period.

In reality, the staple policy, aiming at the possession of large amounts of foreign corn for home consumption or foreign export, was diametrically opposed to the policy adopted in England. Holland, forced to import nine-tenths of its corn, might thrive upon such a method, indeed, could exist in no other way, but it was the prime aim of English policy to grow its own corn. There is little doubt that if the growing metropolitan demands had been met wholly by foreign importations, the English trade in the Baltic, which had been from its beginning to the fourteenth century uncertain and unimportant, would have thrived better and English corn ships would have gone to southern Europe sooner than they actually did, but they would have carried not the corn of East Anglia, but of Prussia and Poland. In other words, the decision was that London should not be the successor of Antwerp, which in its turn, had taken over the corn trade of Bruges, itself so long the corn staple of the Hanse. To Amsterdam rather than to London fell the bulk of the Baltic-Mediterranean grain trade of the period. When London finally did become the center of the western European corn trade, as the successor of Amsterdam, it had passed through the first and second stages of metropolitan development. The failure of this staple policy was inevitable if insular self-sufficiency was to be the national aim.

Closely related to the metropolitan staple scheme is the plan for the establishment of national granaries, which was brought forward at the time of the first two Stuarts, and which deserves special attention for the light it throws on market developments.

English granary schemes may be divided into three classes, according as they were primarily for supply, for trade, or for banking and trade. The secondary (where not the primary) function of all such granaries was to supply cheap corn in times of dearth. The first plan has already been noted in a study of

London's provision. The third was a later proposal.[1] Only the second is of concern here.

In the history of English granary schemes, as in so many activities of seventeenth century England, we see Dutch models and examples held up for imitation. This is illustrated in a pamphlet entitled "Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander, and other Nations,"[2] presented to King James I, probably by Sir Walter Raleigh.

"No sooner a dearth of fish, wine, or corn here, and other merchandise, but forthwith the Embdeners, Hamburghers, and Hollanders, out of their storehouses, lade fifty or one hundred ships, or more, dispersing themselves round about this kingdom, and carry away great store of coin and wealth for little commodity in those times of dearth; by which means they suck our commonwealth of her riches, cut down our merchants, and decay our navigation; not with their natural commodities, which grow in their own countries, but the merchandises of other countries and kingdoms. . . .

"Amsterdam is never without seven hundred thousand quarters of corn, besides the plenty they daily vend, and none of this groweth in their own country: a dearth in England, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and other places, is truly observed to enrich Holland seven years after, and likewise the petty states.

"For example; the last dearth, six years past [1595-97 or 1608], the Hamburghers, Embdeners, and Hollanders, out of their storehouses, furnished this kingdom; and from Southampton, Exeter, and Bristol, in a year and a half, they carried away near two hundred thousand pounds from these parts only: then what great quantity of coin was transported round about your kingdom from every port-town, and from your city of London and other cities, cannot be esteemed so little as two millions, to the great decay of your kingdom and impoverishing your people. Discredit to the company of merchants, and dishonor to the land,

[1] A. Yarranton, *England's Improvement*, etc., pp. 123 f. (1677–78). Other public granary schemes have been proposed either for military and naval supplies, or for the storage of corn paid as subsidy as in Ireland in 1667. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Car. II, vi, p. 582.

[2] Ralegh, *Works*, viii, pp. 351–376.

that any nation, that have no corn in their own country growing, should serve this famous kingdom, which God hath so enabled within itself!" [1]

The exact effect of such a petition upon the mind of the susceptible James cannot be determined, but it is very likely that it had not a little to do with the later history of the granary proposals, three of which, of the years 1620, 1623, and 1631, deserve special attention.

On 29 December, 1619, an "overture" was made to James I in favor of public granaries. The Privy Council referred the matter to a committee for "serious and due consideration." Merchants were to be permitted to store up corn, no matter what the price "notwithstanding any law to the contrary," the alleged purpose being to relieve the husbandman "in this tyme of plenty." [2] By 26 January, 1620, the Privy Council had made up its mind on the subject and wrote to the sheriffs and justices of the peace to confer and discuss the plan proposed, namely the erection of a granary in each county.[3] Apparently no details of how this plan was to be worked were elaborated, but imperfectly as it was expressed, its chief means of relieving the farmer was to be by facilitating the trade in corn, that is, the wholesale trade. The opinion of the county magnates was not long withheld, and it was overwhelmingly unfavorable to the scheme.[4]

In 1623 the Commissioners for Trade reported on the subject of corn magazines, and in accordance with this report proclamations were issued setting forth an elaborate mechanism.[5] The granaries were to be erected by merchants at their pleasure. London and fifteen other towns, as well as all shire towns, were to have corn magazines. The corn thus stored was to be either foreign or domestic, when the price was under thirty-two shillings in the counties where purchased. Foreign corn laid up might be exported when the price of corn was not over forty shillings.

[1] Ralegh, *Works*, viii, pp. 359–360.

[2] MS., Treasury Office, *Council Register*, Jac. I, iv, fol. 372.

[3] *Council Register*, Jac. I, iv, pp. 394–395 (26 Jan., 1619–20).

[4] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Jac. I, x, pp. 124, 129, 130, 140.

[5] *Council Register*, Jac. I, vi, fol. 63 (9 July, 1623); Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc. (ed. Hague), vii, pt. iv, pp. 86–87.

When the price stood between forty shillings and thirty-two shillings, stored corn might be used at home or exported abroad. But when below thirty-two shillings, it could not be used in England, but had to be exported. Whenever foreign corn thus stored up was exported, no duty was liable, since a duty had been paid on importation. All laws against engrossing corn were to be dropped. Apparently nothing was done to execute this proclamation.

But the government persisted and in 1631 brought out another scheme, this time for London only. The plan was to establish a public magazine quite apart from the ancient machinery for relieving the poor.[1] The reply of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen was unsympathetic: trade was decaying, there was a want of storage, the cost of building was great, the amassing of such a large amount of corn raised prices, and the loss of corn caused by vermin, shrinkage, and screening was great.[2] The Privy Council "marvelled" at the attitude of the city officials,[3] and wrote to them an expression of the council's surprise;[4] but nothing came of it all.

The plans of 1623 and 1631 were sufficiently full to enable us to judge the motives of the originators. The prefatory remarks refer to the example of the Netherlands. The aim was not national self-sufficiency, but the profit to be derived from dealing in corn, foreign or domestic. The characteristic of the time, as a

[1] MS., Guildhall, London, *Journals of the Common Council*, xxxv, fols. 347–348 (28 July, 1631). See Appendix L.

On this same day entry was made in the *Council Register* (Car. I, vii, fols. 131–132) that a "generall" granary was to be stored with 30,000 quarters of corn to serve for four months, "to be furnished as fare as may bee out of the growthe of the Kingdome and accordingly supplied as nead shall require."

The probable suggestion of the whole system is indicated in the following passage: "In all other well governed Citties Care is taken in tymes of plenty to prevent such Calamity in tyme of dearth." *Council Register*, Car. I, vi, pp. 477–478 (28 April, 1631).

Cf. the proposal of 1810 to erect public granaries. MS., Br. M., Add., 37889.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Car. I, v, p. 433 (1632). Cf. Hérbert's objection to public granaries in France in 1755, *Essai sur la Police Générale des Grains* (ed. 1910), p. 76.

[3] *Council Register*, Car. I, viii, fols. 249–250 (1632).

[4] *Ibid.*, ix, fol. 506 (28 Feb., 1633–34).

period of transition, is indicated by the fact, on the one hand, that the former metropolitan policy against engrossers, taken over from the medieval town, was to be abandoned, but on the other hand when sufficient cheap corn at home could not be secured, foreign corn might be brought in, a reminiscence of the earlier attitude. The third phase of metropolitan development was anticipated in the contemplated removal of the price limit for export, in the case of foreign corn at least.[1] The whole scheme was in accordance with metropolitan policy, and the government realizing this, and confident of success, finally in 1631 limited the scheme to London alone.

Why did the granary policy fail, both in the country and in the metropolis? The answer is not simple, since so many classes were touched. But one reason would have sufficed to wreck it, if there had been no other. The period 1619–31 was one of reaction against state regulation, and state control was the essence of all the proposals. While the staple policy, of which the granary scheme was both the official supplement and the climax, might have stood some chance of success, when brought forward in the sixteenth century, there was no real need for it in the early seventeenth century, when the metropolitan market was approximating a state of equilibrium in which plenty of corn and to spare, domestic corn withal, came to its market places. The first phase of the metropolitan policy was favorable to importation and hostile to exportation where metropolitan needs were concerned; the second period saw a readjustment, and though the city authorities appreciated the change, it was not realized by the government.

8. Third Phase of Metropolitan Policy, 1660–1689

What the early Stuarts failed to see, the Restoration parliaments fully appreciated; they realized that great developments had taken place in the first part of the seventeenth century. And in accordance with the new market conditions the national policy was framed. Beginning in 1660 and continued to 1689, impor-

[1] *Journals of the Common Council*, xxxv, fols. 347–348 (28 July, 1631). See Appendix L.

tation was discouraged in the case of both aliens [1] and denizens, as indicated in the tables below.

DUTY ON WHEAT

Imported by denizens

Period	Valuation Per Qr.	Rate	Average Duty Per Qr.
1347–1401	[3s.] [2]	6 to 12d. per £	0.9 to 1.8d.
1401–1510	....	.....	Exempt
1510–1558	[6s.] [2]	12d. per £	3s. 6d.
1558–1660	6s. 8d.	12d. " £	4d.
1660–1663	6s. 8d.	12d. " £	4d.
1663–1670	....	5s. 4d. per qr.	5s. 4d.
1670–1689	....	16s. per qr.	16s.

Imported by aliens

Period	Valuation Per Qr.	Rate	Average Duty Per Qr.
1303–1347	[3s. 6d.]	3d. per £	0s. 5d.
1347–1401	[3s.]	9 to 15d.	1.3 to 2.2d.
1401–1510	[3 to 6s.]	3d. per £	0.5 to 1.0d.
1510–1558	[6s.]	15d. " £	4.5d.
1558–1660	6s. 8d.	15d. " £	5d.
1660–1663	6s. 8d.	2s. " £	8d.
1663–1670	....	5s. 4d. per qr.	5s. 4d.
1670–1689	....	16s. per qr.	16s.

By 1670 the import tax was from $33\frac{1}{3}$ to 50% of the value of corn. In 1669 an additional step was taken, when the importation of foreign corn was prohibited in time of plenty.[3] Thus, in theory, neither denizen nor alien was permitted to import until crops failed at home.

In the export policy, the government went slowly. The 40 s. limit of 1656 was again imposed in 1660,[4] and in 1663 it was raised to 48 s.[5] In 1670 came the abolition of a price limit,[6] which was first imposed in 1437, so that henceforth there was no

[1] Corn not imported in English ships with three-quarters of the mariners, as well as the master, English subjects, had to be in the ships of the country in which the corn was grown or usually first shipped. This was at once a blow against the Dutch and foreign corn in general. 12 Car. II, c. 18, § 8. See above, p. 148, n. 4.

[2] Estimates.

[3] Proclamations, Charles II, 1667-74, Society of Antiquaries (29 March, 1669), year 1669.

[4] 12 Car. II, c. 4, § 11. See above, p. 143.

[5] 15 Car. II, c. 7, § 1. See above, p. 143.

[6] 22 Car. II, c. 13, § 1. See above, p. 143.

statutory restriction on export. While import corn duties were raised, export duties were lowered after 1658, as is expressed in the accompanying table.

DUTY ON WHEAT

Exported by denizens

Period	Valuation Per Qr.	Rate	Average Duty Per Qr.
1347–1558	[3 to 6s.]	6 to 12d. per £	0.9 to 3.6d.
1555–1571	10s.	12d. per £	6d.
1571–1593	..	12d. " qr.	12d.
1593–1656	..	2s. " "	2s.
1656–1660	..	12d. " "	12d.
1660–1675	20s.	12d. " £	12d.
1675–1681	..	.....	Bounty
1681–1689	20s.	12d. per £	12d.
1689 fol.	..	.....	Bounty

Exported by aliens

Period	Valuation Per Qr.	Rate	Average Duty Per Qr.
1303–1347	[3s. 6d.]	3d. per £	0.5d.
1347–1558	[3 to 6s.]	9 to 15d. per £	1.3 to 4.5d.
1558–1571	10s.	15d. per £	7.5d.
1571–1593	..	12d. " qr.	12d.
1593–1656	..	2s. " "	2s.
1656–1660	..	3s. " "	3s.
1660–1689	20s.	2s. " £	2s.

In 1663 the engrossing of corn and its stowage in granaries were made legal, when the price (of wheat) was not above 48 s.[1] The trade of the corn merchant, as well as of the local regrater, was recognized as a legitimate occupation.[2] The zenith of this

[1] 15 Car. II, c. 7, § 3. " When the prices of Corne or Graine Winchester Measure doe not exceede the Rates following at the Markets Havens or Places where the same shall be bought (viz) The Quarter of Wheat Eight and forty shillings, the Quarter of Rye Two and thirty shillings [etc.]. That then it shall be lawfull for all and every person and persons (not forestalling nor selling the same in the [same] Market within three Moneths after the buying thereof) to buy in open Market, and to lay up and keepe in his [and] their Graineries or Houses, and to sell againe such Corne or Graine of the kinds aforesaid as without fraude and coven shall have beene bought at or under the prices before expressed without incurring any penaltie." Cf. p. 156 above.

[2] Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, Book IV, Chap. V) has exaggerated the importance of this measure. The law of 1663, he says, " has, perhaps, contributed more, both to the plentiful supply of the home market, and to the increase of tillage, than any other law in the statute book. It is from this law that the inland corn trade has derived all the liberty and protection which it has ever enjoyed."

new policy was reached in the first bounty act of 1673, which not only placed at a premium the business of the merchant, favored by the act of 1663, but also the growing of corn.[1] This was, however, only when prices were below certain rates, 48 s. in the case of wheat.

Although the act was in force only about five and one-quarter years, the drain upon the treasury was considerable and came at an inopportune moment. During each of the years 1675–76 and 1676–77, over £60,000 were paid out; and during the whole period covered by the first bounty, £26,000 were distributed in the port of Lynn alone, and in the whole of England about £150,000.

The act of 1673 was not renewed upon its expiration, but it was nevertheless re-enacted in essentials in the statute of 1689.[2] No doubt the act of 1689 was the all-important bounty act; but this experimental law of 1673–78 brings out the fact that the policy of favoring the exportation of corn by bounty could not have been a surprise to either England or the Continent. Thorold Rogers, in spite of his having "read much that was written at the time," was forced to explain the fact that the act of 1689 "excited neither criticism nor opposition," by the supposition that "state-aided industry was a superstition of the time."[3] The suggestion that Houghton formulated the bounty idea is untenable.[4] The great stimulus given to the exportation of corn during the later years of Charles II, partly on account of the bounty of 1673 and partly on account of the great demand for English grain in Holland during the war,[5] would seem to give the explanation. The act of 1673 had succeeded, or at any rate had appeared successful. It supplies a link in the evolution of the export corn policy between the earlier laws, which merely allowed

[1] See above, p. 144. [2] See above, p. 146.

[3] Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, i, p. 425.

[4] Faber, *Die Entstehung des Agrarschutzes in England*, p. 112; Naudé, *Die Getreidehandelspolitik der Europäischen Staaten*, p. 101. See also Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii, pt. 1, p. 541.

[5] For example, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Car. II, xvii, pp. 377, 379, 403, 454, 505; *ibid.*, xviii, pp. 2, 271, 356, 414, 424, 437, 457, 498, 517, 522, 542, 566.

exportation (with or without restrictions) on the one hand, and the bounty act of 1689 on the other.[1]

As noted for an earlier period, there was an abnormal, as well as a normal corn policy. The normal situation may be said to have been extremely favorable when the price of corn (wheat) was not above 48 s., when a bounty was paid upon export, and when engrossing was invited; and only moderately favorable when between 48 s. and 80 s., at which time the import duty was lowered from 16 s. to 8 s. (strictly speaking only when above 53 s. 4 d.), and though engrossing and regrating were in theory to stop, they were in practice permitted. Abnormal conditions were when corn (wheat) was above 80 s., at which time foreign corn might be brought in at the ancient rate of 4 d. per quarter.

In the Tudor period, there were, as has been seen, three policies: statutory, of little real importance; governmental normal policy; governmental abnormal policy put in practice only in years of dearth. But after the Restoration, the two last policies were eliminated, and the statutory was all important. This is a fact primarily of constitutional not economic importance. The interesting economic comparison is between the normal policy

[1] The political significance of the bounty has been the subject of some discussion. A. Young (*Political Arithmetic*, ed. 1774, p. 29) declared that "The design was to give a premium to the landed interest of the kingdom, in return for the great exertion that they had made to place the crown on the head of King William." Sir John Dalrymple, writing about a century after the passing of the act of 1689, asserted that the "bounty was demanded by the tories . . . in return for their consenting to a land tax." (*Memoirs*, 2d ed., i, p. 372.) Faber (*op. cit.*, pp. 111–112), on the other hand, relying upon the report of a debate in the House of Commons in 1677, in which the Tories are said to have voted down a Whig proposal favoring the exportation of corn (Grey, *Debates*, iv, p. 342), regards the Tory policy as unfavorable to a corn bounty. Dr. Cunningham (*op. cit.*, pp. 541–542) accepts this position and carries it to its logical conclusion by making the bounty of Whig conception: the act of 1689 was in accordance with the policy of the Whigs who, he asserts, schemed to foster the agricultural interest ["by giving a bounty on the export of corn"] "so that the landed men might be able to make these large contributions to the expenses of government." As a matter of fact, it was not the Whig majority of 1689 that made the corn bounty experiment, but the Cavalier or Tory parliament of 1661–79. The bounty policy formed part of the Tory, not the Whig platform. (Cf. Oncken, *Geschichte der Nationalökonomie*, pt. 1, p. 202.) The landed gentry, having benefited by the bounty act of 1673, "demanded" the enactment of a similar law in 1689.

found in Restoration statutes and the normal policy of the Tudors, found in conciliar regulations. The latter assumed a disorganized corn market; the former took for granted a readjusted market.

Not a little has been written on the subject of the mercantile corn policy of the Tudors, but with too little discrimination. If mercantilism is taken to imply a commercial policy favorable to trading in corn on the Dutch model, such as is seen in the staple and granary proposals, then one chapter of the mercantilist policy falls within the first and second phases of the metropolitan period. The same might likewise be true if mercantilism is held to be synonymous with an industrial policy, such as London might be said to have held in its desire on the one hand to export manufactured goods, and on the other to export raw materials, such as corn, only when not entering into manufacture or not needed as food. But if mercantilism means national self-sufficiency, then a mercantile corn policy means a policy aiming at the abolition of corn importations and the increase of domestic production, the corollary of which is that a corn surplus is desirable for export.

Although this policy might have been regarded as a desideratum (as in the Tudor prefaces to statutes), it was not in force till after the Restoration. England had to pass through the two first stages of metropolitan development before such was possible, stages in which the needs of one city disturbed the ancient local foreign and domestic trade at a time when the surplus of corn was comparatively slight. The reorganization which began in the period 1600–60, and is seen in full development from 1660 to 1689 was made possible by the agricultural improvements of the time outrunning the needs of the metropolis. In other words from the time when the disturbing influence of London upon the domestic trade was felt breaking in upon the medieval local market organization, there could be no certainty of a general corn surplus until that surplus was concentrated in London.

It is to be noted that the increased production of the country and the unprecedented corn surplus (going to London) were due not to the legislation of the time, but were in spite of it.

Agriculture developed to meet a domestic need, the demand of London for corn. This came previous to the Restoration. What the Restoration legislation did was to meet the needs of the growing trade, and to stimulate agriculture still further by offering an additionally lucrative sale in foreign lands.

Looked at broadly then, we may say that the study of market development and the concomitant corn policy has indicated three more or less distinct periods: intermanorial subsistence giving way to the local market, covering approximately the period from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries; the metropolitan market, from 1500 to 1660; and the metropolitan market with the addition of a foreign market through the metropolitan organization, from 1660 onwards.

Though only the corn trade has been dealt with here, the development of the metropolitan market must be seen against the background of the industrial, agricultural, and commercial movements of the period. It was primarily a reorganization of trade, by which the great bulk of the commerce of the period was concentrated in London, which exported and imported in the foreign trade, and distributed wares, both domestic and foreign. Thus it meant the decay of many outports.[1] And, indeed, one of the explanations of the curious controversy in the seventeenth century whether trade was decaying is that those who maintained the decay were thinking of the outports and those who denied it had London in mind. This concentration of trade,[2]

[1] John Hales (*A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, p. 16) remarked in 1549 that "The most part of all the townes of England, London excepted," are decayed, and maintained (*op. cit.*, pp. 125–126) that the decay of the towns was due to the desire of Englishmen to buy the foreign-made goods which came through London: "They must have theire geare from London," not made in London, but "beyonde the sea."

[2] "This restraint of our Market to our own Merchants and Companies, hath yet brought a farther mischief upon our Manufactures, because our Companies being seated in London, our Natives are forced to bring their Manufactures thither by Land Carriages, some of which are so long that they are as chargeable as a Voyage to Spain or Turkey, Quantity for Quantity; all which is superadded to the originall charge of the Manufacture; our Clothiers have also complained, that when they have brought their Cloaths to London, they have been frequently and long delayed before they have been able to vend them; . . . being made necessitous by delay, and confined to the London Market, [' our Clothiers '] are forced to sell cheap." *Britannia Languens* (1680), ed. by J. R. McCulloch, pp. 344–345.

and the resulting unity of policy, went hand in hand with the establishment of trading companies, the formation of a vigorous trade policy hostile to aliens, and the amassing of usable capital readily turned into any channel of profit, either directly as when used in trade, or indirectly when loaned to further the trade policy of the government.

The origin of modern capitalism in England is rightly placed in the period following the discovery of America, the period when, for various reasons, trade became increasingly profitable. This trade extended over distant seas and reached into far lands; it was carried on only at great expense, and only by the means of large amounts of capital. England changed its whole economic organization in order to participate to advantage in this new pursuit of life; and as time has shown, it organized on a sound basis, a basis which still exists in a modified form: the small medieval capital accumulations of both city and hinterland were concentrated in the metropolis.

The difficulty of getting corn supplies experienced by London was found on the Continent; and this difficulty was met there as in London by restrictions on middlemen, by granary schemes, and other means of relief. The sixteenth century was noted for its dearths, its failures of crops. But when had there been a century without similar failures? In so far as such scarcities aggravated metropolitan difficulties, they were contributory causes, but they were always secondary not primary causes. The basic element underlying the new development and coöperating with the influx of the precious metal was the incoming of the metropolitan organization which was marking off the medieval town from the early modern commercial center.

The influence of the development of the metropolitan market upon the organization of industry is beyond our present field. Whether there was a domestic form of industry in Tudor and Stuart London is a matter of uncertainty;[1] but there can be no

[1] Are we justified in associating the following marketing with industrial stages?

Market	Industrial System
"Village" or inter-manorial	Household
"Town" or local	Handicraft
Metropolitan:	
a National	Domestic
b International	Factory

question that the development of the wider market meant a division of employment in which the functions of merchant and manufacturer would be distinct, thereby making possible the concentration of capital upon one or the other activity.[1]

In conclusion, the history of the corn policy, like the history of the corn trade, illustrates the paramount fact of market development, which changed according to the economic necessities of the time, and which in essence was in the direction of specialization as between town and country, and in the country in kinds of farming, and in the direction of producing a greater corn surplus. Though general social and economic development cannot profitably be neglected, the evolution of the corn policy can be explained only by the evolution of the corn market.

[1] Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 103.

APPENDICES

On account of typographical difficulties small fractions have in these appendices been omitted and unusual fractions reduced generally to halves, quarters, and eighths.

The errors that may be found in the statistics presented both in the text and in the appendices have probably arisen at least to some extent through the necessity of rapid work upon documents often only partly legible.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

STATISTICS OF THE PRODUCTION AND SALE OF CORN ON THE MANORS OF THE BISHOPRIC OF WINCHESTER IN THE YEARS 1208–09, 1299–1300, AND 1396–97

1208–09[1]

Manors	Wheat						Mancorn and Rye					
	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold
	qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.		qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
Adderbury	65	152	31	34	.43	52.3	*166 5/8	180	40	104 1/2	.93	62.7
Alresford	96 1/2	168	48	53	.57	54.9	75 1/2	101	33 1/2	43	.75	56.9
Ashmansworth	36	41	9 5/8	16	.88	44.4	54 1/8	73	19 1/2	24	.74	44.3
Beauworth	47	103	24 1/2	18	.46	38.3	9	9	2 1/2	...	1.00	...
Bitterne	4	16	4	...	.25	..	*2 1/4	9	2 1/4	...	.25	...
Brightwell	262 1/2	282	62	202 3/8	.93	77.1	...	...	...	...	..	...
Clere	127 3/8	372	63	74	.34	58.1	116 5/8	218	45 1/2	49 1/8	.53	42.1
Cheriton	103 1/2	240	60 1/2	35 1/2	.43	34.3	31 1/2	74	23 1/2	...	.43	...
Crawley	66 1/2	90	26	61 1/2	.74	92.5	...	...	...	...	..	...
Downton	221 5/8	351	117	110 1/8	.63	49.7	29 1/8	156	53 1/8	27	.19	92.7
Fareham	126	262	64	55 1/2	.48	44.0	...	...	...	...	..	...
Farnham	168 7/8	142 1/2	22 5/8	85 1/2	1.19	50.6	*30 1/4	208	21	5 1/2	.15	18.2
Hambledon	31 1/2	110	23 5/8	9	.29	28.6	15 1/2	44	12 1/2	3	.35	19.3
Harwell	110	182	41	76	.61	69.1	15	7	3	...	2.14	...
Itchingswell	58	112	22	35	.52	60.3	12 1/8	24	5	1	.51	8.2
Knoyle	37	76 1/2	16 1/2	13	.48	35.1	45 1/4	143	25 1/2	...	.32	...
Mardon	169 1/2	566	90	28 1/2	.30	16.8	13	26	6	...	.50	...
Meon	200 1/4	479	90 1/2	100 3/4	.42	50.3	...	...	...	...	..	...
Meon, Church	235 1/4	80	16	207	2.94	88.0	10 *8 3/4	... ...	... ...	10 8 3/4	.. ..	100.0 100.0
Overton	34 5/8	42	13	17 5/8	.83	50.9	99 1/8	208	60	14 5/8	.48	14.7
Privet	54 1/2	62	15 1/2	2 1/2	.88	4.6	39	39	13 1/2	2	1.00	5.1
Rimpton	18 1/2	60 1/2	15	7 1/2	.31	40.5	*21 3/8	28	7	1	.76	4.7
Stoke	105 1/2	224	24 1/2	...	.47		...	...	...	...	..	...
Sutton	91 1/4	242	66 1/2	42	.38	46.0	31 1/2	66	19 1/2	7	.48	22.2
Taunton	392 1/8	757	182 1/8	190	.52	48.4	*80 5/8	122	31	...	.66	...
Twyford	123 1/2	212	92	39	.56	31.6	...	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham	207 5/8	551	112 1/2	202 1/2	.35	9.9	...	...	...	...	..	...
Wargrave	17	47	14	10	.36	59.0	220	355	89 1/2	111 1/8	.62	50.5
Wield	26	158 1/2	45	13	.16	50.0	45	65 1/2	21 1/2	11	.69	24.4
Witney	188 1/2	417	82	50	.45	26.5	...	...	...	...	..	...
Woodhay	52	84	17	44 1/2	.62	85.6	4 5/8	56	16 1/2	53 1/2	.09	...
Wycombe	201 1/2	156	78 1/2	116	1.29	57.6	50 1/2	21	10 1/2	...	2.45	...
	3679	6838	1589 1/2	1767 3/8	.54	48.5	916 1/2 *309 7/8	1685 1/2 547	460 5/8 101 1/4	356 3/8 119 3/4	.54 .57	38.9 38.7

[1] Hall, Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, pp. xliv–xlv.

* Rye.

Manors	Barley						Oats					
	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold
	qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.		qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
Adderbury	40	22	5	30	1.82	75.0	167¼	88	41½	74	1.90	44.2
Alresford	132	131	52½	55	1.00	41.7	205	165	110	105	1.24	51.2
Ashmansworth	6½	13	4½	...	.50	..	53	85½	34	...	.62	...
Beauworth	22	30	12½	1½	.73	6.8	86½	117	51	...	.74	...
Bitterne	25⅝	22	11	...	1.16	..	39¼	70	35	...	.56	...
Brightwell	...	12	3½	...	..	..	98⅞	60	29	42	1.65	42.5
Clere	21⅝	37	12½	...	.58	..	174¾	242	74	...	.72	...
Cheriton	72	124	41	...	.58	..	250	264	132	...	.95	...
Crawley	147½	173	57	12½	.85	8.5	201	286	104	...	.70	...
Downton	178½	102½	49½	91½	1.74	51.3	311¼	221½	110½	12	1.41	3.6
Fareham	23	46	18	...	.50	..	182¾	200	125½	...	.91	...
Farnham	26½	33	8	...	.81	..	306	349	115½	6	.88	1.9
Hambledon	76	80	23	6	.95	7.9	112	170	50	6	.66	5.4
Harwell	...	...	...	...	..	..	39⅜	17	8½	22⅝	2.32	57.5
Itchingswell	...	...	...	...	..	..	19	72	24	...	.26	...
Knoyle	18½	38	8½	...	.49	..	93¾	195	66	...	.48	...
Mardon	67	111	36	...	.60	..	106⅞	432	89	16	.25	15.0
Meon	163¼	230	46½	33	.71	20.2	590⅛	600	318½	5	.98	.8
Meon, Church	182	10	4	138½	..	76.1	477½	120	70	22½	.39	4.7
Overton	32½	48	15	17½	.69	53.8	104⅜	198	69½	2	.53	1.9
Privet	11½	11	4	...	1.05	..	148½	107	53½	29	1.40	19.5
Rimpton	...	4	2	...	..	..	42	50	33	2	.84	4.8
Stoke	66	85	17½	33½	.78	50.7	85⅝	160	41½	...	.54	...
Sutton	65½	98	30	12½	.67	19.1	100½	306	98½	...	.33	...
Taunton	...	7	2⅛	...	..	..	1397⅜	964½	609	505	1.45	36.1
Twyford	106½	114	50	17½	.93	16.4	266½	235	131	44	1.13	16.5
Waltham	99	148	40½	...	.67	..	447½	498	241½	12	.90	2.7
Wargrave	46⅝	40	13⅛	31½	1.17	67.6	472¼	320	149	232	1.48	49.1
Wield	...	8	3	...	..	..	218½	226½	113½	95	.96	43.5
Witney	73½	96	31⅛	1	.77	1.4	334½	212	90	16	1.58	4.8
Woodhay	8	4	1½	6½	2.00	81.3	89	71	41	...	1.25	...
Wycombe	40	14	7	...	2.86	..	256⅞	215	143½	26	1.19	10.1
	1751¼	1891½	609¾	488	.92	27.9	7477⅞	7317	3402½	1274⅛	1.02	17.0

1299–1300[1]

Manors	Wheat						Mancorn and Rye					
	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold
	qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.		qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
Adderbury	49 5/8	45	14 1/2	28	1.10	56.4	*85 1/2	64	24 1/8	55 1/8	1.34	64.5
Alresford	19 5/8	24 1/2	6 1/8	9 7/8	.80	50.3	...	...	...	...	..	...
Ashmansworth	30 7/8	33	6 1/4	27 1/4	.94	88.3	...	...	...	...	..	...
Beauworth	40 3/8	22	8 3/8	...	1.84	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Bentley	108 7/8	79	25 3/4	78 7/8	1.38	72.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Bitterne	28 1/8	25	9 1/2	18 1/8	1.12	64.4	*4	4	1 1/2	2	1.00	50.0
Brightwell	143 3/4	97	36 3/8	99 3/8	1.48	69.1	*71 3/8	59	18 5/8	50 1/2	1.21	70.7
Burghclere	162 7/8	292	36 1/8	17 1/8	.56	10.7	...	...	...	...	..	...
Clere, High	38 1/4	52	9 7/8	26 1/4	.74	69.9	...	...	...	...	..	...
Cheriton	102	105	34 3/8	67 5/8	.97	66.3	...	...	...	...	..	...
Crawley	87 3/4	96	18	69 1/4	.91	78.9	...	...	...	...	..	...
Culham	8 1/8	3	1 1/8	7	2.71	86.2	53	49	18 3/4	23 1/8	1.08	43.6
Downton	254 5/8	209	65 1/8	178 3/4	1.22	70.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Droxford	80 1/8	152	19	69	.53	86.1	*2 1/2	16	2 1/2	2 1/2	.16	100.0
Ebbesborne	107 7/8	52	16 1/2	90	2.07	83.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Fareham	130 1/8	106	33 1/8	88	1.23	67.6	*2	...	...	2	..	100.0
Fonthill	100 1/4	44	16	74 3/4	2.28	74.6	...	...	...	...	..	...
Hambledon	59 3/4	71	22 1/4	33	.84	55.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Harwell	81 1/4	60 1/2	22 3/4	69 1/4	1.34	85.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Havant	66	56	15 1/4	51 5/8	1.18	78.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Itchingswell	51 1/2	124	15 1/2	34 7/8	.42	67.9	...	...	...	...	..	...
Ivinghoe	277	84	32 1/2	236 7/8	3.30	85.5	...	...	...	...	..	...
Knoyle	203 3/4	102	38	145 1/4	2.00	71.3	...	...	...	...	..	...
Knoyle, Upton	60 1/8	42 1/2	16	38 7/8	1.41	64.7	...	...	...	...	..	...
Mardon	253 1/8	432	54	186 3/4	.59	73.8	...	...	...	...	..	...
Meon	311 1/8	...	158	190 5/8	..	61.3	...	...	...	...	..	...
Morton	73	86	32 1/4	38 3/8	.85	52.6	...	...	...	...	..	...
Overton	79	42	13 1/4	61	1.90	77.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Rimpton	125 1/2	146	26 1/8	107 1/8	.86	85.6	...	...	...	...	..	...
Stoke	80 1/2	...	14	65 1/2	..	81.4	*...	...	...	3	..	...
Sutton	40	50	22 3/8	30	.80	75.0	...	...	...	...	..	...
Taunton:												
Nailesbourne	84 7/8	65	16 1/4	62 1/8	1.30	73.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Poundisford	113 5/8	116	29	78 3/8	.98	68.9	*22 3/8	30 1/2	*7 5/8	10 1/4	.73	45.8
Twyford	270 3/4	...	45 1/2	209 3/4	..	77.5	...	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham	165 3/8	104 1/2	39 3/8	116 1/2	1.58	70.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham, North	48 1/8	22	8 1/4	39 7/8	2.19	82.9	...	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham, St. Lawrence	34 1/8	15	4 5/8	19 1/2	2.27	57.2	66 3/8	48	17 3/8	48 1/4	1.38	72.7
Wargrave	67 3/4	17	6 3/8	60	3.98	88.6	77 5/8	53	23 3/8	45 3/4	1.46	58.9
Witney	224 5/8	82	68 1/4	145 1/8	2.74	64.6	...	...	...	...	..	...
Wolvesey	95	...	11 1/4	93	..	97.9	...	...	...	...	..	...
Woodhay	65 7/8	91	17 1/2	53 5/8	.72	81.8	...	...	...	...	..	...
Wycombe	102	108	40 3/8	53 5/8	.94	52.6	53 1/8	54	20 1/4	...	.98	...
	4527	3353	1125 1/4	3170 3/4	1.35	70.0	250 1/8	204	79 3/4	117 1/8	1.23	46.8
							*187 3/4	173 1/2	54 1/8	125 3/8	1.09	66.8

[1] MS., R.O., *Ecclesiastical Commission, Various*, 27/159317. * Rye.

1299–1300

Manors	Barley						Oats					
	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold
	qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.		qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
Adderbury	...	...	...	...	..	..	77¼	37	23½	36¾	2.09	47.6
Alresford	7½	...	...	...	..	..	41⅝	46	23	22⅝	.90	54.4
Ashmansworth	10	26	6½	3½	.38	35.0	39⅛	51	19	...	.77	...
Beauworth	12⅜	10½	5¼	5	1.18	40.4	52	59	29½	22½	.88	43.3
Bentley	6¾	9	5	...	.75	..	74	75	46¾	19½	.99	26.3
Bitterne	45½	37	18⅝	3¾	1.23	8.2	27	30½	15¼	1⅞	.88	6.9
Brightwell	100⅜	55	27⅜	48	1.83	47.7	22½	14½	9⅛	...	1.55	...
Burghclere	12¼	25	6⅜	5⅞	.49	48.0	112¼	264	77	5	.42	4.5
Clere, High	22⅞	26	6¾	16⅛	.88	70.5	32⅜	64	20⅛	...	.51	...
Cheriton	42⅝	26	13⅝	26	1.64	61.0	124¾	98	73¼	38	1.27	30.5
Crawley	108¾	88	36⅜	45⅝	1.24	42.0	87¼	176	65¾	...	.49	...
Culham	14¾	11½	5⅞	8⅞	1.28	60.2	41⅞	30½	19	17¾	1.37	42.4
Downton	175	168	94⅛	36⅞	1.04	21.0	96	117½	59	15⅜	.82	16.0
Droxford	74½	72	18	27	1.03	36.2	105	206	51½	35⅛	.51	33.4
Ebbesborne	127½	63	23½	84⅞	2.02	66.6	45⅛	50½	25¼	16	.89	35.5
Fareham	46½	20	12½	10¼	2.32	22.0	84	108	67½	...	.78	...
Fonthill	64	38	19	27⅝	1.68	43.2	53⅜	40	20	28¾	1.33	53.9
Hambledon	*12¼	...	1⅝	...	..	..	181⅛	130	102	26	1.39	14.4
	62	31½	18⅛	18	1.97	29.0						
Harwell	43¾	23	11⅜	12¼	1.90	28.0	2¾	...	...	...	..	...
Havant	48	18	11	6	2.67	12.5	40	25	12½	20⅜	1.60	50.8
Itchingswell	13⅝	21	5¼	8⅜	.65	61.5	50⅝	109	34	10	.46	19.7
Ivinghoe	10	7¼	3⅝	6⅞	1.38	68.7	182	149	93	109⅜	1.22	60.0
Knoyle	100½	55	27½	45¾	1.83	45.5	160	75	56⅜	85⅛	2.13	53.2
Knoyle, Upton	30½	30	15	7⅞	1.02	25.8	25	45	17	3	.56	12.0
Mardon	44½	33½	16⅝	1½	1.32	3.4	174¾	208	103⅞	17¾	.84	10.2
Meon	121⅜	40½	30½	37⅞	3.00	31.2	533½	260	195	241	2.05	45.2
Morton	22¼	43	21½	...	.52	..	5⅝	6	4½	...	.98	...
Overton	34⅝	26	13½	21⅝	1.33	62.5	114⅛	138	80⅛	...	.83	...
Rimpton	2⅛	5	1½	...	.43	..	108¾	87	32⅞	70⅛	1.25	64.5
Stoke	21¼	...	7	6	..	28.2	115½	...	42	69½	..	60.2
Sutton	40	29	14½	12⅛	1.38	30.3	40½	81½	40¾	...	.50	...
Taunton:												
Nailesbourne	...	...	...	...	..	..	118⅝	124	57¾	103½	.96	87.2
Poundisford	...	...	...	...	..	..	150½	111	55½	154	1.36	...
Twyford	75⅝	...	...	117⅞	..	..	227⅜	...	100	41¼	..	17.0
Waltham	*14½	10½	4	0½	1.38	3.4	169	125	98½	37¼	1.35	22.0
	42	28	17½	11½	1.50	27.4						
Waltham, North	17⅝	9	4⅜	4⅜	1.96	24.8	108¾	90	56½	31¼	1.21	28.7
Waltham, St. Lawrence	16⅞	6	3¼	12⅞	2.81	76.3	57¼	45	28	28⅞	1.27	50.4
Wargrave	44⅞	39	19½	14⅜	1.15	32.0	81¼	58¼	40⅜	32	1.40	39.4
Witney	74½	37	18½	...	2.01	..	265⅞	133	99¾	74⅝	2.00	28.1
Wolvesey	66⅜	...	14⅜	25¼	..	38.0	18⅞	...	...	...	..	...
Woodhay	28¾	20	5	14⅝	1.44	50.9	73	91	34	25¾	.80	35.3
Wycombe	13⅜	14½	7	6⅜	.92	47.7	78¼	106¾	80½	...	.73	...
	1872⅝	1201¾	591	741⅜	1.56	39.6	4199⅜	3665	2109	1440	1.14	34.3

* Winter Barley.

Manors	Bere and Berecorn						Curall and Drags					
	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold
	qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.		qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
Adderbury	...	...	...	...	..	..	*69 1/8	55 1/2	27 3/4	39 3/4	1.25	57.5
Alresford	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Ashmansworth	39 3/4	36	13 1/2	10 7/8	1.10	27.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Beauworth	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Bentley	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Bitterne	...	...	...	...	..	..	7 5/8 *10 3/4	... 7	... 3 1/2	3 5/8 7 1/4	.. 1.54	47.5 67.4
Brightwell	...	...	...	...	..	..	*33 3/4	16	9 3/8	14 3/8	2.11	42.6
Burghclere	57 1/4	33	10 3/8	20 5/8	1.73	36.0	9 3/4	...	...	9 3/4	...	100.0
Clere, High	41 1/2	51	16	5 7/8	.81	14.1	...	...	...	...	..	...
Cheriton	12 1/4	...	2 1/8	8	..	65.3	3 1/2	...	...	3 1/2	..	100.0
Crawley	†6 5/8 16 3/4	... 24	2 1/4 6	4 3/8 10	.. .70	66.0 59.7	2 *44 5/8	... 45	... 17	2 27 5/8	.. .99	100.0 61.9
Culham	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Downton	...	...	...	...	..	..	21 1/4	...	...	21 1/4	..	100.0
Droxford	9 1/2	26	6 1/2	0 1/2	.37	52.6	12 1/2	...	...	5	..	40.0
Ebbesborne	...	...	...	...	..	..	10 7/8	...	...	5 7/8	..	54.0
Fareham	...	5	2	...	..	..	*.. 12	5 ...	3 1/8 ...	... 4	.. ..	... 33.3
Fonthill	9 1/8	11 1/2	4 3/8	24 5/8	.79	27.0	1	...	...	...	..	...
Hambledon	...	...	...	...	..	..	3	...	...	3	..	100.0
Harwell	...	...	...	...	..	..	*31 5/8	32	20	11 5/8	.99	36.8
Havant	...	...	...	...	..	..	1	...	...	1	..	100.0
Itchingswell	29 7/8	26	8	...	1.15	..	15	...	...	15	..	100.0
Ivinghoe	...	...	...	...	..	..	27	...	...	8 7/8	..	32.9
Knoyle	29	15	5 3/4	22	1.93	75.9	8	...	...	6 1/4	..	78.1
Knoyle, Upton	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Mardon	...	...	...	...	..	..	32 3/8	...	...	16 3/8	..	50.6
Meon	24 1/2	...	8 1/2	8	..	32.7	7 *29 13 3/4	... ...	... ...	2 29 ...	.. .. ..	28.6 100.0 ...
Morton	...	...	...	...	..	..	*13	10	6 1/2	...	1.30	...
Overton	70	74	27 3/4	...	.95	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Rimpton	...	...	...	...	..	..	12	...	...	2	..	16.7
Stoke	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Sutton	...	...	...	...	..	..	1	...	...	1	..	100.0
Taunton:												
Nailesbourne	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Poundisford	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Twyford	...	...	...	...	..	..	7 5/8	...	...	7 5/8	..	100.0
Waltham	...	...	...	...	..	..	33 1/4	...	...	21 3/4	..	65.4
Waltham, North	39 1/8	49	18 3/8	...	.79	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham, St. Lawrence	...	...	...	...	..	..	*7 3/4	3	1 1/2	7 3/8	2.58	95.2
Wargrave	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Witney	...	...	...	...	..	..	3 *43 3/4 2 3/8	... 35 ...	... 22 ...	3 21 3/4 2 3/8	.. 1.25 ..	100.0 49.1 100.0
Wolvesey	...	...	...	...	..	..	*31 3/4	...	8 5/8	23 1/8	...	72.8
Woodhay	26 3/8	54	13 1/2	...	.49	..	9	...	...	9	..	100.0
Wycombe	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
	405 †6 5/8	404 1/2 ...	142 3/4 2 1/4	110 1/2 4 3/8	1.00 ..	27.3 66.0	255 7/8 *315 3/8	... 208 1/2	... 119 3/8	154 1/4 181 7/8	.. 1.51	60.3 57.7

* Drags. † Berecorn.

Manors	Vetches						Beans and Peas					
	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold
	qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.		qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
Adderbury	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Alresford	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Ashmansworth	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Beauworth	1¼	...	0½	...	..	..	0⅝	...	3	1	..	...
Bentley	4¾	...	...	1⅜	..	29.0	2½	...	0½	...	..	...
Bitterne	4	...	1⅝	1¼	..	31.2	3⅝	...	2¼	...	..	...
Brightwell	6	9	2¼	3¾	.67	62.5	4⅛	8	2	2⅛	.52	51.5
Burghclere	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Clere, High	1¼	3	0⅜	0⅞	.42	70.0	2	2	0¼	...	1.00	...
Cheriton	3⅛	...	2½	0⅝	..	20.0	5	...	1	4	..	80.0
Crawley	...	...	...	...	..	..	4¾	...	1⅝	3⅛	..	65.8
Culham	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Downton	2⅞	9½	2⅞	...	.30	..	‡3½	...	1¼	2¼	..	64.3
							27⅛	37	9¼	17⅝	.73	65.9
Droxford	17⅞	...	3½	5⅜	..	30.1	6¾	...	3	3¼	..	48.1
Ebbesborne	8⅛	9½	2⅜	4¾	.86	58.5	15⅜	13½	3⅜	11½	1.14	74.8
Fareham	15⅜	20	7½	4⅜	.77	28.5	4⅛	10	3⅝	...	.40	...
Fonthill	11½	7½	2¼	8	1.53	69.6	...	...	...	...	..	...
Hambledon	3⅛	...	3⅛	...	..	..	2⅜	...	1⅝	0⅜	..	15.8
Harwell	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	1	0¼	...	..	...
Havant	21¾	39	16	5¾	.56	26.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Itchingswell	0⅞	2	0¼	0⅝	.44	70.1	...	...	...	...	..	...
Ivinghoe	...	...	...	...	..	..	‡11¾	...	3⅝	8⅛	..	69.1
Knoyle	34	14½	5½	15¼	2.34	44.9	10½	9	2¼	6¼	1.17	59.5
Knoyle, Upton	9½	6½	2⅛	3¾	1.46	39.5	...	...	...	...	..	...
Mardon	22⅞	...	6¼	6⅛	..	26.8	26⅞	...	5⅝	9	..	33.5
Meon	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Morton	...	...	...	...	..	..	‡22⅝	20	7⅝	...	1.13	...
Overton	...	...	...	...	..	..	3⅛	3	0¾	2⅜	1.04	76.0
Rimpton	8½	6	0¾	1¾	1.42	20.6	‡46⅜	18	8⅛	19⅝	2.58	42.3
							6½	3	0⅜	...	2.17	...
Stoke	8½	...	1½	7	..	82.4	‡13½	...	3½	9⅝	..	71.3
							5½	...	2	0½	..	9.1
Sutton	4⅞	...	1⅜	2	..	28.2	8⅝	...	2⅛	5¼	..	60.9
Taunton:												
Nailesbourne	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Poundisford	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	5½	1¼	...	..	...
Twyford	16⅛	...	5	9½	..	58.9	13⅛	...	4	1⅛	..	8.6
Waltham	20	...	6½	3	..	15.0	5¼	...	4¼	1	..	19.0
Waltham, North	8⅜	9½	2⅜	2⅝	.88	31.3	2⅜	3	0¾	1⅝	.79	68.5
Waltham, St. Lawrence	...	...	...	...	..	..	0⅞	...	...	...	..	...
Wargrave	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Witney	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Wolvesey	...	...	...	...	..	..	‡0½	...	...	0½	..	100.0
Woodhay	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Wycombe	0¼	...	0½	...	..	..	0½	...	0⅜	...	..	...
	234⅞	136	77½	87¾	1.73	37.4	161⅝	95	55½	70⅜	1.70	43.5
							‡98¼	38	24½	40⅛	2.59	45.9

‡ Beans.

1396–97[1]

Manors	Wheat						Mancorn and Rye					
	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold
	qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.		qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
Adderbury	15¼	8	3	11¾	1.91	77.0	*54⅜	37	14	8¾	1.48	16.1
Alresford	16½	58	13½	10¾	.28	65.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Beauworth	28½	41	10¼	18	.69	63.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Bentley	73⅛	66	16¼	48	1.11	65.6	...	...	...	...	..	...
Bitterne	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Brightwell	64½	47	14⅝	79¾	1.37	123.6	...	...	...	...	..	...
Brockhampton	30¼	21	6½	22¼	1.44	73.5	...	...	...	...	..	...
Burghclere	90¼	86	24⅛	55⅛	1.05	61.1	...	...	...	...	..	...
Clere, High	17½	24	6⅛	9⅛	.73	52.9	...	...	...	...	..	...
Cheriton	66¾	85	21¼	45¼	.78	67.8	...	...	...	...	..	...
Crawley	18¼	62	15½	2⅝	.29	14.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Downton	44¼	64	20	16⅛	.69	36.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Droxford	22½	23	7⅛	25½	.98	113.3	*2	...	...	2	...	100.0
Ebbesborne	17⅛	63	15¾	1⅛	.27	6.6	...	...	...	...	..	...
Fareham	55⅛	46	14½	33⅜	1.20	60.1	*2	...	...	2	..	100.0
Farnham	25¾	39	9¾	25	.66	97.1	...	...	...	...	..	...
Fonthill	9½	27	8½	4⅜	.35	46.0	..	...	...	...	..	...
Hambledon	25⅞	38	12	14⅞	.68	57.5	...	...	...	...	..	...
Harwell	50⅛	32	10⅛	63⅜	1.57	126.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Itchingswell	78	36	11⅛	65⅝	2.17	84.1	...	...	...	...	..	...
Ivinghoe	27¾	51	14¼	12	.54	43.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Knoyle	47¼	81	25¼	20½	.58	43.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Knoyle, Upton	8¾	24	7½	1½	.36	17.1	...	...	...	...	..	...
Mardon	82¾	140	35	46⅝	.59	56.3	...	...	...	...	..	...
Marwell	27½	32	8	19¼	.86	70.0	...	...	...	...	..	...
Meon	185¼	176	44	140⅞	1.05	76.0	...	...	...	...	..	...
Meon, Church	27¼	21	6	21¼	1.30	78.0	...	...	...	...	..	...
Overton	26½	40	12⅝	12⅜	.66	46.7	...	...	...	...	..	...
Rimpton	30⅜	76	14¼	15⅛ +1pk	.39	52.3	...	...	...	...	..	...
Stoke	28¼	30	7½	18⅞	.94	66.8	...	...	...	...	..	...
Sutton	31⅞	61	15¼	23½	.52	73.7	...	...	...	...	..	...
Taunton:												
Hull	66½	102	19⅛	47½	.65	71.2	*5¼	3	0½	...	1.73	...
Nailesbourne	31¼	68	9	22¼	.46	71.2	*13½	7	1⅛	1¼	1.93	8.8
Poundisford	75½ +3pk	100	18¾	56¼ +3pk	.76	75.0	*3⅝	4	0¾	...	.91	...
Staplegrove	50½	84	15¾	34¾	.60	68.8	...	...	...	...	..	...
Twyford	42⅛	96	24	16½	.44	39.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham	49	56	17⅝	29⅛	.88	59.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham, No.	30⅛	23	6½	23⅝	1.31	78.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham, St. Lawrence	18¼	19	6½	8½	.96	46.6	12½	10	3⅝	3½	1.25	28.0
Wargrave	49½	28	10½	44⅝	1.77	90.2	55⅛	37½	14	7	1.47	12.7
Witney	40⅛	51½	16⅛	18¼	.78	45.5	...	...	...	...	..	...
Wolvesey	25⅛	38	9½	22⅝	.66	90.0	...	...	...	...	..	...
Woodhay	27¼	41	10¼	15½	.66	56.4	...	...	...	...	..	...
Wycombe	21¾	62	19¼	0½	.35	2.3	28⅜	29	10¾	3⅞	.98	13.7
							96	76½	28⅜	14⅜	1.25	14.9
	1799⅞	2366½	613	1224¾	.76	68.0	*80¾	51	16⅜	14	1.58	17.3

[1] MS., R.O., *Ecclesiastical Commission, Various*, 44/159403. * Rye.

Manors	Barley						Oats					
	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold
	qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.		qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
Adderbury	...	...	...	...	..	...	25¼	8	4	11⅝	3.16	46.0
Alresford	81⅝	48	24¼	1	1.70	1.2	70¼	52	26	23½	1.35	33.5
Beauworth	37½	19	9½	13⅞	1.97	37.3	34⅛	36	13	15⅝	.95	45.8
Bentley	19¼	11	5½	...	1.75	...	74	48	24	39	1.54	52.7
Brightwell	160⅝	50	31½	0½	3.21	.3	2½	2	0½	4¾	1.25	190.0
Brockhampton	30¼	17	4½	1⅞	1.78	6.6	...	...	...	...	..	...
Burghclere	36½	19	8½	17⅜	1.92	47.6	78½	61	30½	23¾	1.29	30.3
Clere, High	32⅜	18	9	3¾	1.80	11.6	11⅛	14	7	12¼	.82	106.5
Cheriton	115¾	48	24	64⅜	2.41	55.6	91¾	60	30	42	1.53	45.8
Crawley	92¼	54	27	43⅜	1.71	47.4	64	44	22	23⅞	1.45	37.3
Downton	153⅝	65	32½	46⅜	2.36	30.2	54⅝	32	16	25¾	1.70	47.1
Droxford	56½	28	14¼	18⅜	2.02	32.5	35⅛	28	14	10⅝	1.25	30.2
Ebbesborne	52⅝	63	31½	7⅜	.81	14.0	9¼	21	10½	13¼	.44	143.2
Fareham	64⅝	21	14½	15⅜	3.08	23.8	70¼	38	19	...	1.85	...
Farnham	38½	26	11⅜	3⅜	1.48	8.8	7	4	2	...	1.75	...
Fonthill	67⅜	33	16½	34¾	2.04	51.6	20¼	27	13½	6¼	.75	30.9
Hambledon	172¼	73	36	97¼	2.36	56.5	54¼	41	20½	10⅜	1.32	18.7
Harwell	81¼	25	15⅝	4¼	3.25	5.2	...	...	...	...	..	...
Itchingswell	44⅛	35	17⅞	...	1.26	...	54¼	37	18½	10⅜	1.47	19.1
Ivinghoe	125¼	84	42	...	1.49	...	68⅛	57	28¾	47¼	1.17	69.4
Knoyle	78⅛	[63⅔]	47¾	13	1.23	16.6	62⅛	56	28	25⅝	1.11	40.4
Knoyle, Upton	32¼	19	9½	12¼	1.69	37.9	17½	17	8½	8	1.03	45.7
Mardon	101½	56	28	34⅝	1.81	34.4	73	64	32	14½	1.14	19.5
Marwell	27¾	19	9½	4¼	1.46	15.3	32½	19	9½	1⅞	1.71	5.8
Meon	106	48	24	5⅜	2.21	5.1	160	144	72	15⅝	1.11	9.9
Meon, Church	13	8	4	4⅜	1.63	34.1	24	20	10	9	1.20	37.5
Overton	103⅛	51	25½	...	2.02	...	65½	52	26	14½	1.26	22.1
Rimpton	17⅝	8	3	8	2.20	45.4	56⅝	55¼	20⅝ +3pk	32¾	1.03	57.8
Stoke	21	14	7	5¼	1.50	25.0	...	...	...	...	..	...
Sutton	72⅝	38	19¼	3	1.91	4.1	44¼	36	18⅛	1	1.23	2.2
Taunton:												
Hull	...	...	...	...	..	...	99⅝	84	31½	74⅛	1.19	74.4
Nailesbourne	5⅛	...	...	5⅛	..	100.0	35⅝	41	15⅝	20¼	.87	56.8
Poundisford	...	...	...	...	..	...	105½	114	...	62¾	.93	59.6
Staplegrove	...	...	...	...	..	...	60¼	68	25½	34¾	.89	57.7
Twyford	88⅛	52	9¾	...	1.70	...	93⅛	48	24	48⅝	1.94	52.2
Waltham	40⅞	30	15¼	1	1.36	2.4	46½	40	20	2¾	1.16	5.9
Waltham, No.	36½	19	8½	11¼	1.92	31.0	61½	48	24⅛	23⅛	1.28	37.6
Waltham, St. Lawrence	...	...	...	...	..	...	44½	34	17	23½	1.31	52.8
Wargrave	67⅛	40	20	9	1.68	13.4	28½	25½	16	...	1.12	...
Witney	105⅛	60	30⅛	9⅜	1.75	8.9	37⅛	22	11⅛	8¾	1.69	23.6
Wolvesey	55¼	37	18½	19⅝	1.46	36.0	...	...	...	...	..	...
Woodhay	35½	22	9¾	17⅛	1.61	48.2	24⅞	24	12	7⅞	1.04	31.7
Wycombe	66½	44¼	22⅛	...	1.50	...	55	39	19½	7⅞	1.41	14.3
	2535¾	1366	686⅝	537	1.86	21.2	2052¾	1660¾	740⅝	756¾	1.24	36.9

Manors	Vetches						Beans, Pulse, and Peas					
	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold
	qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.		qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
Adderbury	...	...	...	...	..	...	10¼	16	4	2¼	.64	21.9
Alresford	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Beauworth	2½	4	1	...	.63	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Bentley	3⅛	4	1	2⅛	.78	68.0	3¼	4	1⅛	2⅛	.81	65.4
Brightwell	...	...	...	...	..	...	†10	10	4	2	1.00	20.0
Brockhampton	6⅛	6	2	4⅛	1.02	67.3	6½	6	2	4½	1.08	69.2
Burghclere	...	...	...	...	..	...	6½	10	2½	...	.65	...
Clere, High	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Cheriton	...	...	...	...	..	...	†10¾	16	4	1¼	.67	11.6
Crawley	15½	22	5½	...	.70	...	9	16	4	2½	.56	27.8
Downton	8¼	12	3	2¼	.69	27.3	13¼	16	4	6¼	.83	47.2
Droxford	4⅛	4	1⅛	0½	1.03	12.1	1	4	1	1	.25	100.0
Ebbesborne	6	15	3¾	2⅞	.40	47.9	9¼	16	4	3¼	.58	35.1
Fareham	6⅝	7	2½	2⅛	.95	32.1	9¾	8	2¾	4	1.22	41.0
Farnham	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Fonthill	...	...	...	...	..	...	†4½	9	2¼	0¾	.50	16.6
Hambledon	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Harwell	...	...	...	...	..	...	†13½	20	5	...	.68	...
Itchingswell	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Ivinghoe	...	...	...	...	..	...	†50⅝	84	31½	1⅝	.67	2.9
Knoyle	5½	6	1½	...	.92	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Knoyle, Upton	...	...	...	...	..	...	3⅜	6½	1⅝	2	.52	59.3
Mardon	11	16	4	...	.70	...	9	12	4	...	.75	...
Marwell	5⅛	5	1¼	1⅞	1.03	36.6	...	5	1¼	1¾	..	...
Meon	...	...	...	...	..	...	‡7⅜ †15⅝	5 12	2½ 3	4⅞ 2⅝	1.48 1.30	66.1 16.8
Meon, Church	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Overton	...	...	...	...	..	...	†7	8	2	...	.88	...
Rimpton	1¼	2½	4	0¾	.50	60.0	‡19⅝	...	...	...	..	...
Stoke	...	...	...	...	..	...	‡0¾ †2½	3 4	0¾ 1	1½ ...	.25 .63	200.0 ...
Sutton	...	...	...	...	..	...	†6	12⅓	3⅝	2½	.49	41.7
Taunton:												
Hull	...	...	...	...	..	...	2⅝	3	0⅝	...	.88	...
Nailesbourne	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Poundisford	...	...	...	...	..	...	6⅜	3	0½	...	2.13	...
Staplegrove	...	...	...	...	..	...	0¾	4	0¾	0⅞	.19	116.6
Twyford	9	8	2	...	1.13	...	9⅛	8	2	...	1.19	...
Waltham	...	...	...	...	..	...	6⅞	7	1¾	1	.98	14.5
Waltham, No.	3¾	6	1½	0¾	.63	20.0	...	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham, St. Lawrence	...	...	. .	...	..	...	3½	3	1¼	0¼	1.16	7.1
Wargrave	...	...	...	...	..	...	2⅛	3	1	...	.71	...
Witney	...	...	...	...	..	...	†11	32	...	...	.34	...
Wolvesey	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Woodhay	...	...	...	...	..	...	†1	4	1	...	.25	...
Wycombe	...	...	...	...	..	...	8⅞	7	2½	...	1.27	...
	87⅞	117½	34¾	17⅜	.75	19.8	121¾ †138½ ‡27¾	157½ 211⅓ 8	38¼ 56¼ 3¼	31¾ 10¾ 6⅜	.77 .66 3.47	26.1 7.8 23.0

† Pulse. ‡ Beans.

Manors	Berecorn						Curall and Drags					
	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold	Total Produce	Acres Sown	Quan. Sown	Quan. Sold	Acre Produc.	% Sold
	qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.		qrs.		qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
Adderbury	...	...	...	...	..	...	*23 5/8	70	35	8 5/8	.52	36.5
Alresford	...	...	...	...	..	...	3 1/2	...	...	...	..	...
Beauworth	...	...	...	...	..	...	1 1/2	...	...	...	..	...
Bentley	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Brightwell	...	...	...	...	..	...	*20 3/4	8 1/2	4 3/8	16 3/8	2.44	78.9
Brockhampton	...	...	...	...	..	...	2	...	...	...	..	...
Burghclere	16 1/2	12	4 1/2	...	1.38	...	7 1/2	...	...	...	..	...
Clere, High	3 1/2	...	...	4	..	114.3	2 1/2	...	...	...	..	...
Cheriton	...	...	...	...	..	...	4	...	...	...	..	...
Crawley	...	...	...	...	..	...	3 1/2	...	...	...	..	...
Downton	...	...	...	...	..	...	6	...	...	...	..	...
Droxford	...	...	...	...	..	...	*9 1/8 4	8	4	5 1/8	1.14	57.5
Ebbesborne	...	...	...	...	..	...	2	...	...	...	..	...
Fareham	...	...	...	...	..	...	2	4	1	3	.50	150.0
Farnham	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Fonthill	...	...	...	...	..	...	1 1/2	...	...	...	..	...
Hambledon	...	...	...	...	..	...	1 3/4	...	...	...	..	...
Harwell	...	...	...	...	..	...	*29 1/2	12	6 1/2	13 3/8	2.46	45.3
Itchingswell	16 1/8	11	4	0 5/8 +1pk	1.47	3.9	3 1/8	...	...	...	..	...
Ivinghoe	55	64	24	6 1/2	.86	11.8	2 1/4 *48 5/8	... 10	... 5	... ...	.. 4.81	... ...
Knoyle	...	...	...	...	..	...	1 1/2	...	...	1 1/2	..	100.0
Knoyle, Upton	...	...	...	...	..	...	1 3/4	...	...	...	..	...
Mardon	...	...	...	...	..	...	3	...	...	...	..	...
Marwell	...	...	...	...	..	...	2	...	...	...	..	...
Meon	...	...	...	...	..	...	4 1/4	...	...	...	..	...
Meon, Church	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Overton	6 1/4	8	3 3/4	4	.78	64.0	1 3/8	...	...	...	..	...
Rimpton	...	...	...	...	..	...	4 7/8	...	...	...	..	...
Stoke	...	...	...	...	..	...	1 1/2	...	...	...	..	...
Sutton	...	...	...	...	..	...	1 1/2	...	...	...	..	...
Taunton:												
Hull	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Nailesbourne	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Poundisford	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Staplegrove	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Twyford	...	...	...	...	..	...	3	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham	...	...	...	...	..	...	1	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham, No.	22 7/8	9	3 1/2	...	2.54	...	1 1/2	...	...	...	..	...
Waltham, St. Lawrence	...	...	...	...	..	...	3 1/2	...	...	...	..	...
Wargrave	...	...	...	...	..	...	*21 5/8	20	10	7 5/8	1.07	35.7
Witney	...	...	...	...	..	...	*39 7/8	30	15 1/8	24 3/4	1.33	62.1
Wolvesey	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Woodhay	22 7/8	8	3 3/8	3 1/4	2.86	14.2	1 1/8	...	...	...	..	...
Wycombe	...	...	...	...	..	...	2 7/8 *57 1/4	... 44	... 22 3/8	... 34 7/8	.. 1.30	... 60.9
	143 1/8	112	43 1/8	18 3/8	1.28	12.8	81 7/8 *249 5/8	4 202 1/2	1 102 3/8	4 1/2 110 3/4	.. 1.23	5.5 44.9

* Drags.

APPENDIX B

Statistics of Corn Importations, Arranged According to Ports, 1303–1690

The sources of these statistics are chiefly the K. R. Customs Accounts (1275–1565), and the new series of K. R. Port Books (1565–ca. 1800), both of which are at the Record Office.

The new style of year is used here to avoid confusion. The year is Michaelmas to Michaelmas except where otherwise noted.

Reference to manuscript numbers have not been given, because many of them were, when read, still unclassified, but the dates (which are here included), serve as a guide to the original.

Abbreviations: —

Al. & Den. — Aliens and Denizens.
C. & S. — Customs and Subsidies.
Col. & Cust's. ents. — Collector and Customer's entries.
Compt's. ents. — Comptroller's entries.
Cust's. ents. — Custom's entries.
Pdge. — Poundage accounts.
Petty C. — Petty Custom's accounts.
Search's. ents. — Searcher's entries.
Surv's. ents. — Surveyor's entries.
Surv. Gen's. ents. — Surveyor General's entries.
T. & P. — Tonnage and Poundage.
* indicates an imperfect manuscript and therefore uncertain results.
[ ] indicate uncertainty or estimates.

Barnstaple and Ilfracombe

Corn imports are noted in 1371–72, 1 Nov.–1 Nov., [132] quarters, Pdge. Within the period 1371 to 1590 accounts containing no entries of corn imports are found for the following years (the first record being Pdge. and all the rest C. & S.): —

1391–92, 8 Dec.–20 June; 1410–11, 18 Nov.–Mich; 1491–93; 1494, Easter-Mich.; 1503–04; 1508–09; 1515–16; 1517–18; 1519–20; 1523–24; 1528–29; 1531–34; 1536–37; 1542–45; 1550–51; 1557–59; 1562–63; 1590, 24 June–Mich.

Boston and Members

Within the period 1303–1604, corn imports are noted as follows: —

1471–72	27 Nov. –14 May	8 quarters		C. & S.
1502–03	Mich.– Mich.	489	"	C. & S.*
1554–55	" – "	573	"	C. & S.
1556–57	" – "	125	"	C. & S.

Accounts, with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years: —

1303–09, 8 Nov.–28 Aug., Petty C.; 1310, 2 Aug.–Mich., Petty C.; 1326–27, [Mich.]–20 Apr., Petty C.; 1334, 20 Jan.–28 June, Petty C.; 1383–84, 2 Dec.–Mich., Pdge.; 1389, 7 Mar.–Mich., Pdge.*; 1391, Mich.–8 Dec., Pdge.; 1397–98, Mich.–7 May, Petty C.*; 1401–02, 19 Aug.–25 June, Pdge.; 1405–06, 1 Oct.–1 Apr., Pdge.; 1405–06, 1 Oct.– 7 Sept., Petty C.; 1408–09, 24 July–28 Jan., Pdge.*; 1409, 8 May–Mich., Pdge.; 1412, 20 June–Mich., Pdge.; 1413, 12 Apr.–Mich., C. & S.; 1459–60, 15 Dec.–24 Mar., Pdge.; 1460–61, 1 Sept.–4 Mar., C. & S.; 1463–64, 19 July–3 May, C. & S.; 1465, 25 Feb.–Mich., C. & S.; 1466–68, 25 Mar.–25 Dec., C. & S.; 1468–69, Mich.–1 Apr., C. & S.; 1471, Mich.–27 Nov., C. & S.; 1472–73, 14 May–8 Oct., C. & S.; 1477, 5 May–Mich., C. & S.; 1482–83, Mich.–9 Apr., C. & S.; 1483–85, Mich.–Easter, C. & S.; 1486–89, C. & S.; 1491–92, C. & S.; 1506–07, C. & S.; 1514–15, C. & S.; 1522, Mich.–22 Nov., C. & S.; 1522–23, C. & S.; 1524–25, C. & S.; 1528–29, C. & S.; 1531–32, C. & S.; 1547–48, C. & S.; 1556–57, Mich.–Easter, C. & S.; 1557–59, C. & S.; 1559–60, C. & S.*; 1580–81, Mich.–Easter, C. & S.; 1603–04, Mich.–Easter, C. & S.

Bridgewater and Members

Within the period 1459–1591, corn imports are entered as follows: —

1482–83	8 Apr. –20 May	126 quarters		C. & S.
1503–04	Mich.– Mich.	36	"	C. & S.
1536	28 Mar. – "	309	"	C. & S.
1536–37	Mich.– "	6	"	C. & S.
1547–48	" – "	144	"	C. & S.*
1560–61	" – "	30	"	C. & S.

Accounts, with no entries of corn imports, are found for the following years, and are all taken from C. & S. records unless otherwise noted: —

1459–61, 27 Dec.–Mich.[1]; 1470, 23 July–24 Oct.; 1472, 5 May–1 Oct.; 1475–76, 28 July–4 Mar.; 1483, 9 Apr.–26 June; 1484–85, Mich.–22 Aug.; 1485–86, 26 Sept.–Mich.; 1486–87, 16 Nov.–Mich.; 1489–90, 9 Oct.–Mich.; 1496–97, Easter–Mich.; 1502–03; 1504–07; 1510–11; 1517–20; 1522, Easter–Mich.; 1525–26; 1527–28; 1529–30; 1537–38, Mich.–12 Feb.; 1540–42; 1544–47; 1548–49; 1550–51; 1551–52, C. & S.*; 1552–55; 1558–59; 1563–64; 1566–67, Mich.–Easter; 1585–86, [C. & S.]; 1587, 25 Mar.–24 June, [C. & S.]; 1587–88, Mich.–16 June, [C. & S.]; 1588–90, [C. & S.]; 1591, 24 June–Mich., [C. & S.].

[1] Result uncertain.

Bristol and Members

Within the period 1303–1600, corn imports are noted as follows: —

1479–80	Mich.–Easter	15 quarters	C. & S.
1503–04	" –Mich.	936 "	C. & S.
1512–13	" – "	[96] "	C. & S.

Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1303–10, [Mar.]–[May], Petty C.; 1325–26, (no date), Petty C.; 1378–79, 16 Nov.–28 May, Pdge.; 1391, 10 Aug.–10 Dec., Pdge.*; 1402–03, 10 Oct.–10 Nov., Pdge.; 1437, 18 July–9 Sept., Pdge.; 1461, 26 Mar.–Mich.; 1465–66, 28 Nov.–14 May; 1469, 26 Aug.–14 Nov.; 1470, 18 Aug.–4 Nov.; 1473, Easter–Mich.; 1475, Easter–20 July; 1477–78, 1 Nov.–Easter; 1479, Easter–22 July; 1483, 20 July–Mich.; 1485–87, Mich.–Easter; 1492–93; 1516–18; 1522–23; 1525–26; 1533–34; 1536–37; 1541–42, C. & S.*; 1542–43; 1545–46; 1550–52; 1559–60; 1563–64; 1592, Easter–Mich.; 1599–1600.

Chichester and Members

Within the period 1347–1671, corn imports are entered as follows: —

1395–96	Mich.– Mich.	99 quarters	Pdge.
1397	17 Feb. – "	168 "	Pdge.*
1397–98	Mich.– "	29½ "	Pdge.
1398–99	" –15 Sept.	[8] "	Pdge.
1466–67	3 Oct. – Mich.	6 "	C. & S.
1497–98	Mich.– "	[24] "	C. & S.
1499–1500	" – "	[467] "	C. & S.
1508–09	" – "	174⅓ "	C. & S.

Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1347–48, 20 Mar.–Mich., Pdge.; 1388–89, Mich.–24 June, Pdge.[1]; 1390–91, 30 Nov.–4 Feb.; 1392–93, Pdge.; 1421–22, 17 Oct.–12 Feb.; 1463–66, 22 Sept.–3 Oct.; 1467, Mich.–[24 Nov.?]; 1469, 24 Aug.–14 Nov.; 1473–74; 1481–82, 20 Oct.–Mich.; 1482–83, Mich.–9 Feb., [C. & S.]; 1485–86, 20 [Nov.]–Mich., [C. & S.]*; 1489–90, C. & S.*; 1490–91; 1513–14; 1515–16; 1538–40; 1543–44; 1600–01, Compt's. ents.; 1602–03, Compt's. ents.; 1617–19, Xmas–Xmas, Cust's. ents.; 1629–30, Xmas–Xmas, Compt's. ents.; 1640–41, Xmas–Xmas, Search's. ents.; 1646–47, Xmas–Xmas, Search's. ents.; 1666–67, Xmas–Xmas, Compt's. ents.; 1667–69, Xmas–Xmas, Search's. ents.; 1670–71, Xmas–Xmas, Cust's. ents.

[1] Result uncertain.

Exeter and Dartmouth and Members

Within the period 1323–1609 corn imports are entered as follows: —

1323	3 Feb. –30 Apr.	[2,422] quarters	Petty C.
1324–26	30 Apr. –26 May	[813] "	Petty C.
1391–92	8 Dec. –20 June	[186] "	Pdge.
1398–99	2 Dec. –15 Sept.	[1,701] "	Pdge.
1398–99	2 " – Mich.	100 "	Petty C.
1469	14 Sept. – 9 Dec.	162 "	C. & S.
1470–71	18 Nov. –10 June	510 "	C. & S.
1517–18	Mich.– Mich.	1 "	C. & S.*
1542–43	" – "	2 "	C. & S.
1544–45	" – "	4 "	C. & S.
1545–46	" – "	101 "	C. & S.
1549–50	" – "	180 "	C. & S.
1550–51	" – "	24 "	C. & S.
1562–63	" – "	560 "	C. & S.
1608–09	Xmas– Xmas	2,250 "	C. & S.

Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1410–11, 18 Nov.–Mich.; 1460–61, Mich.–3 Mar.; 1461, 13 May–Mich.; 1474–75, Mich.–17 Oct.; 1480–81, C. & S.*; 1482–83, 25 Oct.–29 Apr.; 1492–93; 1494, Easter–Mich.; 1498–99; 1503–04; 1508–09; 1515–16; 1518–20; 1523–24; 1528–29; 1529–30, C. & S.*; 1531–33; 1536–37; 1543–44; 1557–59; 1590, 24 June–Mich.; 1591, Mich.–Xmas (Exeter only).

Hull and Members

Within the period 1396–1690, corn imports are noted as follows: —

1461–62	7 Mar. – Mich.	[1,780] quarters	C. & S.
1471	5 Feb. –18 June	[306] "	C. & S.
1471–72	Mich.– Mich.	6 "	C. & S.
1511–12	" – "	54½ "	[C. & S.]
1519–20	" –23 May	1,450 "	C. & S.
1541–42	" – Mich.	2,648 "	C. & S.
1545–46	" – "	237½ "	C. & S.
1549–50	" – "	328 "	C. & S.
1608–09	Xmas– Xmas	1,888 "	C. & S. (H.B.G.)
1665–66	Xmas–28 Jan.	10 "	Acct. Bk.

Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1396–97, 26 Jan.–Mich., Pdge.*; [1397], (no date), Petty C.*; 1401, Easter–7 July, Pdge.; 1463, 6 July–26 Aug.[1]; 1464–65; 1466–67; 1468, 18 July–Mich.; 1469–70, 17 Nov.–9 Aug.; 1471, 18 June–Mich.; 1473, 6 Aug.–Mich.; 1484, 9 Apr.–Mich.,

[1] Result uncertain.

Petty C.; 1489–90; 1510–11; 1521–22; 1531–32; 1540–41; 1630–31, Xmas–Xmas, (H. & B.); 1689–90, Xmas–Xmas, (H.B.G.)

H. = Hull, B. = Bridlington, G. = Grimsby.

Ipswich and Members

Within the period 1386–1565 corn imports are noted in 1386–87, 28 Nov.–10 Jan., 4½ quarters, Pdge. Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1404, 8 May–Mich., Pdge.; 1413–14, Pdge.; 1458–59, 29 Nov.–Mich.; 1462, 28 Apr.–16 Oct.; 1462–63, 3 Nov.–May; 1463, 30 Mar.–10 July; 1466, 29 Mar.–Mich., C. & S.*; 1470, 21 June–9 Oct.; 1472, Mich.–28 Dec.; 1473, 15 July–Mich.; 1481, Mich.–28 Oct.; 1481–82, 28 Oct.–Mich.; 1483–84, Mich.–28 Feb.; 1487, Mich.–26 Dec.; 1499–1500, C. & S.*; 1501–02; 1505–06; 1516–17; 1529–30; 1546–48; 1562–63, C. & S.*; 1564–65, Mich.–Easter, C. & S.*. The results for 1462 and the following years are uncertain.

London and Members

Within the period 1307–1682, corn imports are noted as follows: —

1307	26 Mar. –	Mich.	[53⅓]	quarters	Petty C.*
1495	18 Jan. –	"	100	"	Petty C.
1502–03	Mich.–	"	3,200	"	Petty C.
1512–13	" –	"	18,271	"	Petty C.*
1520	"	–27 Nov.	[242]	"	Petty C.
1549–50	" –	Mich.	14,487½	"	Petty C.
1550–51	" –	"	14,145½	"	Petty C.*
1556–57	" –	"	739	"	Pdge.
1556–57	" –	"	227	"	Petty C.
1596	1 Nov.	–20 Nov.	11,028	"	Corn returns
1608–09	Xmas–	Xmas	31,596⅛	"	Surv's. ents., Al. & Den.
1625–26	"	– 4 Nov.	21,793½	"	Pdge., Den.
1626–27	" –	Xmas	2	"	Surv. Gen's. ents., Al.
1630–31	" –	"	13,649	"	T. & P., Al.
1633–34	" –	"	29,447	"	T. & P., Surv. Gen.'s ents., Den.
1634–35	" –	"	10,815	"	[T. & P.], Col. & Cust's. ents., [Al.].
1635–36	" –	"	12,170½	"	Surv's. ents., Al.
1637–38	" –	"	56,794½	"	Den.
1637–38	" –	"	98,501	"	Waiter's ents., Al.
1639–40	" –	"	504	"	[T. & P.], Cust. & Compt's. ents., Al.
1639–40	" –	"	2,906	"	T. & P., Den.*
1662–63	Mich.–	Mich.	9,379	"	C. & S.
1668–69	" –	"	4,434	"	[C. & S.]
1671–72	Xmas–	Xmas	9½	"	T. & P., Surv's. ents., Al.
1676–77	" –	"	484½	"	[T. & P.], Al.
1678–79	" –	"	776½	"	T. & P., Al.
1680–81	" –	"	24,695½	"	[T. & P.], Surv. Gen.'s ents., Al.
1681–82	" –	"	3,387	"	[T. & P.], Den.

Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years: —

[–] Ed. II, Mich.–Dec., Petty C.; 1485, 21 Aug.–17 Sept., Petty C.; 1490–91, Petty C.; 1548–49, Petty C.*; 1552–53, Petty C.*; 1553–54, Pdge.*; 1565, Easter–Mich., T. & P.; 1567–68, T. & P., Den. only; 1571–72, Petty C.; 1587–88, Pdge., Den.; 1589, Easter-Mich., Petty C.; 1671–72, Xmas–Xmas, T. & P., Compt's. ents., Den.; 1675–76, Xmas–Xmas, T. & P., Den.; 1676–77, Xmas–Xmas, T. & P. Den.; 1680–81, Xmas–Xmas, [T. & P.], Waiter's ents., Den.

Lynn and Members

Within the period 1303–1687, corn imports are noted as follows: —

1303	25 Feb. –	Mich.	[430]	quarters	Petty C.
1305–06	Mich.–	"	[1,199]	"	Petty C.
1308–09	" –	8 Aug.	[487]	"	Petty C.
1322–23	20 July –	Mich.	[37]	"	Petty C.
1323–24	Mich.–	"	[1,382½]	"	Petty C.
1324–25	" –	"	[5,391½]	"	Petty C.
1325–26	"	–16 Mar.	435	"	Petty C.
1461	4 Mar. –	18 Nov.	[125]	"	C. & S.
1466–67	2 Nov. –	2 Nov.	160	"	C. & S.
1503–04	Mich.–	Mich.	100	"	C. & S.
1518–19	" –	"	180	"	C. & S.
1519–20	" –	"	180	"	C. & S.
1523–24	" –	"	180	"	C. & S.
1528–29	" –	"	380	"	C. & S.
1530–31	" –	"	140	"	C. & S.
1556–57	" –	"	370½	"	C. & S.
1561–62	" –	"	70	"	C. & S.
1586	1 Apr. –	24 June	920	"	Farmers' Ledger
1586–87	Mich.–	Mich.	4,710	"	Import Ledger
1590	25 June –	"	255	"	Ledger
1596–97	Mich.–	"	1,900	"	C. & S.
1612–13	Xmas–	Xmas	1,170	"	[C. & S.]
1631–32	" –	"	1,100	"	[C. & S.]
1637–38	" –	"	12,710	"	[C. & S.]
1663–64	" –	"	353	"	C. & S.
1677–78	" –	"	270	"	C. & S.
1681–82	" –	"	1,201	"	C. & S.
1682–83	" –	"	1,329	"	[C. & S.]
1683–84	" –	"	80	"	C. & S.
1684–85	" –	"	729	"	C. & S.
1686–87	" –	"	33	"	C. & S.

Accounts, with no entries of corn imports, are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1304–05, Petty C.; 1306–07, Petty C.; 1388, 29 Mar.–Pentecost, Pdge.; 1390–91, Xmas (?)–Mich., Pdge.; [ca. 1402], 22 Aug.–6 Nov., Pdge.; 1405, 5 Mar.–Mich.,

Pdge.; 1456–57, 6 Mar.–24 Jan.[1]; 1466, 19 Mar.–2 Nov.; 1467–68, 2 Nov.–2 Nov.; 1468–69, 2 Nov.–17 Sept.; 1470–71, 13 Nov.–13 Nov.; 1471, 5 June–13 Nov.; 1471–72, 13 Nov.–13 Nov.; 1480–81, 12 Nov.–Mich.[1]; 1483–84[1]; 1486–88, 11 Nov.–Mich.[1]; 1489–90[1]; 1490–91, C. & S.*; 1494–95; 1509, Mich.–21 Nov.; 1512–13, C. & S.*; 1513–14; 1517–18; 1529–30; 1538–39; 1540–42; 1543–44; 1544–46, C. & S.*; 1547, Mich.–25 Oct., C. & S.*; 1549–50; 1551–52; 1553–54; 1557–58; 1587-88, 6 July–2 Oct., Ledger; 1588–89, Xmas–Xmas, Ledger; 1591–92, Mich.–25 Mar.; 1665–66, Xmas–Xmas; 1669–70, Xmas–Xmas, [C. & S.]; 1671–72, Xmas–Xmas [C. & S.].

Newcastle and Members

Within the period 1378–1591, corn imports are found as follows: —

1390	30 Nov. – 8 Dec.	5	quarters	Pdge.
1390	Mich.– 8 "	5	"	Petty C.
1472	1 Jan. –17 Mar.	481	"	C. & S.
1488–89	28 Oct. – Mich.	108	"	C. & S.
1499–1500	Mich.– "	214	"	C. & S.
1500–01	" – "	80	"	C. & S.
1505–06	" – "	763	"	C. & S.
1508–09	" – "	301	"	C. & S.
1512–13	" – "	453	"	C. & S.
1529–30	" – "	885	"	C. & S.
1543–44	" – "	790	"	C. & S.
1544–45	" – "	4,595	"	C. & S.
1555–56	" – "	1,007½	"	C. & S.
1556–57	" – "	10	"	C. & S.
1557–58	" – "	5	"	C. & S.
1586	Easter– Mich.	16,603½	"	C. & S.
1586	Mich.– Xmas	4,000	"	C. & S.
1587	24 June – Mich.	5,370	"	C. & S.
1587	Mich.– Xmas	5	"	C. & S.
1588	24 June – "	775	"	C. & S.

Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1378, 8 Feb.–Mich., Petty C.; 1389–90, 24 Aug.–25 Mar., Pdge.; 1390, 1 Mar.–30 Nov., Pdge.; 1401–03, 6 July–1 Feb., Pdge.; 1403, 1 Feb.–3 Apr., Pdge.; 1408–09, 7 Sept.–10 May, Petty C.; 1408–09, 7 Sept.–10 May, Pdge.; 1456–57, 20 Nov.–17 May; 1461–62, 9 May–18 Feb.; 1481, 12 Apr.–20 Dec., Petty C.; 1501–02; 1504, Mich.–28 Dec.; 1522–23; 1552–53; 1585, Mich.–Xmas; 1587–88, Xmas–25 Mar.; 1588–89, Xmas–25 Mar.; 1589, 24 June–Mich.; 1591, Mich.–Xmas.

[1] Result uncertain.

Plymouth and Fowey and Members

Within the period 1391–1592, corn imports are entered as follows: —

1391–92	8 Dec. –20 June	[89] quarters	Pdge.
1461–62	Mich.– Mich.	586 "	C. & S.
1478–79	" – "	20 "	C. & S.
1479–80	" – "	2 "	C. & S.
1497–98	" – "	9 "	C. & S.
1498–99	" – "	101½ "	C. & S.*
1504–05	" –[25 Mar.]	2 "	C. & S.*
1507–08	" – Mich.	16 "	C. & S.
1516–17	" – "	6 "	C. & S.
1522–23	" – "	3 "	C. & S.*
1525–26	" – 2 June	171 "	C. & S.
1536–37	" – Mich.	144 "	C. & S.
1541–42	" – "	⅝ "	C. & S.
1552–53	" – "	90¼ "	C. & S.*
1556–57	" – "	204 "	C. & S.
1590	25 Mar. –24 June	65 "	C. & S.

Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1437–38; 1456, Mich.–18 Dec., [C. & S.]; 1457, 5 June–Mich., [C. & S.]*; 1463, 26 July–Mich.; 1465–66, Mich.–25 May; 1473–74; 1476, Mich.–10 Dec., [C. & S.]; 1477–78, 30 Nov.–Mich.; 1481, Mich.–16 Nov.; 1481–82, 14 Nov.–7 Feb.; 1483, 6 Feb.–3 Apr.; 1486, Mich.–8 Nov.; 1487, Mich.–7 Dec.; 1539–41; 1557–58; 1586–87, Xmas–25 Mar. (Fowey and Members only); 1587, 25 Mar.–24 June, C. & S.* (Fowey and Members only); 1587–88, 24 June–25 Mar. (Fowey and Members only); 1590, 24 June–Mich.; 1591, Xmas–25 Mar.; 1592, Xmas–25 Mar. (Plymouth); 1592, Xmas–25 Mar. (Fowey and Members only).

Poole and Members

During the period 1460–1605, corn imports are noted as follows: —

1461–62	Mich.– Mich.	60 quarters	Pdge.
1466–67	14 Mar. –12 Feb.	150 "	C. & S.
1467–68	12 Feb. – 1 Aug.	30 "	C. & S.
1471–72	Mich.–22 July	108 "	C. & S.
1487–88	Mich.– Mich.	144 "	C. & S.
1521–22	" – "	14 "	C. & S.
1556–57	" – "	10 "	C. & S.*

Accounts are found for the following years, with no entries of corn imports, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1460–61, 26 Aug.–Mich.; 1465–66, 22 July–15 Mar.; 1468, 1 Aug.–19 Dec.; 1469, 3 Sept.–20 Nov.; 1470, 17 Feb.–Mich.; 1472, 21 July–20 Oct.; [1473–74 ?],

28 July–1 Mar.; 1478–79, 1 Oct.–1 Oct.; 1482, Easter–Mich.; 1486, Mich.–17 Nov.; 1492–93, Mich.–20 Jan.; 1504–05, Mich.– [Easter]; 1505–06; 1523–24; 1528–30; 1547–48, C. & S.*; 1548–49; 1552–53; 1558–59; 1586, Mich.–Xmas; 1604–05.

Sandwich and Members

Within the period 1304–1562, corn imports are entered as follows: —

1304–06	Mich.– Mich.	[8] quarters	Petty C.
1327–28	20 Jan. – Mich.	[20] "	Petty C.
1371–72	1 Nov. – 1 Nov.	[132] "	Pdge.*
1398	17 Feb. –19 May	76 "	Pdge.
1467–68	28 Aug. – 4 Feb.	[90] "	C. & S.
1535–36	Mich.– Mich.	40 "	C. & S.
1539	[Mar.]– [Mich.]	600 "	C. & S.
1540	5 July – Mich.	72 "	C. & S.
1554–55	Mich.– Mich.	[44] "	C. & S.

Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1393–94, 8 Dec.–5 Nov., Petty C.; 1399, 19 May-15 Sept.; 1463, 1 Aug.–Mich.[1]; 1537–38, 30 Dec.–Mich.[1]; 1543–44; 1559–60[1]; 1561–62.

Southampton and Members

Within the period 1322–1557, entries of corn imports are as follows: –

1330–31	18 Dec. –16 Mar.	[45] quarters	Petty C.
1371–72	1 Nov. – 1 Nov.	6½ "	Pdge.
1448–49	29 Dec. – Mich.	1191 "	C. & S.
1463–64	19 July –26 Dec.	[498¼] "	Pdge.
1464	Mich.–26 "	[72] "	C. & S.
1487–88	" – Mich.	160 "	C. & S.
1491–92	" – "	70 "	C. & S.
1496–97	" – "	217 "	C. & S.
1519–20	" – "	90 "	C. & S.
1555–56	" – "	9 "	C. & S.

Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1322–23, Petty C.; 1373–74, Pdge.; 1403–04, 4 Nov.–25 Mar.; 1432–33; 1442–43, 6 Nov.–Mich.; 1447–48, 17 July–Mich.; 1449–50, Mich.–19 Nov.; 1461, 3 Mar.–24 July, [C. & S.]; 1472–73, Mich.–22 May; 1483, 26 June–Mich.; 1513–14; 1516–17; 1530–31; 1534–35; 1537–39; 1542–43; 1548–49; 1556–57.

[1] Results uncertain.

Yarmouth and Members

Within the period 1310–1663, entries of corn imports are as follows: –

1398–99	1 May	–1 May	[2,428]	quarters	Pdge.
1410–11	22 Mar.	– Mich.	[260]	"	C. & S.
1418	26 July	– "	[4]	"	C. & S.
1517–18	Mich.	– "	100	"	C. & S.
1550–51	"	– "	210	"	C. & S.
1560–61	"	– "	247	"	C. & S.
1562–63	"	– "	120	"	C. & S.
1611–12	Xmas	– Xmas	5,234	"	Search's. ents., Al. & Den.
1621–22	"	– "	7,565½	"	Cust's. ents.
1648–49	"	– "	20,728	"	[—] ents., Al. & Den.
1660–61	"	– "	2,073	"	Search's. ents., Al. & Den.
1662–63	"	– "	255	"	Compt's. ents.

Accounts with no entries of corn imports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1310–11, 2 Aug.–9 Oct., Petty C.; 1325–26, Mich.–Easter, Petty C.; 1388–89, 20 Mar.–Pentecost, Pdge.; 1392–93, 24 June–1 Apr., Pdge.; 1396–97, 8 Nov.–30 Apr., Pdge.; 1401, Mich.–7 Dec., Pdge.; 1409, Easter–12 Aug.; 1409, Mich.–1 Nov., C. & S.*; 1413, Mich.–30 Nov.; 1452–53, 29 May–Mich.; 1454–55; 1457–59; 1460–62, 1 Sept.–16 May; 1462, 16 May–1 Sept., Pdge.; 1464–65, Mich.–20 Aug.; 1485–86, 5 Oct.–18 Nov.; 1504–05; 1509–10; 1516–17; 1518–19; 1521–22, C. & S.*; 1536–37; 1542–43; 1545–46; 1548–49; 1551–52, C. & S.*; 1552–54; 1558–60; 1561–62; 1563–64; 1590, 26 June–Mich.; 1618–19, Xmas–Xmas, Compt's. ents.; 1619–20, Xmas–Xmas, Cust's. ents

APPENDIX C

Statistics of Corn Exportation, Arranged According to Ports, 1303–1690

These statistics are taken chiefly from the manuscripts in the Public Record Office, K. R. Customs Accounts and K. R. Port Books.

The new style of year is used here. The year is Michaelmas to Michaelmas except where otherwise noted.

Abbreviations: —

Al. & Den. — Aliens and Denizens.
C. & S. — Customs and Subsidies.
Compt's. ents. — Comptroller's entries.
Cust's. ents. — Customer's entries.
Pdge. — Poundage accounts.
Petty C. — Petty Custom's accounts.
Search's. ents. — Searcher's entries.
Surv's. ents. — Surveyor's entries.
T. & P. — Tonnage and Poundage.
* indicates an imperfect manuscript and therefore uncertain results.
[ ] indicate uncertainty or estimates.
‡ indicates shipped by license.

Barnstaple and Ilfracombe

Within the period 1371–1590, corn exports are noted as follows: —

1410–11	18 Nov. –Mich.	4 quarters	C. & S.
1492–93	Mich.– "	138 "	C. & S.
1494	Easter– "	93 "	C. & S.
1503–04	Mich.– "	282 "	C. & S.
1508–09	" – "	2 "	C & S.
1515–16	" – "	12 "	C. & S.
1517–18	" – "	240 "	C. & S.*
1518–19	" – "	384 "	C. & S.
1523–24	" – "	573 "	C. & S.

Accounts with no entries of corn exports are found for the following years, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1371–72, 1 Nov.–1 Nov., Pdge.; 1391–92, 8 Dec.–20 June, Pdge.; 1491–92; 1519–20; 1528–29; 1531–34, Mich.–12 Mar.; 1536–37; 1542–45; 1550–51; 1557–59; 1562–63; 1590, 24 June–Mich.

Boston and Members

Within the period 1308–1604, corn exports are noted as follows: —

1308–09	8 Nov. –28 Aug.	[27] quarters		Petty C.
1327–28	20 Apr. – Mich.	[557]	"	Petty C.
1334	20 Jan. –28 June	[905]	"	Petty C.
1405–06	1 Oct. – 7 Sept.	[439]	"	Petty C.
1405–06	1 " – 1 Apr.	[54]	"	Pdge.
1413	12 Apr. – Mich.	[35]	"	Petty C., Pdge.
1459–60	15 Dec. –24 Mar.	364	"	Pdge.
1460–61	1 Sept. – 4 Mar.	52	"	C. & S.
1465	25 Feb. – Mich.	999	"	C. & S.
1466–67	25 Mar. –25 Mar.	6	"	C. & S.
1467–68	25 Mar. – 6 "	50	"	C. & S.
1468	6 " –25 Dec.	745	"	C. & S.
1468–69	Mich.– 1 Apr.	655	"	C. & S.
1471–72	27 Nov. –14 May	60	"	C. & S.
1472–73	8 Oct. – 8 Oct.	450	"	[C. & S.]
1477	5 May – Mich.	644	"	C. & S.
1483–84	Mich.– "	110	"	C. & S.
1486–87	" – "	1,544	"	C. & S.
1487–88	" – "	87	"	C. & S.
1491–92	" – "	316	"	C. & S.
1502–03	" – "	1,301	"	C. & S.
1506–07	" – "	260	"	C. & S.
1514–15	" – "	63	"	C. & S.
1524–25	" – "	1,367	"	C. & S.
1528–29	" – "	180	"	C. & S.
1531–32	" – "	40	"	C. & S.
1547–48	" – "	2,655	"	C. & S.
1569–70	[Mich.]– [March]	499	"	Corn returns*
1572–73	[Mich.]– [Mich.]	300	"	Corn returns
1578–79	Mich.– Mich.	536	"	Corn returns [1]
1579–80	" – "	1,686	"	Corn returns [1]
1580–81	" – "	2,087	"	Corn returns [1]
1581–82	" – "	874	"	Corn returns [1]
1582–83	" – "	80	"	Corn returns [1]
1583–84	" – "	84	"	Corn returns [1]
1603–04	" – "	222	"	C. & S.

Accounts with no records of corn exports are found for the following periods: —

1389, 7 Mar.–Mich., Petty C.*; 1391, Mich.–8 Dec., Petty C.; 1397–98, Mich.–7 May, Petty C.*; 1401–02, 19 Aug.–25 June, Pdge.; 1408–09, 24 July–28 Jan., Pdge.*; 1412, 20 June–Mich., Pdge.; 1463–64, 19 July–3 May, C. & S.; 1471,

[1] MS., Br. M., Harl., 306, fols. 26–31.

Mich.–27 Nov., C. & S.; 1472, 14 May–8 Oct., C. & S.; 1482–83, Mich.–9 Apr., C. & S.; 1484–85, Mich.–Easter, C. & S.; 1522, Mich.–22 Nov., C. & S.; 1522–23, C. & S.; 1553–54, Mich.–Easter, C. & S.; 1554–55, C. & S.; 1556–59, C. & S.; 1559–60, C. & S.*; 1571–72, [Mich.]–[Mich.], Corn returns.

Bridgewater and Members

Within the period 1459–1591, corn exports are recorded as follows: —

1459–61	27 Dec. – Mich.	[246] quarters	C. & S.
1475–76	28 July – 4 Mar.	402 "	[C. & S.]*
1482–83	8 Apr. –20 May	2,241 "	C. & S.
1484–85	Mich.– 5 Apr.	156 "	C. & S.
1485	5 Apr. –22 Aug.	486 "	C. & S
1485–86	26 Sept. – Mich.	3,554 "	C. & S.
1486–87	16 Nov. – "	992 "	C. & S.
1489–90	9 Oct. –18 Feb.	309 "	C. & S.
1490	18 Feb. – Mich.	1,427 "	C. & S.
1496–97	Easter– "	4,622 "	C. & S.*
1502–03	Mich.– "	4,051½ "	C. & S.
1503–04	" – "	873 "	C. & S.
1504–05	" – "	726 "	C. & S.
1505–06	" – "	2,637 "	C. & S.
1506–07	" – "	2,565 "	C. & S.
1510–11	" – "	4,389 "	C. & S.
1517–18	" – "	3,450 "	C. & S.
1518–19	" – "	6,135 "	C. & S.
1519–20	" – "	1,014 "	C. & S.
1522	Easter– "	588 "	C. & S.
1525–26	Mich – "	2,235 "	C. & S.
1527–28	" – "	82 "	C. & S.
1529–30	" – "	669 "	C. & S.
1536–37	" – "	162 "	C. & S.
1537–38	" –12 Feb.	24 "	C. & S.
1540–41	" – Mich.	582 "	C. & S.
1541–42	" – "	1,651 "	C. & S.
1544–45	" – "	216 "	C. & S.
1545–46	" – "	42 "	C. & S.
1546–47	" – "	1,794 "	C. & S.
1547–48	" – "	1,460 "	C. & S.*
1548–49	" – "	660 "	C. & S.
1550–51	" – "	71½ "	C. & S.
1551–52	" – "	576 "	C. & S.*
1552–53	" – "	534 "	C. & S.
1553–54	" – "	546 "	C. & S.
1554–55	" – "	117 "	C. & S.
1558–59	" – "	225 "	C. & S.
1560–61	" – "	2,430 "	C. & S.
1563–64	" – "	1,113½ "	C. & S.

Bridgewater and Members (*continued*)

1566–67	Mich.– Easter	824 quarters	C. & S.
1569–70	" – Mich.	863 "	Corn returns
1571–72	" – "	129 "	Corn returns
1572–73	" – "	210 "	Corn returns
1581–82	" – "	306 "	Corn returns [1]‡
1582–83	" – "	234 "	Corn returns [1]‡
1583–84	" – "	723 "	Corn returns [1]‡
1585–86	" – "	126 "	[C. & S.]
1587	25 Mar. –24 June	33 "	[C. & S.]
1587–88	Mich.–25 Mar.	195¼ "	[C. & S.]
1588	25 Mar. –16 June	237 "	[C. & S.]
1588–89	Mich.– Mich.	258⅜ "	[C. & S.]
1589–90	" –25 Mar.	379½ "	[C. & S.]

Accounts with no records of corn exports are found for the following periods: —

1470, 23 July–24 Oct., C. & S.; 1472, 5 May–1 Oct., C. & S.; 1483, 9 Apr.–26 June, C. & S.; 1536, 28 Mar.–Mich., C & S.; 1578–81, Corn returns [1]‡; 1590, 25 Mar.–Mich., [C. & S.]; 1591, 24 June–Mich., [C. & S.].

Bristol and Members

Within the period 1303–1687, records of corn exports are found as follows: —

1303–10	[Mar.]– [May]	60 quarters	Petty C.
1391	10 Aug. –10 Dec.	232 "	Pdge.*
1437	18 July – 9 Sept.	372 "	C. & S.
1461	26 Mar. – Mich.	[12] "	C. & S.
1470	18 Aug. – 4 Nov.	12 "	C. & S.
1473	Easter– Mich.	918 "	C. & S.
1475	Easter–20 July	488½ "	C. & S.
1479	Easter–22 July	216 "	C. & S.
1479–80	Mich.– Easter	885 "	C. & S.
1485–86	" – Mich.	840 "	C. & S.
1486–87	" – Easter	1,212 "	C. & S.
1492–93	" – Mich.	930 "	C. & S.
1503–04	" – "	1,125 "	C. & S.
1512–13	" – "	1,201½ "	C. & S.
1516–17	" – "	4,975½ "	[C. & S.]
1517–18	" – "	163½ "	[C. & S.]
1522–23	" – "	2,121 "	C. & S.
1525–26	" – "	5,139 "	C. & S.
1536–37	" – "	114 "	C. & S.

[1] MS., Br. M., Harl. 306, fols., 26–31.

Bristol and Members (*continued*)

1541–42	Mich.–	Mich.	1,036 quarters	C. & S.*
1557–58	" –	"	327 "	C. & S.
1562–63	" –	"	94 "	C. & S.
1569–70	" –	"	2,068 "	Corn returns
1570–71	" –	"	300 "	Corn returns
1572–73	" –	"	600 "	Corn returns
1579–80	" –	"	311⅜ "	"Cocketts," etc.
1582–83	" –	"	1,086 "	C. & S.
1678–79	1 Jan. –	1 Jan.	174⅝ "	[C. & S.]
1681–82	Xmas–	Xmas	277⅞ "	[C. & S.]
1686–87	Xmas–	Xmas	112¼ "	[C. & S.]

Accounts with no records of corn exports are found for the following years: —

1325–26, Petty C.; 1378–79, 16 Nov.–28 May, Pdge.; 1402–03, 10 Oct.–10 Nov., Pdge.; 1465–66, 28 Nov.–14 May, C. & S.; 1469, 26 Aug.–14 Nov., C. & S.; 1471, 29 Mar.–Mich., C. & S.; 1477–78, 1 Nov.–Easter, C. & S.; 1483, 20 July–Mich., C. & S.; 1533–34, C. & S.; 1542–43, C. & S.; 1545–46, C. & S.; 1550–51, C. & S.; 1551–52, C. & S.*; 1558–59, C. & S.; 1579–80, Mich.–Easter, C. & S.; 1585–86, Easter–Mich., C. & S.; 1590, Apr.–June, Ledger; 1591–92, C. & S., Search's. ents.; 1595–96, C. & S.; 1599–1600, C. & S.; 1615–16, Xmas–Xmas, T. & P.

Chichester and Members

Within the period 1347–1671, entries of corn exports are found as follows: —

1347–48	30 Oct. –	Mich.	2,202 quarters	Sheriff's certificates
1388	20 Mar. –	"	[264] "	Pdge.
1388–89	Mich.–	24 June	[1,045] "	Pdge.
1392–93	" –	Mich.	1,291⅞ "	Pdge.
1395–96	" –	"	1,033½ "	Pdge.
1397–98	" –	"	124½ "	Pdge.
1421–22	17 Oct. –	12 Feb.	1,174 "	C. & S.
1464–65	18 Dec. –	Mich.	26 "	C. & S.
1466–67	3 Oct. –	"	32 "	C. & S.
1473–74	Mich.–	"	320 "	C. & S.
1481–82	20 Oct. –	"	1,130 "	C. & S.
1485–86	20 [Nov.]–	Mich.	506 "	[C. & S.]*
1489–90	Mich.–	"	1,481 "	C. & S.*
1490–91	" –	"	138 "	C. & S.
1497–98	" –	"	1,181 "	C. & S.
1508–09	" –	"	1,456 "	C. & S.*
1513–14	" –	"	37 "	C. & S.
1515–16	" –	"	185 "	C. & S.
1538–39	" –	"	740 "	C. & S.

Chichester and Members (*continued*)

1539–40	Mich.–	Mich.	500 quarters	C. & S.
1543–44	" –	"	[0½] "	C. & S.
1569–70	" –	"	200 "	Corn returns
1571–72	" –	"	324 "	Corn returns
1572–73	" –	"	296 "	Corn returns
1573–74	" –	"	492 "	Corn returns
1602–03	" –	"	250 "	Compt's. ents.
1617–18	Xmas–	Xmas	115 "	Cust's. ents.
1618–19	Xmas–	Xmas	310 "	Cust's. ents.
1629–30	Xmas–	Xmas	230 "	Compt's. ents.
1640–41	Xmas–	Xmas	430 "	Search's. ents.
1667–68	Xmas–	Xmas	863 "	Search's. ents.
1670–71	Xmas–	Xmas	230 "	Cust's. ents.

Accounts with no entries of corn exports are found for the following periods: —

1390–91, 30 Nov.–4 Feb., C. & S.; 1397, 17 Feb.–Mich., Pdge.*; 1398–99, Mich.–15 Sept., Pdge.; 1463–64, 22 Sept.–18 Dec., C. & S.; 1465–66, Mich.–3 Oct., C. & S.; 1467, Mich.–[24 Nov.?], C. & S.; 1469, 24 Aug.–14 Nov., C. & S.; 1482–83, Mich.–9 Feb., [C. & S.]; 1499–1500, C. & S.; 1600–01, Compt's. ents.; 1646–47, Xmas–Xmas, Search's. ents.; 1666–67, Xmas–Xmas, Compt's. ents.; 1668–69, Xmas–Xmas, Search's. ents.

Exeter and Dartmouth and Members

Within the period 1323–1609, records of corn exports are found as follows: —

1398–99	2 Dec. –15 Sept.		4 quarters	Pdge.
1480–81	Mich.–	Mich.	53 "	C. & S.*
1491–92	" –	"	6 "	C. & S.
1492–93	" –	1 Apr.	192 "	C. & S.
1503–04	" –	"	40½ "	C. & S.
1508–09	" –	"	2 "	C. & S.
1523–24	" –	"	39 "	C. & S.

Accounts with no entries of corn exports are found for the following periods, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1323, 3 Feb.–30 Apr., Petty C.; 1324–26, 30 Apr.–26 May, Petty C.; 1391–92, 8 Dec.–20 June, Pdge.; 1398–99, 2 Dec.–Mich., Petty C.; 1410–11, 18 Nov.–Mich.; 1460–61, Mich.–3 Mar.; 1461, 13 May–Mich.; 1469, 14 Sept.–9 Dec.; 1470–71, 18 Nov.–10 June; 1474–75, Mich.–17 Oct.; 1482–83, 25 Oct.–9 Apr.; 1494, Easter–Mich.; 1498–99; 1515–16; 1517–18, C. & S.*; 1518–20; 1528–29; 1531–34, Mich.–12 Mar.; 1536–37; 1542–46; 1549–51; 1557–59; 1562–63; 1570–71, Corn returns; 1572–73, Corn returns; 1578–79, Corn returns; 1579–83; 1590, 24 June–Mich.; 1591, Mich.–Xmas (Exeter only); 1608–09, Xmas–Xmas.

Hull and Members

Within the period 1307–1690, records of corn exports are found as follows: —

1307–08	Mich.– Mich.	3,527 quarters	Petty C., Pdge.
1346–47	20 Nov. –10 Aug.	5,057 "	Corn returns [1]
1380–81	[June]– [June]	129 "	Pdge.*
1461–62	17 Mar. – Mich.	289¾ "	C. & S.
1464–65	Mich.–18 Mar.	140 "	C. & S.
1465	18 Mar. – Mich.	3,287 "	C. & S.
1466–67	Mich.– "	1,421 "	C. & S.
1469–70	17 Nov. – 9 Aug.	107 "	C. & S.
1471	5 Feb. –18 June	170 "	C. & S.
1473	6 Aug. – Mich.	420 "	C. & S.
1489–90	Mich.– "	176½ "	C. & S.
1510–11	" – "	1,893¼ "	C. & S.
1511–12	" – "	170¾ "	C. & S.
1545–46	" – "	120 "	C. & S.
1548–49	" – "	400 "	C. & S.*
1569–70	" – "	400 "	Corn returns
1571–72	" – "	1,758½ "	Corn returns
1572–73	" – "	1,500 "	Corn returns
1578–79	" – "	2,350 "	Corn returns [2‡]
1579–80	" – "	2,162 "	Corn returns [2‡]
1580–81	" – "	5,337 "	Corn returns [2‡]
1581–82	" – "	485 "	Corn returns [2‡]
1582–83	" – "	33 "	Corn returns [2‡]
1583–84	" – "	1,176 "	Corn returns [2‡]
1608–09	Xmas– Xmas	84½ "	C. & S. (H. & G.) [3]
1665–66	Xmas–25 Mar.	400 "	C. & S.
1689–90	Xmas– Xmas	2,296⅞ "	C. & S. (H., B., S. & G.) [3]

Accounts with no entries of corn exports are found for the following periods and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1396–97, 26 Jan.–Mich., Pdge.*; [1397], Petty C.*; 1401, Easter–7 July, Pdge.; 1468, 18 July–Mich., Petty C., Pdge.; 1471, 18 June–Mich.; 1471–72; 1484, 9 Apr.–Mich., Petty C.; 1519–20, Mich.–23 May; 1521–22; 1531–32; 1540–42; 1576, Easter–Mich., Export acct.; 1630–31, Xmas–Xmas, (H. & B.) [3]

[1] To Bordeaux.
[2] MS., Br. M., Harl., 306, fols. 26–31.
[3] H. = Hull, B. = Bridlington, S. = Scarboro, G. = Grimsby.

Ipswich and Members

Within the period 1386–1572, records of corn exports are as follows:

1386–87	28 Nov. –10 Jan.	5 quarters	Pdge.
1404	8 May – Mich.	304 "	Pdge.
1458–59	29 Nov. – "	180 "	C. & S.
1466	29 Mar. – "	[1½] "	C. & S.*
1473	15 July – "	[422] "	C. & S.
1481	Mich.–28 Oct.	[390] "	C. & S.
1481–82	28 Oct. – Mich.	[229] "	C. & S.
1487	Mich.–26 Dec.	[26] "	C. & S.
1499–1500	" – Mich.	[3,581] "	C. & S.*
1501–02	" – "	[493] "	C. & S.
1505–06	" – "	[923] "	C. & S.
1516–17	" – "	[1,717½] "	C. & S.
1529–30	" – "	[8] "	C. & S.
1546–47	" – "	7,197½ "	C. & S.
1547–48	" – "	[9,863] "	C. & S.
1562–63	" – "	280 "	C. & S.*
1571–72	" – "	1,015 "	Corn returns

Accounts with no entries of corn exports are found for the following periods, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1413–14, Pdge.; 1462, 28 Apr.–16 Oct.; 1462–63, 3 Nov.–May, C. & S.*; 1463, 30 Mar.–10 July; 1470, 21 June–9 Oct.; 1472, Mich.–28 Dec.; 1483–84, Mich.–28 Feb.; 1564–65, Mich.–Easter, C. & S.*

London and Members

Within the period 1308–1685, corn exports are recorded as follows: —

1308	1 June –Mich.	208½ quarters	Petty C.*
1308–09	Mich.– "	[680] "	Petty C.
1384	1 July – "	1,083⅜ "	Pdge.*
1450	31 Mar. – "	1,797⅜ "	Pdge.
1490–91	Mich.– "	4 "	Petty C.
1495	18 Jan. – "	50 "	Petty C.
1572–73	Mich.– "	1,090 "	Corn returns
1608–09	Xmas–Xmas	144 "	T. & P. (Den.).
1626–27	" – "	898½ "	[Surv's. ents., Al. & Den.]
1626–27	" – "	72½ "	T. & P., Al.
1628–29	" – "	265 "	T. & P.
1638–39	" – "	1,502⅝ "	T. & P., Den.
1639–40	" – "	1,177 "	Cust's. ents., Al.
1639–40	" – "	3,922 "	T. & P., Den.
1640–41	" – "	240 "	T. & P., Al.
1660–61	" –[Xmas] [= 7 Nov.]	108 "	Cust's. ents., Al.

London and Members (*continued*)

1660–61	24 June –Xmas	90¼	quarters	Surv's. ents., Den.*
1662–63	Mich.–Mich.	2,506	"	C. & S.
1668–69	" – "	1,448	"	C. & S.
1671–72	Xmas–Xmas	1,213	"	[–] Den.
1676–77	" – "	7½	"	Surv's. ents., Al.
1676–77	" – "	53,434⅓	"	T. & P., Den.
1677–78	" – "	43,505½	"	Search's. ents., Den.
1680–81	" – "	5,102⅜	"	T. & P., Den.
1682–83	" – "	13,613¾	"	T. & P., Den.
1684–85	" – "	9,158½	"	T. & P., Den.

Accounts with no entries of corn exports are found as follows, and the records are Petty C., unless otherwise specified: —

[–] Ed. II, Mich.–Dec.; 1432–33; 1438–40; 1449–50, 10 June–31 Mar., Pdge.; 1456–57, T. & P.; 1502–03; 1550–51, Petty C.*; 1552–53, Petty C.*; 1569–70, Corn returns; 1571–72, Corn returns; 1576, Easter–Mich., T. & P.; 1680–81, Xmas–Xmas, T. & P., Al.

Lynn and Members

Within the period 1303–1687, corn exports are noted as follows: —

1303	25 Feb. –29 Sept.	[3,440]	quarters	Petty C.
1303–04	29 Sept. –26 June	[510]	"	Petty C.
1304–05	Mich.– Mich.	[5,500]	"	Petty C.
1305–06	" – "	[3,566]	"	Petty C.
1306–07	" – "	[3,436]	"	Petty C.
1308–09	29 Sept. – 8 Aug.	[1,650]	"	Petty C.
1323–24	Mich.– Mich.	74¼	"	Petty C.
1326–27	" –16 Mar.	33	"	Petty C.
1388	20 Mar. – Pentecost	580	"	Pdge.
1390	30 Nov. – Mich.	32	"	Pdge.
1392–93	22 Feb. –[13] Feb.	2,740	"	Pdge.
1405	5 Mar. – Mich.	4,156½	"	Pdge.
1456–57	6 " –24 Jan.	[3,649]	"	C. & S.
1461	4 " –18 Nov.	172	"	C. & S.
1466	19 Mar. – 2 Nov.	1,336	"	Pdge.
1466–67	2 Nov. – 2 Nov.	3,211⅛	"	C. & S.
1467–68	2 " – 2 "	1,966	"	C. & S.
1468–69	2 " –17 Sept.	6,240	"	C. & S.
1470–71	13 " –13 Nov.	330	"	C. & S.
1471	5 June –13 "	320	"	C. & S.
1471–72	13 Nov. –13 "	320	"	C. & S.
1480–81	12 " – Mich.	[5,695]	"	C. & S.
1486–87	11 " – "	[400]	"	C. & S.
1487–88	Mich.– "	1,904	"	C. & S.

LYNN AND MEMBERS (*continued*)

1489–90	Mich.–	Mich.	[3,125]	quarters	C. & S.
1490–91	" –	"	[1,473¼]	"	C. & S.*
1494–95	" –	"	460⅓	"	C. & S.
1503–04	" –	"	4,751⅞	"	C. & S.
1509	"	–21 Nov.	180	"	C. & S.
1512–13	" –	Mich.	960	"	C. & S.
1513–14	" –	"	164	"	C. & S.
1517–18	" –	"	610	"	C. & S.
1518–19	" –	"	2,537	"	C. & S.
1519–20	" –	"	1,023½	"	C. & S.
1523–24	" –	"	8,025	"	C. & S.
1528–29	" –	"	240½	"	C. & S.
1529–30	" –	"	3,008½	"	C. & S.
1530–31	" –	"	19,876	"	C. & S.
1535–36	" –	"	279	"	C. & S.*
1538–39	" –	"	7,118½	"	C. & S.
1540–41	" –	"	1,079	"	C. & S.
1541–42	" –	"	2,313½	"	C. & S.
1543–44	" –	"	880	"	C. & S.
1544–45	" –	"	938	"	C. & S.
1547	"	–25 Oct.	1,960	"	C. & S.*
1549–50	" –	Mich.	1,380	"	C. & S.
1551–52	" –	"	450	"	C. & S.
1553–54	" –	"	1,062½	"	C. & S.
1557–58	" –	"	690	"	C. & S.
1561–62	" –	"	460	"	C. & S.
1569–70	" –	"	2,055	"	Corn returns
1571–72	" –	"	20,920	"	Corn returns
1572–73	" –	"	13,408	"	Corn returns
1575–76	" –	"	1,570	"	C. & S.
1576–77	" –	"	3,750	"	C. & S.
1577–78	" –	8 July	4,310	"	C. & S.
1578–79	" –	Mich.	6,675	"	Corn returns [1]‡
1579–80	" –	"	11,131	"	Corn returns [1]‡
1580–81	" –	"	19,719	"	Corn returns [1]‡
1581–82	" –	"	11,839	"	Corn returns [1]‡
1582	1 Mar.	–20 June	4,010	"	Corn returns [2]
1582–83	Mich.–	Mich.	10,370	"	Corn returns [1]‡
1583–84	" –	"	25,255	"	Corn returns [1]‡
[1585]	Oct. –	Dec.	2,070	"	Corn returns [3]
1585–86	Mich.–	Mich.	7,811	"	Farmer's Ledger
1586–87	" –	"	1,050	"	Export Ledger
1587–88	26 July	–25 July	19,476	"	Ledger

[1] MS., Br. M., Harl., 306, fols. 26–31.
[2] MS., *R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, cliv, No. 17 (i–iii).
[3] *Ibid.*, clxxxvi, No. 17 (i).

LYNN AND MEMBERS (*continued*)

1588	27 July –15 Oct.	2,560 quarters		Ledger
1588–89	Xmas– Mich.	20,365	"	Ledger
1590	25 June – Mich.	280	"	Ledger
1591–92	Mich.–25 Mar.	6,015	"	Ledger
1612–13	Xmas– Xmas	847	"	[C. & S.]
1663–64	" – "	429⅛	"	C. & S.
1665–66	" – "	320	"	C. & S.
1669–70	" – "	1,047½	"	[C. & S.]
1671–72	" – "	3,617½	"	[C. & S.]
1677–78	" – "	12,966	"	C. & S., Cust's. ents.
1681–82	" – "	249	"	C. & S.
1682–83	" – "	441	"	[C. & S.]
1683–84	" – "	2,376½	"	C. & S.
1684–85	" – "	4,029	"	C. & S.
1686–87	" – "	815	"	C. & S.

Accounts with no records of corn exports are found for the following periods: —

1324–25, Petty C.; 1483–84, C. & S.; 1559, 29 May–Mich., C. & S.; 1596–97, C. & S.; 1631–32, Xmas–Xmas, [C. & S.]; 1637–38, Xmas–Xmas, [C. & S.].

NEWCASTLE AND MEMBERS

Within the period 1378–1592, records of corn exports are found as follows: —

1408–09	7 Sept. –10 May	2 quarters		Pdge.
1456–57	20 Nov. –17 May	23	"	C. & S.
1499–1500	Mich.– Mich.	[64]	"	C. & S.
1500–01	" – "	14	"	C. & S.

Accounts with no entries of corn exports are found for the following periods, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1378, 8 Feb.–Mich., Petty C.; 1389–90, 24 Aug.–25 Mar., Pdge.; 1390, 1 Mar.–8 Dec., Pdge.; 1390, Mich.–8 Dec., Petty C.; 1403, 1 Feb.–3 Apr., Pdge.; 1408–09, 7 Sept.–10 May, Petty C.; 1461–62, 9 May–18 Feb.; 1472, 1 Jan.–17 Mar.; 1481, 12 Apr.–20 Dec., Petty C.; 1488–89, 28 Oct.–Mich.; 1501–02; 1504, Mich.–28 Dec.; 1505–06; 1508–09; 1512–13; 1522–23; 1529–30; 1543–45; 1552–53; 1555–56; 1557–58; 1585, Mich.–Xmas; 1586, Easter–Xmas; 1587–88, 24 June–25 Mar.; 1588–89, Xmas–25 Mar.; 1589, 24 June–Mich.; 1591–92, Xmas–25 Mar.

Plymouth and Fowey and Members

Within the period 1391–1592 records of corn exports are found as follows: —

1413	Easter– Mich.	[22] quarters	Pdge.
1437–38	Mich.– "	[28] "	C. & S.
1477–78	30 Nov. – "	588 "	C. & S.
1478–79	Mich.– "	$18\frac{5}{8}$ "	C. & S.
1479–80	" – "	175 "	C. & S.
1497–98	" – "	$84\frac{1}{8}$ "	C. & S.
1498–99	" – "	$206\frac{3}{4}$ "	C. & S.*
1504–05	" –[25 Mar.]	4 "	C. & S.*
1507–08	" – Mich.	5 "	C. & S.
1516–17	" – "	$18\frac{1}{2}$ "	C. & S.
1522–23	" – "	4 "	C. & S.*
1525–26	" – 2 June	88 "	C. & S.
1540–41	" – Mich.	212 "	C. & S.
1541–42	" – "	75 "	C. & S.
1557–58	" – "	454 "	C. & S.
1569–70	" – "	200 "	Corn returns
1571–72	" – "	80 "	Corn returns
1587–88	Xmas–25 Mar.	124 "	C. & S.[2]

Accounts with no entries of corn exports are found for the following periods, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1391–92, 8 Dec.–20 June, Pdge.; 1456, Mich.–18 Dec., [C. & S.]; 1457, 5 June–Mich., [C. & S.]*; 1461–62; 1463, 26 July–Mich.; 1465–66, Mich.–25 May; 1473–74; 1476, Mich.–10 Dec., [C. & S.]; 1481, Mich.–16 Nov.; 1481–82, 14 Nov.–7 Feb.; 1483, 6 Feb.–3 Apr.; 1486, Mich.–8 Nov.; 1487, Mich.–7 Dec.; 1536–37; 1539–40; 1552–53, C. & S.*; 1556–57; 1578–84, Corn returns[1]; 1586–87, Xmas–25 Mar., C. & S.[2]; 1587, 25 Mar.–24 June, C. & S.[2]*; 1587, 24 June–Xmas, C. & S.[2]; 1590, 25 Mar.–Mich.; 1591, Xmas–25 Mar.; 1592, Xmas–25 Mar., C. & S.[2]; 1592, Xmas–25 Mar., C. & S.[3].

Poole and Members

Within the period 1460–1605, corn exports are noted as follows: —

1465–66	22 July –15 Mar.	13 quarters	C. & S.
1467–68	12 Feb. – 1 Aug.	182 "	C. & S.
1470	17 Feb. – Mich.	$1{,}038\frac{1}{2}$ "	C. & S.
[1473–74 ?]	28 July – 1 Mar.	517 "	C. & S.
1482	Easter– Mich.	2,949 "	C. & S.
1492–93	Mich.–20 Jan.	196 "	C. & S.

[1] MS., Br. M., Harl., 306, fols. 26–31.
[2] Refers to Fowey and members, i.e., Penryn, Padstow, etc.
[3] Refers to Plymouth.

Poole and Members (*continued*)

1504–05	Mich.–	[Easter]	67½ quarters	C. & S.
1505–06	" –	Mich.	641⅞ "	C. & S.
1521–22	" –	"	42 "	C. & S.
1523–24	" –	"	3,058 "	C. & S.
1528–29	" –	"	94 "	C. & S.
1529–30	" –	"	340 "	C. & S.
1547–48	" –	"	541 "	C. & S.*
1558–59	" –	"	50 "	C. & S.
1569–70	" –	"	221 "	Corn returns
1571–72	" –	"	330 "	Corn returns
1578–79	" –	"	110 "	Corn returns [1]‡
1604–05	" –	"	539⅜ "	[C. & S.]

Accounts with no entries of corn exports are found for the following periods, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1460–61, 26 Aug.–Mich.; 1462, 20 May–Mich.; 1466–67, 14 Mar.–12 Feb.; 1468, 1 Aug.–19 Dec.; 1469, 3 Sept.–20 Nov.; 1471–72, Mich.–22 July; 1472, 21 July–20 Oct.; 1478–79, 1 Oct.–1 Oct.; 1486, Mich.–17 Nov.; 1487–88; 1548–49; 1552–53; 1556–57, C. & S.*; 1579–84, Corn returns [1]‡; 1586, Mich.–Xmas.

Sandwich and Members

Within the period 1304–1581, corn exports are noted as follows: —

1304–05	Mich.–	Mich.	[6,630] quarters	Petty C.
1307–08	" –	"	[300] "	Petty C.
1371–72	1 Nov. –	1 Nov.	[535] "	Pdge.*
1393–94	8 Dec. –	5 Nov.	727¾ "	Petty C.
1398	17 Feb. –	19 May	15 "	Pdge.
1399	19 May –	15 Sept.	12 "	C. & S.
1439–40	Mich.–	Mich.	[388¼] "	C. & S.
1463–64	8 Dec. –	"	[99] "	C. & S.
1464–65	20 Mar. –	11 Apr.	[12] "	Pdge.
1537–38	30 Dec. –	Mich.	342 "	C. & S.
1539	[Mar.]–	[Mich.]	964 "	C. & S.
1540	5 July –	Mich.	120 "	C. & S.
1541–42	Mich.–	"	291 "	Cockets
1554–55	" –	Easter	[156] "	C. & S.
1559–60	" –	Mich.	[40] "	C. & S.
1571–72	" –	"	1,754 "	Corn returns
1572–73	28 Jan. –	20 Mar.	2,112 "	Corn returns
1581	1 Apr. –	30 Apr.	390 "	Corn returns [2]

[1] MS., Br. M., Harl., 306, fols. 26–31.
[2] MS., *R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, cxlviii, No. 58.

Accounts with no records of corn exports are found for the following periods: —

1327–28, 20 Jan.–Mich., Petty C.; 1416–17, Xmas–Easter, Pdge.; 1463, 1 Aug.–Mich., C. & S.; 1535–36, C. & S.; 1543–44, C. & S.; 1561–62, C. & S.

Southampton and Members

Within the period 1322–1581, corn exports are noted as follows: —

1383–84	Mich.–	Mich.	474½ quarters	Pdge.
1432–33	" –	"	386 "	C. & S.
1442–43	" –	"	2,110 "	C. & S.
1448–49	29 Dec. –	"	20 "	C. & S.
1449	Mich.–19 Nov.		5¼ "	C. & S.
1472–73	" –22 May		1 "	C. & S.
1487–88	" –	Mich.	100 "	C. & S.*
1491–92	" –	"	70 "	C. & S.
1513–14	" –	"	343⅜ "	C. & S.
1516–17	" –	"	4,856 "	C. & S.
1519–20	" –	"	10 "	C. & S.
1530–31	" –	"	670 "	C. & S.
1534–35	" –	"	60 "	C. & S.
1538–39	" –	"	1,985 "	Petty C., Pdge.
1542–43	" –	"	245 "	C. & S.
1569	15 Mar. –	7 June	255 "	Corn returns
1581	Easter–	Mich.	170 "	Corn returns [1]

Accounts with no entries of corn exports, are found for the following periods, and the records are C. & S. unless otherwise specified: —

1322–23, Petty C.; 1326–27, 25 Mar.–26 Feb., Petty C.; 1371–72, 1 Nov.–1 Nov., Pdge.*; 1403–04, 4 Nov.–25 Mar.; 1447–48, 17 July–Mich.; 1461, 3 Mar.–24 July; 1463–64, 19 July–26 Dec.,Pdge.; 1483, 26 June–Mich.; 1496–97, C. & S.*; 1537–38; 1553–54; 1555–57.

Yarmouth and Members

Within the period 1310–1663, corn exports are noted as follows: —

1388–89	20 Mar. –	Pentecost	1,021¼ quarters	Pdge.
1413	Mich.–30 Nov.		74 "	C. & S.
1452–53	29 May –	Mich.	492 "	C. & S.
1453–54	Mich.–	"	2,836½ "	C. & S.
1454–55	" –	"	1,425 "	C. & S.
1457–58	" –	"	3,349½ "	C. & S.
1458–59	" –	"	2,001 "	C. & S.
1460–61	1 Sept. –	"	1,055 "	C. & S.

[1] MS., *R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, cl, No. 17.

YARMOUTH AND MEMBERS (*continued*)

1461–62	Mich.–16 May		180	quarters	C. & S.
1462	16 May – 1 Sept.		43	"	Pdge.
1464–65	Mich.–20 Aug.		1,312¾	"	C. & S.
1485–86	5 Oct. –18 Nov.		12,345½	"	C. & S.
1504–05	Mich.–	Mich.	235	"	C. & S.
1509–10	" –	"	4,925½	"	C. & S.
1516–17	" –	"	4,758½	"	C. & S.
1517–18	" –	"	60	"	C. & S.
1518–19	" –	"	546	"	C. & S.
1521–22	" –	"	1,368	"	C. & S.*
1536–37	" –	"	81	"	C. & S.
1542–43	" –	"	1,362	"	C. & S.
1545–46	" –	"	2,617	"	C. & S.
1548–49	" –	"	6,348	"	C. & S.
1550–51	" –	"	62	"	C. & S.
1551–52	" –	"	550	"	C. & S.
1552–53	" –	"	2,344	"	C. & S.
1553–54	" –	"	1,626	"	C. & S.
1560–61	" –	"	500	"	C. & S.
1561–62	" –	"	767	"	[C. & S.]
1562–63	" –	"	30	"	[C. & S.]
1563–64	" –	"	780	"	[C. & S.]*
1569–70	" –	"	2,168	"	Corn returns*
1570–71	17 Nov. –	"	10,555	"	Corn returns
1571–72	Mich.–	"	9,045	"	Corn returns
1578–79	" –	"	2,675	"	Corn returns [1‡]
1579–80	" –	"	9,712	"	Corn returns [1‡]
1580–81	" –	"	7,599	"	Corn returns [1‡]
1581–82	" –	"	6,684	"	Corn returns [1‡]
1582–83	" –	"	5,776	"	Corn returns [1‡]
1583	18 Feb. –28 Mar.		1,812	"	Corn returns [2]
1583–84	Mich.–	Mich.	9,871	"	Corn returns [1‡]
1584	24 July –24 Aug.		2,495	"	Corn returns [3]
1590	25 Mar. –25 June		236	"	C. & S.
1595–96	Mich.–	Mich.	617	"	C. & S.
1618–19	Xmas–	Xmas	6,086	quarters	C. & S., Compt's. ents.
1619–20	" –	"	4,500	"	C. & S., Cust's. ents.
1621–22	" –	"	555	"	C. & S., Cust's. ents.
1660–61	" –	"	2,072	"	Search's. ents. [Al. & Den.]
1662–63	" –	"	2,881	"	Compt's. ents. [Al. & Den.]

[1] MS., Br. M., Harl., 306, fols. 26–31.
[2] MS., *R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, clx, No. 7 (i).
[3] MS., *R. O., State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, clxxii, No. 96.

Accounts with no records of corn exports are found for the following periods: —

1310–11, 2 Aug.–9 Oct., Petty C.; 1325–26, Mich.–Easter, Petty C.; 1392–93, 24 June–1 Apr., Pdge.; 1396–97, 8 Nov –30 Apr., Pdge.; 1398–99, 1 May–1 May, Pdge.; 1401, Mich.–7 Dec., Pdge.; 1409, Easter–12 Aug., C. & S.*; 1409, Mich.–1 Nov., C. & S.; 1418, 26 July–Mich., C. & S.; 1558–60, C. & S.; 1590, 26 June–Mich., C. & S.; 1611–12, Xmas–Xmas, C. & S., Search's. ents.; 1648–49, Xmas–Xmas.

APPENDIX D

Statistics of the Coast Trade in Corn Outwards and Inwards, Arranged According to Ports, 1549–1690

The source is chiefly K. R. Customs Accounts and K. R. Port Books preserved in the Public Record Office.

The new style of reckoning the year is used in this appendix.

(*a*) OUTWARDS

Barnstaple and Ilfracombe

Records of outward coast trade with no entries of corn shipments are found as follows: —

1552, 24 June–Mich.; 1554–55, Mich.–Easter; 1556–57, Easter–Mich.; 1558–59, Mich.–Easter; 1562, Easter–Mich.; 1564–65, Mich.–Easter; 1586–87, Mich.–31 Mar.; 1613–14, Xmas–Xmas; 1653–54, 24 June–24 June.

Boston and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1549–50	Mich. – 1 Apr.	3	373	London	1	60
				Newcastle	2	
1550	1 Jan. – 1 Aug.	7	744	London	3	203
				Newcastle	3	
				Hartlepool	1	
1551	Easter– Mich.	4	105	London	2	65
				Newcastle	2	
1552	Mich. – Xmas	1	16	London	1	16
1553–54	1 Nov. –31 Jan.	0	0		0	0
1554	1 Feb. – 1 May	9	443	Unspecified		
1554–55	Mich. – Mich.	4	42	London	2	33
				Others	2	
1555–56	1 Nov. – 1 May	7	216¼	London	2	170
				Southwold	1	
				Unspecified	4	
1556–57	Mich. – Mich.	14	358	Lynn	2	
				Stowe	2	
				London	1	88
				Others	9	
1621–22	Xmas – Xmas	2	34	London	1	10
				Newcastle	1	

Bridgewater and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
[–Ed. 6]	28 Feb. –24 July	20	593¾	Swansea	8	
				Cardiff	3	
				Newton	3	
				Carmarthen	2	
				Bristol	1	
				Others	3	
[–Ed. 6]	Easter– 1 Aug.	8	324	Cardiff	2	
				Carmarthen	2	
				Newton	2	
				Neath	1	
				Swansea	1	
1550–51	Mich. –24 Apr.	14	384	Cardiff	6	
				Bristol	2	
				Newton	2	
				Aberthaw	1	
				Carmarthen	1	
				Neath	1	
				Swansea	1	
1551–52	2 Oct. –18 Jan.	8	261	Barnstaple	1	
				Cardiff	1	
				Neath	1	
				Swansea	1	
				Others	4	
[ca. 1552]	26 Jan. – 7 Mar.	15	448⅜	Cardiff	5	
				Aberthaw	3	
				Newton	3	
				Tenby	1	
				Others	3	
1558	Easter– Mich.	3	120	Carmarthen	2	
				Cardiff	1	
1561–62	Mich. – Mich.	21	815¼	Barnstaple	4	
				Carmarthen	2	
				Haverfordwest	2	
				"Learpole"	2	
				Newton	2	
				Tenby	2	
				Bideford	1	
				Ilfracombe	1	
				Others	5	
1590–91	25 Mar. –25 Mar.	5	281	Westchester	3	
				Bristol	2	
1591	25 Mar. –24 June	1	25	Bristol	1	

Bristol and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1551–52	Mich. – Easter	46	2,444¼	Carmarthen	18	
				Cardiff	14	
				Padstow	6	
				Barnstaple	3	
				Others	5	
1552–53	Xmas – 1 Apr.	15	618	Cardiff	4	
				Carmarthen	4	
				Padstow	3	
				Others	4	
1553–54	Mich. – Mich.	94	5,487	Carmarthen	23	
				St. Ives (Cornwall)	23	
				Padstow	18	
				Cardiff	16	
				Others	14	
1555–56	Mich. – Easter	9	256½	Cardiff	5	
				Padstow	2	
				Others	2	
1556	Easter– Mich.	9	218	Cardiff	4	
				Carmarthen	2	
				Others	3	
1556–57	Mich. – Mich.	4	50	Cardiff	1	
				Carmarthen	1	
				Others	2	
1557–58	Mich. – Mich.	40	1,871¾	Carmarthen	19	
				Cardiff	16	
				Others	5	
1558–59	Mich. – Easter	13	531	Carmarthen	6	
				Cardiff	4	
				Others	3	
1574–75	Mich. – Mich.	66	4,458	Carmarthen	24	
				Cardiff	19	
				Padstow	9	
				Others	14	
1579–80	Mich. – Mich.	10	224¾	Cardiff	3	
				Aberystwyth	2	
				Chepstow	2	
				Milford	2	
				Carmarthen	1	
1582–83	Mich. – Mich.	4	138	St. Ives	1	
				Others	3	
1591	Easter– Mich.	0	0			

Bristol and Members (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1685–86	Xmas – Xmas	7	91	Cardiff	2	
				Carmarthen	1	
				Chepstow	1	
				Gloucester	1	
				Milford	1	
				Penzance	1	

Chichester and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1551	8 Jan. – Easter	20	756	Hastings	7	
				Rye	6	
				London	3	110
				Others	4	
1552	Easter– Mich.	39	1,717	Rye	15	
				Dartmouth	7	
				Hastings	5	
				London	4	235
				Others	8	
1553	Easter– Mich.	25	1,091	Rye	10	
				Hastings	3	
				London	3	215
				Others	9	
1553–54	Mich. – Easter	35	1,950	Rye	20	
				London	5	362
				Others	10	
1554	Easter– Mich.	23	972	Hastings	16	
				Rye	2	
				London	2	160
				Others	3	
1555	Easter– Mich.	12	400	Rye	5	
				Others	7	
1555–56	Mich. – Easter	36	1,688½	Rye	13	
				Hastings	9	
				London	6	334
				Others	8	
1556	Easter– Mich.	24	697	Rye	6	
				London	4	132
				Others	14	

Chichester and Members (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1564–65	Mich. – Easter	29	*	Hastings	11	
				Meeching	5	
				Rye	5	
				Dartmouth	3	
				London	1	
				Others	4	
1600	Easter– Mich.	3	250	London	3	250

Exeter and Dartmouth and Members [1]

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1552	24 June – Mich.	0	0			
1552–53	Xmas – Easter	3	7½	Falmouth	2	
				Helford	1	
1554–55	Mich. – Easter	1	3	Dartmouth	1	
1555	Easter– Mich.	0	0			
1556	" – "	4	150	"Opsham"	2	
				Tenby	1	
				Unspecified	1	
1556–57	Mich. – Easter	3	3½	Helford	2	
				Dartmouth	1	
1557	Easter– Mich.	4	250	London	2	
				Lynn	1	
				Plymouth	1	
1558–59	Mich. – Easter	0	0			
1562	Easter– Mich.	1	110	Westchester	1	
1564–65	Mich. – Easter	3	65	Dartmouth	1	
				Helforth	1	
				Helston	1	
1586 [2]	Mich. – Xmas	1	2	Unspecified	1	
1587–88 [3]	" – Easter	1	2½	Helford	1	
1588 [2]	" – Xmas	0	0			
1589 [2]	24 June – Mich.	0	0			
1589–90 [2]	Xmas – Easter	1	50	Plymouth	1	

[1] When to one of the ports itself, shipment is from the other port.
[2] Dartmouth only. [3] Exeter only.

Hull and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1549	20 Feb. –12 Nov.	11	1,073(?)	Berwick	4	
				Holy Isle	2	
				Newcastle	2	
				Boston	1	
				Hartlepool	1	
				Scarboro	1	
1550	Easter– 1 Aug.	12	1,024	Newcastle	9	
				Berwick	1	
				London	1	240
				Whitby	1	
1550–51	1 Nov. – 2 Feb.	1	50	Newcastle	1	
1551	1 Aug. – 1 Nov.	6	342	Newcastle	5	
				Stokton	1	
1551–52	1 Nov. –Good Fr.	8	245	Newcastle	8	
1552	2 Feb. –1 May	11	674	Newcastle	6	
				Berwick	1	
				London	1	52
				Others	3	
1552	1 May – 1 Aug.	6	718	Newcastle	4	
				Berwick	1	
				London	1	328
1554	1 Jan. – 1 Apr.	30	4,106	London	12	1,837
				Newcastle	7	
				Berwick	5	
				Others	6	
1554	1 Apr. – 1 July	42	5,593	Newcastle	19	
				London	14	2,985
				Others	9	
1554	1 July – 1 Oct.	25	3,921	London	12	2,163
				Newcastle	3	
				Others	10	
1555–56	1 Oct. – 1 Jan.	1	20	Newcastle	1	
1556–57	1 Oct. – 1 Jan.	0	0			
1558	[1] July – Mich.	8	804	Berwick	2	
				Newcastle	1	
				Others	5	
1563–64	Mich. – Mich.	20	1,764	Newcastle	6	
				Hartlepool	4	
				London	4	355
				Others	6	
1586–87	Mich. – Easter	0	0			

Hull and Members (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1627–28	Xmas – Xmas (H. & S.)	52	3,642	London	28	1,693
				Newcastle	20	
				Whitby	2	
				Berwick	1	
				Sunderland	1	
1644–45	Xmas – Xmas (H. & S.)	51	4,327	London	45	3,387
				Lynn	4	
				Colchester	1	
				Newcastle	1	
1654–55	Xmas – Xmas (H. S. G. & B.)	144	17,026	London	90	12,121
				Others	54	
1673–74	Xmas – Xmas (H. S. G. & B.)	147	13,256	Newcastle	46	
				London	33	2,303
				Sunderland	21	
				Others	47	
1676–77	Xmas – Xmas (H. S. G. & B.)	173	29,187	London	124	24,371
				Newcastle	11	
				Others	38	
1689–90	Xmas – Xmas (H. & S.)	172	19,995	Newcastle	67	
				London	64	5,575
				Others	41	

H. = Hull, S. = Scarboro, G. = Grimsby, B. = Bridlington.

Ipswich and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1551	25 Mar. – Mich.	8	370	Aldborough	1	
				Faversham	1	
				Newcastle	1	
				Unspecified	5	
1557	25 Mar. – Mich.	1	30	London	1	
1561	25 " – "	13	588¼	London	10	388¼
				Newcastle	3	200
1565–66	Mich. – Easter	36	2,306¼	London	29	1,882¼
				Burnham	6	
				Rochester	1	

London

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1565	Easter– Mich.	4	478	Dartmouth	2	
				Exmouth	1	
				Maidstone	1	
1566–67	Mich. – Mich.	9	752	Maidstone	4	
				Sandwich	3	
				Middeton	1	
				Rochester	1	
1579–80	Mich. – Mich.	5	195	Harwich	2	
				Others	3	
1585–86	Mich. – Mich.	43	4,926	Lynn	6	
				Milton	4	
				Carmarthen	3	
				Others	30	
1634–35	Xmas – Xmas	31	2,362 [1]	Boston	5	
				Lynn	5	
				Colchester	4	
				Others	17	
1649	23 July –25 Dec.	15	464	Colchester	6	
				Dover	3	
				Others	6	
1670–71	Xmas – Xmas	26	2,967	Stockton	6	
				Sunderland	4	
				Hull	3	
				Newcastle	3	
				Others	10	
1679–80	Xmas – Xmas	16	805	Stockton	3	
				Dover	2	
				Newcastle	2	
				Rochester	2	
				Others	7	
1680–81	Xmas – Xmas	33	2,535	Wisbeach	4	
				Hull	3	
				Chester	2	
				Stockton	2	
				Others	22	

[1] Largely foreign rye.

Lynn and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1549–50	Mich. –14 June	187	39,801	Berwick	58	
				Selby	30	
				Newcastle	29	
				London	9	
				Whitby	8	
				Others	53	
1551	1 Apr. – Mich.	99	14,900	Berwick	31	
				Newcastle	17	
				Selby	11	
				London	3	635
				Gravesend	1	
				Others	36	
1551–52	Mich. – Easter	67	9,221½	Newcastle	23	4,195
				London	10	1,104½
				Selby	10	
				Berwick	6	
				Others	18	
1552	Easter– Mich.	75	10,089½	Newcastle	31	
				Berwick	19	
				London	8	1,130
				Boston	4	
				Others	13	
1552	Mich. – Xmas	14	2,490½	Newcastle	7	
				London	6	1,450½
				Durham	1	
1555–56	Mich. – Easter	42	4,856½	London	7	1,282
				Woodbridge	5	
				Boston	3	
				Newcastle	2	
				Others	25	
1557–58	Mich. – Mich.	122	25,715	Berwick	71	
				Newcastle	32	
				Boston	8	
				London	1	160
				Others	10	
1558–59	Mich. – Mich.	75	11,628¾	Berwick	30	
				London	20	1,450
				Newcastle	15	
				Others	10	
1560–61	Mich. – Easter	58	10,116½	Berwick	17	
				Newcastle	17	
				London	10	1,034
				Boston	5	

LYNN AND MEMBERS (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1560–61				Faversham	1	
				Sandwich	1	
				Others	7	
1561–62	Mich. – Mich.	272	35,117½	Newcastle	73	
				Selby	52	
				Boston	32	
				London	23	2,861
				Hull	14	
				Rochester	8	
				York	8	
				Sandwich	7	
				Faversham	4	
				Maidstone	4	
				Others	47	
1563–64	Mich. – Mich.	183	27,439½	Selby	39	
				Newcastle	33	
				Boston	16	
				Berwick	11	
				London	11	1,485
				Rochester	8	
				Milton	6	
				Faversham	5	
				Sandwich	4	
				Maidstone	3	
				Others	47	
1564–65	Mich. – Easter	39	5,531⅞	London	9	1,223
				Ipswich	5	
				Maidstone	3	
				Berwick	2	
				Newcastle	2	
				Rochester	2	
				Others	16	
1582[1]	1 Mar. –20 June	38	5,920	Newcastle	19	
				Berwick	3	
				Sandwich	2	
				London	1	200
				Others	13	
1681–82	Xmas – Xmas	407	28,254	Newcastle	169	
				London	65	13,375
				Boston	53	
				Spalding	25	
				Sunderland	17	
				Others	78	

[1] MS., *R. O. State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, cliv, No. 17 (i–iii).

Lynn

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1569–70	Mich. – Easter	102	15,147	Selby	25	
				Newcastle	16	
				London	12	976
				York	6	
				Boston	5	
				Colchester	4	
				Ipswich	4	
				Others	30	
1576–77	Easter– Easter	172	26,211	London	64	12,771
				Newcastle	45	
				Sandwich	12	
				Berwick	4	
				Ipswich	4	
				Rochester	4	
				Rye	4	
				Others	35	
1584–85	Mich. – Mich.	72	9,445	Newcastle	16	
				London	14	1,682
				Rye	5	
				Berwick	4	
				Ipswich	4	
				Dartmouth	3	
				Yarmouth	3	
				Others	23	
1590–91 [1]	25 Dec. –25 Feb.	22	2,890	Newcastle	9	
				Hull	4	
				London	2	480
				Others	7	
1593–94	Mich. – Easter	116	20,563	Newcastle	33	
				Sandwich	21	
				London	13	2,221
				Ipswich	6	
				Berwick	5	
				Dover	5	
				Plymouth	3	
				Others	30	
1596–97	Mich. – Mich.	146	21,350	London	47	10,147
				Boston	18	
				Gainsboro	14	
				Berwick	9	
				Newcastle	9	

[1] Transported by non-freemen. MS., *Lynn archives* Db 18.

LYNN (*continued*)

Year	Date		Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1596–97 (*cont.*)					Colchester	6	
					Hull	5	
					Ipswich	5	
					Sandwich	6	
					York	5	
					Rochester	3	
					Bristol	2	
					Gravesend	2	
					Others	15	
1600–01	Mich. –	Mich.	66	8,098¼	London	16	2,322
					Hull	14	
					Berwick	11	
					Colchester	5	
					Newcastle	5	
					Gainsboro	3	
					Others	12	
1620–21	Xmas –	Xmas	64	11,260⅜	London	44	9,373⅜
					Newcastle	13	
					Sunderland	2	
					Yarmouth	2	
					Others	3	
1631–32	Xmas –	Xmas	130	8,587*	Boston	46	
					Hull	31	
					London	24	2,538
					Newcastle	10	
					Others	19	
1633–34	Xmas –	Xmas	141	10,585½	London	39	5,140
					Boston	38	
					Hull	20	
					Newcastle	17	
					Colchester	10	
					Others	17	
1663–64[1]	Xmas –	Xmas	291	19,681	Newcastle	70	
					Boston	56	
					London	41	4,995
					Sunderland	16	
					Others	108	
1671–72[2]	Xmas –	Xmas	355	37,304	Newcastle	191	
					Boston	49	

[1] Twenty-seven shipments of corn out of a total of 63, that is 4248 qrs. out of a total of 6,909⅜ qrs. left Wisbeach during this same period for London.

[2] Wisbeach sent to London during this year 59 shipments, or 12,414 qrs. out of a total of 89 shipments, or 14,113½ qrs.

Lynn (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1671–72				London	33	6,624
				Spalding	27	
				Sunderland	11	
				Others	44	
1684–85	Xmas – 24 June (?)	108	12,496	Newcastle	29	
				London	28	8,216½
				Boston	11	
				Wainfleet	8	
				Sunderland	7	
				Sutton	6	
				Others	21	
1685–86[1]	Xmas – Xmas	124	28,379	London	95	27,140
				Boston	9	
				Others	20	
1688–89	Xmas – Xmas	296	47,217½	Newcastle	68	
				London	66	23,390½
				Boston	39	
				Hull	28	
				Stockton	15	
				Others	80	

Plymouth, Fowey and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1553	6 Jan. – 21 Apr.	1	12½	Bristol	1	
[1554 ?]	Mich. – Xmas	1	50	Neath	1	
[1554–5 ?]	Xmas – Easter	7	91½	Exeter	3	
				Carmarthen	1	
				Neath	1	
				Opsham	1	
				Unspecified	1	
[1557 ?]	Mich. – Xmas	1	50	Barnstaple	1	
[1557 ?]	Xmas – Easter	1	0½	Opsham	1	
1587[2]	25 Mar. – 24 June	1	67½	Fowey	1	
1587[2]	24 June – Mich.	1	163	Westchester	1	
1590	25 Mar. – 24 June	3	75	Falmouth	1	
				London	1	
				Westchester	1	
1590	24 June – Mich.	6	344	Unspecified	6	

[1] Transported by non-freemen. MS., *Lynn archives* Db 18. [2] Fowey and members.

Records with no entries of corn shipments are found for the following years: —

1551–52, Mich.–6 Jan.; 1552, 15 Jan.–10 Apr.; 1552, 26 Apr.–30 Sept.; 1553–54, Xmas–Easter; 1554, 24 June–Mich.; 1554–55, Xmas–Easter; 1557, Easter–Mich.; 1562, Easter–Mich.; 1586–87, Xmas–25 Mar.; 1587–88 [1], Mich.–25 Mar.

Poole and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1548–49 [2]	Mich. – Mich.	10	512	Dartmouth	1	
				Exmouth	1	
				Hampton	1	
				Plymouth	1	
				Others	6	
1552	Easter– Sept.	5	110	Exmouth	1	
				Plymouth	1	
				Others	3	
[1553–54 ? [3]]	[Mich. – Easter]	1	20	"Opsham"	1	
1554 [3]	Easter– Mich.	7	414	Plymouth	2	
				Rye	2	
				Dartmouth	1	
				Hastings	1	
				Newhaven	1	
1586–87	Mich. – Easter	7	185⅛	Penzance	2	
				Dartmouth	1	
				London	1	
				Mounster	1	
				Plymouth	1	
				Rye	1	
1593 [3]	24 June – Mich.	0	0			
1604–05	Mich. – "	4	624	Portsmouth	2	
				Penzance	1	
				Southampton	1	

Sandwich and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1554–55	Mich. – Easter	231	10,158	London	156	6,713
				Maidstone	17	
				Stratford	10	

[1] Fowey and members. [2] Weymouth only. [3] Poole only.

Sandwich and Members (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1554–55 (*cont.*)				Faversham	8	
				Milton	3	
				Rochester	1	
				Others	36	
1559–60	Mich. – Mich.	136	7,130	London	79	3,721
				Rye	21	
				Maidstone	14	
				Faversham	6	
				Woolwich	2	
				Rochester	1	
				Others	13	
1561–62	Mich. – Mich.	280	15,857	London	205	10,853
				Rye	32	
				Maidstone	10	
				Rochester	6	
				Faversham	2	
				Milton	2	
				Stratford	2	
				Others	21	
1624–25[1]	Xmas – Xmas	92	9,520	London	59	6,160
				Newcastle	17	
				Rochester	12	
				Maidstone	1	
				Others	3	
1625–26[1]	Xmas – Xmas	283	36,109	London	264	34,522
				Newcastle	8	
				Rochester	7	
				Gravesend	2	
				Colchester	1	
				Malden	1	

Southampton

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1550	28 June –10 Sept.	2	40	Poole	1	
1551–52	Mich. –31 Jan.	2	95	Plymouth	1	
				Rye	1	

[1] Including Margate, Ramsgate, etc.

SOUTHAMPTON (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1552	30 Mar. –16 June	2	75	Rye	1	
				Falmouth	1	
1552	20 Jan. –31 Mar.	4	155	Dartmouth	1	
				Hastings	1	
				London	1	
				Plymouth	1	
1553	Mich. – Xmas	1	15½	Rye	1	
1553–54	Xmas – Easter	9	246			
				Hastings	2	
				London	2	
				Penzance	2	
				Rye	2	
				Brighthampton	1	
1554	Easter–26 May	2	50	Rye	2	
1554–55	Xmas –25 Mar.	25	632	Hastings	6	
				Rye	3	
				London	1	
				Others	15	
1555–56	1 June – Mich.	0	0			
1556–57	Xmas –25 Mar.	5	84	Hastings	2	
				Rye	2	
				London	1	
1561	Mich. –30 Nov.	4	98	London	2	70
				Lewes	1	
				Rye	1	

WELLS AND BURNHAM [1]

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1620–21	Xmas – Xmas	76	12,905	Newcastle	66	
				London	5	580
				Others	3	
1633–34	Xmas – Xmas	199	29,829½	Newcastle	106	
				Hull	28	
				London	23	2,297
				Ipswich	11	
				Colchester	10	

[1] Really members of the "Port" of Lynn, treated separately here because of their importance.

Wells and Burnham (*continued*)

Year	Date	Shipments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Shipments	Qrs. of Corn
1633–34 (*cont.*)				Maldon	8	
				Gravesend	4	
				Rochester	2	
				Others	7	
1663–64	Xmas – Xmas	115	11,167½	Newcastle	50	
				Lynn	18	
				Colchester	16	
				London	7	1,250
				Maldon	7	
				Others	17	
1684–85	Xmas – Xmas	42	3,345	Newcastle	24	
				London	5	525
1688–89	Xmas – Xmas	188	37,094½	Newcastle	129	
				London	19	4,339
				Wainfleet	17	
				Whitby	11	
				Others	12	

Yarmouth and Members

Year	Date	Shipments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Shipments	Qrs. of Corn
1550	Mich. – Xmas	17	584	London	16	514
				Walberswick	1	
1552	Easter– Mich.	39	2,875½	London	6	410
				Newcastle	3	
				Unspecified	17	
				Others	13	
1559–60	Mich. – Mich.	173	15,495½	London	93	6,144½
				Berwick	33	
				Newcastle	23	
				Others	24	
1562	Easter– Mich.	84	8,306½	London	34	7,016½
				Newcastle	8	
				Turnbridge	7	
				Sandwich	5	
				Faversham	2	
				Maidstone	2	
				Rochester	2	
				Others	24	

YARMOUTH AND MEMBERS (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whither	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn
1564	25 Mar. – Mich.	117	13,734	London	38	4,986
				Rochester	10	
				Sandwich	8	
				Newcastle	6	
				Maidstone	3	
				Faversham	1	
				Milton	1	
				Others	50	
1582[1]	1 Mar. –22 June	30	2,383	London	14	1,245
				Faversham	4	
				Newcastle	4	
				Alborough	2	
				Colchester	2	
				Others	4	

[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, cliv, No. 17 (iv).

(*b*) INWARDS

BARNSTAPLE AND ILFRACOMBE

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1552	24 June – Mich.	0	0		
1554–55	Mich. – Easter	1	12		
1556	Easter– Mich.	2	180		
1556–57	Mich. – Easter	0	0		
1557	Easter– Mich.	0	0		
1558–59	Mich. – Easter	1	36		
1562	Easter– Mich.	12	355½		
1564–65	Mich. – Easter	12	345		
1613–14	Xmas – Xmas	30	1,376½	Milford	22
				Bridgewater	1
				Bristol	1
				Carnarvon	1
				Chichester	1
				Padstow	1
				Plymouth	1
				Sandwich	1
				Wells	1

Barnstable and Ilfracombe (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1653–54	24 June –24 June	10	353	Bridgewater	2
				Minehead	2
				Padstow	2
				Bristol	1
				Gloucester	1
				Milford	1
				Swansea	1

Bristol and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1551–52	Mich. – Easter	8	603	[Gloucester, etc.]	
1552–53	Xmas – 1 Apr.	1	12	Tewkesbury	1
1553–54	Mich. – Mich.	68	4,365	Tewkesbury, Gloucester, etc.	
1556	Easter– Mich.	4	370	Gloucester	
1557–58	Mich. – "	13	912	Tewkesbury	8
				Gloucester	4
				Worcester	1
1558–59	" – Easter	1	18	Gloucester	1
1574–75	" – Mich.	70	6,152⅝	Tewkesbury	57
				Gloucester	11
				Worcester	2
1591	Easter– Mich.	14	998	Tewkesbury	6
				Gloucester	4
				Others	4
1599–1600	Mich. – Mich.	46	2,821	Bridgewater	18
				Gloucester	14
				Tewkesbury	7
				Cardiff	7
				Caerleon	1
				Swansea	1
				Tenby	1

Chichester and Members[1]

Year	Date	Shipments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Shipments
1551	8 Jan. – Easter	23	1,222	Members of port	14
				Sandwich	5
				Dover	4
1552	Easter– Mich.	15	845	Members	12
				Sandwich	3
1553	Easter– Mich.	48	2,324	Members	18
				Sandwich	12
				Dover	9
				Bridlington	2
				Faversham	2
				Others	5
1553–54	Mich. – Easter	42	2,219½	Members	23
				Sandwich	8
				Southampton	5
				Dover	2
				Others	4
1554	Easter– Mich.	43	2,070	Members	14
				Sandwich	16
				Poole & Lyme	3
				Hull	2
				London	2
				Southampton	2
				Others	4
1555	Easter– Mich.	57	2,468	Members	22
				Southampton	11
				Sandwich	10
				Weymouth	7
				Poole	5
				Dover	1
				Hull	1
1555–56	Mich. – Easter	53	2,932	Members	32
				Sandwich	11
				Dover	4
				Southampton	4
				Others	2
1556	Easter– Mich.	26	1,524	Member	14
				Sandwich	7
				London	2
				Bourne	1
				Dover	1
				Hull	1
1600	Easter– Mich.	0	0		

[1] Chief members were Arundel, Folkstone, Hastings, Hythe, Littlehampton, Meeching and Lewes, Pevensey, Romney, Rye and Winchelsea.

Exeter and Dartmouth and Members

Year	Date	Shipments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Shipments
1552	24 June – Mich.	0	0		
1552–53	Xmas – Easter	6	88	Unspecified	
1554–55	Mich. – "	7	88	"	
1555	Easter– Mich.	6	255	"	
1556–57	Mich. – Easter	2	17½	"	
1556–57	Easter– Mich.	7	387	"	
1557	" – "	2	140	"	
1558–59	Mich. – Easter	6	223	"	
1562	Easter– Mich.	12	802	"	
1564–65	Mich. – Easter	36	2,761½	"	
1586[1]	" – Xmas	1	200	"	
1587–88[2]	" – Easter	0	0		
1588[1]	" – Xmas	3	108	Unspecified	
1589[1]	24 June – Mich.	0	0		
1589–90[1]	Xmas – Easter	15	1,416	New Shoreham	3
				Blakeney	2
				Lyme	2
				Southampton	2
				Arundel	1
				Chichester	1
				Poole	1
				Sandwich	1
				Others	2

Hull and Members

Year	Date	Shipments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Shipments
1549	20 Feb. –12 Nov.	2	140*	Burnham, etc.	
1550	Easter– 1 Aug.	11	965	Lynn	5
				Yarmouth	1
				Unspecified	5
1550–51	1 Nov. – 2 Feb.	2	140	Lynn	1
				Yarmouth	1
1551	1 Aug. – 1 Nov.	4	226	Lynn	1
				Others	3
1551–52	1 Nov. –Good Fr.	5	490	Lynn	5
1552	2 Feb. – 1 May	7	696	Lynn	6
				Blakeney	1

[1] Dartmouth only. [2] Exeter only.

HULL AND MEMBERS (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1552	1 May – 1 Aug.	3	390	Lynn	3
1563–64	Mich. – Mich.	59	8,571	Lynn	51
				Blakeney	1
				Others	7
1586–87	Mich. – Easter	9	1,290	Lynn	8
				Ipswich	1

Records with no entries of corn shipments are found for the following periods: —

1554, 1 Jan.–1 Oct.; 1555–56, 1 Oct.–1 Jan.; 1556–57, 1 Oct.–1 Jan.; 1558, [1] July–Mich.

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1627–28	Xmas – Xmas (H. B. G. & S.)	74	4,965	Lynn	47
				Burnham	16
				London	5
				Boston	2
				Wells	2
				Blakeney	1
				Sunderland	1
1644–45	Xmas – Xmas (H. S. & G.)	124	14,431	Lynn	65
				Wells	34
				Blakeney	10
				Yarmouth	7
				Wisbeach	3
				Others	5
1654–55	Xmas – Xmas (H. B. & S.)	7	480	Lynn	3
				Boston	2
				Others	2
1673–74	Xmas – Xmas (H. B. S. & G.)	37	3,735	Yarmouth	8
				Lynn	7
				Wells	6
				London	5
				Blakeney	1
				Others	10
1689–90	Xmas – Xmas	11	1,790½	Lynn	5
				Wells	3
				Maldon	1

H. = Hull, B. = Bridlington, S. = Scarboro, G. = Grimsby.

LONDON

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1565	Easter– Mich.	9	[324?]	Ipswich	4
				Boston	2
				Others	3
1579–80	Mich. – "	263	18,090	Milton	89
				Faversham	84
				Rochester	19
				Maldon	16
				Boston	11
				Hull	7
				Ipswich	7
				Lynn	6
				Others	24
1585–86	Mich. – Mich.	734	51,688	Faversham	210
				Milton	137
				Sandwich	82
				Ipswich	67
				Maldon	53
				Lynn	51
				Rochester	35
				Boston	19
				Yarmouth	19
				Blakeney	14
				Others	47
1649–50	Xmas – Xmas	989	84,607	Sandwich	179
				Faversham	164
				Milton	69
				Maldon	67
				Rochester	66
				Hull	53
				Yarmouth	49
				Dover	48
				Plymouth	41
				Ipswich	27
				Lynn	23
				Others	203
1657–58	1 Oct. –25 June	786	65,715	Faversham	157
				Sandwich	110
				Milton	94
				Margate	94
				Maldon	76
				Leigh	74
				Rochester	58

London (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1657–58 (*cont.*)				Lynn	3
				Others	120
1680–81	Xmas – Xmas	1,112	191,650	Sandwich	175
				Hull	154
				Faversham	129
				Milton	76
				Berwick	52
				Maldon	44
				Woodbridge	39
				Milford	32
				Ipswich	28
				Stockton	27
				Yarmouth	27
				Lynn	24
				Others	305

Lynn

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1576	Easter– Mich.	0	0		
1584–85	Mich. – "	13	1,355	Hull	8
				Boston	4
				Newcastle	1
1593–94	Mich. – Easter	0	0		
1596–97	" – Mich.	3	378	Hull	2
				Ipswich	1
1600–01	Mich. – Easter	0	0		
1620–21	Xmas – Xmas	0	0		
1631–32	" – "	13	1,075	Hull	5
				Wells	4
				Newcastle	2
				Berwick	1
				Boston	1
1633–34	Xmas – Xmas	6	280	Sutton	3
				Hull	2
				Wells	1
1681–82	Xmas– Xmas	30	1,141½	Spalding	11
				Hull	8
				Boston	5
				Others	6

Lynn (*continued*)

Year	Date	Shipments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Shipments
1684–85	Xmas –24 June (?)	7	1,027	Spalding	2
				Others	5
1688–89	Xmas – Xmas	26	1,568	Sutton	7
				Spalding	6
				Holbeach	4
				Wisbeach	4
				Hull	2
				Boston	1
				Newcastle	1
				Wells	1

Newcastle and Members

Year	Date	Shipments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Shipments
1549–50	Mich. – Mich.	106	15,951	Lynn	51
				Hull	14
				Yarmouth	10
				Grimsby	9
				Blakeney	8
				Boston	3
				Bridlington	2
				Cley	2
				Others	7
1550–51	Mich. –31 July	64	5,049½	Lynn	19
				Hull	10
				Blakeney	9
				Yarmouth	4
				Boston	3
				Bridlington	3
				Others	16
1552–53	1 Oct. – 1 Apr.	32	2,318½	Lynn	13
				Bridlington	7
				Hull	5
				Scarboro	4
				Others	3
1562	2 Feb. –31 July	55	5,201½	Lynn	41
				Ipswich	5
				Hull	3

Newcastle and Members (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1562 (*cont.*)				Yarmouth	2
				Others	4
1564–65	Mich. – Easter	22	1,099	Lynn	6
				Scarboro	5
				Hull	4
				Grimsby	3
				Yarmouth	3
				Blakeney	1

Plymouth, Fowey and Members

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1551–52	Mich. – 6 Jan.	0	0		
1552	15 Jan. –10 Apr.	0	0		
1552	26 Apr. –30 Sept.	2	66	Bristol	2
1553	6 Jan. –21 Apr.	21	587¾	Weymouth	8
				Lyme	5
				Bristol	3
				Hampton	2
				Others	3
1553–54	Xmas – Easter	25	1,264½	Bristol	15
				Lyme	6
				Exeter	2
				Minehead	1
				Weymouth	1
1554	24 June – Mich.	13	730	Bristol	4
				Bridgewater	2
				Lyme	2
				Gloucester	1
				Weymouth	1
				Others	3
[1554?]	Mich. – Xmas	0	0		
1554–55	Xmas.– Easter	17	515¾	Lyme	6
				Bridgewater	2
				Bristol	2
				Gloucester	1
				Minehead	1
				Tewkesbury	1
				Others	4

PLYMOUTH, FOWEY AND MEMBERS (*continued*)

Year	Date	Ship-ments	Qrs. of Corn	Ports Whence	Ship-ments
1557	Easter– Mich.	2	54	Weymouth	
[1557?]	Mich. – Xmas	1	30	Weymouth	1
[1557–58?]	Xmas – Easter	3	47	Lyme	3
1562	Easter– Mich.	50	2,633	Poole	10
				Weymouth	8
				Hampton	7
				Bristol	5
				Chichester	4
				Lyme	3
				Gloucester	2
				Tewkesbury	1
				Southampton	1
				Others	9
1586–87	Xmas –25 Mar.	2	30	Gloucester	1
				Lyme	1
1587 [1]	25 Mar. –24 June	0	0		
1587 [1]	24 June – Mich.	0	0		
1587 [1]	Mich. – Xmas	0	0		
1587–88 [1]	Xmas –25 Mar.	9	298½	Gloucester	5
				Bridport	1
				Exeter	1
				Lyme	1
				Westbury	1
1590	25 Mar. –24 June	5	218	Gloucester	2
				Lyme	1
				Melcombe Regis	1
				Plymouth	1
1590	24 June – Mich.	1	15	London	
1592–93	Xmas –25 Mar.	0	0		

[1] Fowey and members.

APPENDIX E

STATISTICS OF CORN PRICES, LONDON, 1537–1673

Prices of Corn, 1537–68

Bought by the bakers of London.
Unless otherwise stated, the entries refer to wheat.
The following abbreviations have been used:

I — imported corn (judging from the alien names of dealers and from other specifications).
L — some official connection with the City.
B — from or at the Bridgehouse, Leadenhall or other such granary.
LB — "at the Bridgehouse apoynted by the commandement of my lorde maire," or an equivalent.
W — brought into the City by water.
S — purchased from the Steelyard.
R — rye.

These statistics are from Wheat Book, No. 62, preserved in the Hall of the Bakers' Company, London.

Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.	Remarks
1537	9 May	500	9/6	W.
	16 "	290½	10/0	W.
	17 "	85¼	10/0	B.
	19 "	160	10/0	W.
	24 "	100	10/0	W.
	24 "	176	10/0	W & B.
	25 "	87	10/0	W.
	25 "	130	9/0	W.
	26 "	98	10/0	W.
	26 "	100	9/0	W.
	28 "	115	9/0	W.
	29 "	266	10/0	W.
	30 "	97½	9/0	W.
	1 June	43	10/0	W.
	1 "	138	10/0	W.
	7 "	150	10/0	B.
	8 "	103	10/0	B.
	8 "	189½	10/0	W.
	9 "	87	10/0	via Stratford.
	11 "	50	10/0	B.
	11 "	78½	10/0	W.
	14 "	173¾	10/0	W.
	15 "	120	10/0	W.
	18 "	140	10/0	W.
1537	19 June	44	10/0	L, W.
	21 "	191	10/0	W.
	26 June	80	10/0	W.
	26 "	100	10/0	W.
	27 "	50	10/0	B.
	27 "	132	10/0	W.
	3 July	65	10/0	W.
	6 "	105	10/0	W.
	15 "	90	9/0	W.
	18 "	120	10/0	B.
	Sept., Oct.	1001	9/0	B.
1537–8	1 Mar.	75	7/4	W.[1]
1538	2 May	163	7/0	W.
	23 "	100	6/8	W.
	24 "	214⅜	7/0	W.
	June	545	7/0	W.
	25 Oct.	40	7/6	W.
	28 Nov.	269	7/8	W.[2]
	3 Dec.	95⅜	7/8	W.
	10 "	87	7/0	W.
1539	28 Mar.	65	6/0	W.
	3 May	50	6/8	W.
1540	31 "	225	7/4	W.
	22 June	70	7/0	W.

[1] From Kent.

[2] From Norfolk.

Prices of Corn, 1537–68 (*continued*)

Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.	Remarks
1541	22 Dec.	120	10/0	W.
1541–2	20 Jan.	120	10/0	W.
	4 Feb.	120	10/0	W.
1541–2	8 Feb.	26	10/0	W.
1542	16 May	140	9/0	W.
	7 July	120	10/0	W.
	18 Aug.	99¾	11/0	W.
	7 Nov.	51⅛	9/8	W.
1542–3	19 Feb.	85	10/0	L, W.
	28 "	72	10/0	W.
	20 Mar.	182	10/0	W.
1543	9 Apr.	79½	10/0	W.
	4 May	88½	11/0	W.
	10 "	104¾	11/0	W.
	31 Oct.	61½	11/0	W.
1544	11 Apr.	113	16/0	W, I, S.
	11 "	165	16/0	W, I, S.
	4 July	164	14/0	W.
	25 "	97	14/0	W.
	9 Aug.	90	12/0	W.
	18 "	190	16/0	W.
	30 "	60	16/0	
	Sept.	454	12/0	W, L.
1545	7 May	144	16/6	W.
	28 "	205	14/0	W.
	8 July	65	14/0	W.
	13 July	180	14/8	LB.
	19 Aug.	100	14/8	LB.
	10 Sept.	100	14/8	LB.
	28, 30 Sept.	200	14/8	LB.
	18 Oct.	100	15/0	LB.
1545–6	6 Feb.	54⅞	22/0	W.[1]
	8 "	88	22/0	W.
1546	28 May	119	23/0	W, L.
	30 "	79	23/0	W, L.
1546	30 Sept. & 1 Oct.	73	12/0	LB.
	20 Dec.	67	8/8	W.
1546–7	6 Jan.	55	9/0	W.
	5 Feb.	20	9/0	W.
	8 "	97	8/6	W.
	12 "	30	8/6	From Essex.
	21 "	55	8/0	W.
	28 "	80	8/0	W.
	22 Mar.	78	7/0	W.
1547	6 Apr.	45	6/4	W.
	7 Aug.	37¾	5/8	W.
	11 "	60	6/0	W.
1547–8	24 Mar.	45	6/0	W.
1548	27 "	125	6/4	W.
	26 June	37¾	6/4	LB, W.
	14 July	122	6/0	W.
	17 Aug.	100	6/4	LB.
	28 "	25	[6/4]	LB.
	29 "	25	[6/4]	LB.

[1] King's wheat.

Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.	Remarks
1548	30 Aug.	30	[6/4]	LB.
	1 Sept.	20	[6/4]	LB.
	[Sept.–Oct.]	170	6/8	B.[2]
	22 Oct.	80	8/6	W.
	Nov.	[305]	8/8	LB.
1548–9	2 Jan.	[75]	8/6	W.
	21 "	147½	8/0	
	Jan.	395	8/8	LB.
	30 "	155	8/0	[LB?], W.
	Feb.	355	8/8	LB.
	Mar.	395	8/8	LB.
1549	Apr.	195	8/8	LB.
	Aug.	340	9/10	LB.
	27 Aug.	206½	11/0	L.
	15 Oct.	132	16/0	W.
	18 "	30	16/0	W.
	26 "	38	15/0	W.
	31 "	80	15/0	W.
	Nov.	72	16/0	W.
	"	134	16/0	W.
	"	193	16/8	L, W.
	"	59	17/0	L, W.
	"	104	15/8	L, W.
	7 Dec.	123	17/0	W.
1549–50	Jan.	130	17/0	L, W.
	7 "	50	17/0	L, W.
	14 "	70	17/0	W.
	14 "	72½	17/0	W.
	18 "	120	17/0	W.
	24 "	163	17/0	W.
	"	66	18/0	L, W.
	26 [Jan.]	7¼	18/0	W.
	26 "	20	17/6	W.
	"	96	15/3	L, W.
	"	140	18/0	W.
	"	92	18/0	W.
	28 Jan.	63	18/0	W.
	"	96	18/0	L, W.
	4 Feb.	43	15/4	L, W.
	25 "	24	18/0	W.
	25 "	60	18/0	L, W.
	26 Feb.	47½	18/0	W.
	26 "	48	18/0	W.
	28 "	54	18/0	W.
	"	79	18/0	L, W.
	28 "	76	18/0	W.
	28 "	93	18/0	L, W.
	1 Mar.	76⅛	18/0	W.
	1 "	86	18/0	W.
	1 "	120	18/0	W.
	2 "	58	18/0	W.
	2 "	19⅝	18/0	W.
	3 "	17	18/0	W.
	3 "	20	15/3	W.

[2] Barley.

Prices of Corn, 1537–68 (*continued*)

Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.	Remarks
1549–50	3 Mar.	65	18/0	W.
	4 "	10	18/0	W.
	4 "	155	18/0	W.
	5 "	96	18/0	W.
	5 "	37⅜	18/0	W.
	6 "	117	18/0	W.
1549–50	10 Mar.	44⅝	18/0	W.
	13 "	100	16/8	W.
	14 "	40⅝	17/0	W.
	18 "	88⅝	18/0	W.
	Mar.	406	17/4	W.
1550	Apr.	165	19/0	W, I.
	12 "	161	18/0	W, I.
	14 "	150	18/4	W, I.
	20 "	69¼	17/6	W.
	23 "	84½	19/0	W, I.
	25 "	68	19/0	W, I.
	11 May	22	16/8	W.
	"	1044	16/0	W, LB.
	June	1197⅞	16/0	LB.
	"	408¾	16/0	W, LB.
	"	181	19/0	W, I.
	July	502½	17/0	W.
	Oct.	148	16/0	LB.
	16 Dec.	35	16/8	
1550–1	5 Jan.	60	17/0	W.
	8 "	120	18/0	W.
	"	40	18/0	W.
	17 "	75	20/0	L, W.
	4 Feb.	37	19/6	W.
	21 "	90	20/6	W.
	25 "	61	20/0	W.
	6 Mar.	62	20/0	W.
1551	11 Apr.	143¾	[22/0]	L (?), W, I.
	"	165¼	21/0	LB, I, S.
	9 & 10 May	318	22/0	W, I, S.
	12 & 13 "	235	22/0	W, I, S.
	13 May	227	22/0	W, I, S.
	26 "	62⅜	22/0	
	9, 10, 12 June	749½	22/0	LB, W.
	28 July–12 Aug.	1609½	22/6	LB.
	4 Nov.	41	22/1	
1551–2	28 Feb.	115	22/4	W.
	14 Mar.	51	23/4	W.
1552	5 Apr.	25	25/0	L, W.
	6, 7 "	111	25/0	W.
	5 May	170	24/0	W.
	5 "	4¼	9/0	W.[1]
	5 "	R	17/0	W.
	23, 24 "	65	22/0	L, W.
	23, 24 "	10	8/0	L, W.[1]
	23, 24 "	148R	17/0	L, W.
	24 "	188	22/0	W.
	24 "	12	17/0	
1552	31 May	89½	22/0	W.
	June	125	12/8	LB.
1553	July	240	14/0	LB.
	July & Aug.	238	14/0	B.
1554	9 Apr.	123	10/0	LB.
	May	227	11/0	LB.
	3 July	195	15/0	LB.
	17 "	110	14/4	W.
	21 Aug.	120	13/10	W.
1554–5	4 Jan.	60	17/0	
	4 Mar.	102	16/0	
	"	203	17/0	W, I.
1555	1 May	82	18/0	
	Apr.	442½R	12/8	W.
	26 Apr.	173	17/6	I, S.
	26 "	178	10/4	I, R, S.
	29 "	164½	17/6	B.
	29 "	46R	10/4	B.
	4 May	56⅛	17/6	W.
	4 "	45	10/4	R.
	7 "	149	15/0	B.
	8 "	154¼	17/0	W.
	9 "	190⅝	17/0	B.
	13 May	115	17/0	W.
	1, 2, 3 Aug.	136⅛	22/0	W.
	7 "	197	22/0	W.
	9 "	30	22/0	W.
	9 "	96⅝	22/0	B.
	10 "	191	22/0	B.
	10 "	80R	13/4	B.
	12 "	130	13/4	B.
	13 "	26½	22/0	B.
	17 "	130R	13/4	B.
	Sept.	240	22/0	[S], I.
	"	610	20/0	B.
	2 Nov.	204½R	16/0	B, I, S.
	8 "	137¾	22/6	I.
1555–6	30 Jan.	155	25/0	W, I, [S].
	31 "	295R	20/0	W.
1556	16 Apr.	138¾	25/8	W.
	"	204½	25/4	W, I, S.
	"	100	25/4	W, I, S.
	"	299	26/8	B.
	"	636	20/0	B.
	4 May	166	25/0	W, I, S.
	"	53	25/4	W, I, S.
	"	360	24/0	W, I, S.
16, 17, 18	"	230	25/0	W.[1]
	7 June	295½	25/0	I, [S].
	July	388½	25/0	[2]
	"	878¼	25/0	
	"	738	25/0	[S], I.
	"	[149] R	16/0	B.
	14 Aug.	190	24/0	W.

[1] Bought of haberdashers.

[2] [English] wheat.

Prices of Corn, 1537–68 (*continued*)

Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.	Remarks
1556	Oct.	294½	26/0	LB.
1557	5 May	94	42/0	W.[1]
	June	52½	32/0	W.[2]
	"	234	36/0	LB.[2]
	"	174	32/0	LB, I.[3]
	"	704R	32/0	LB, I.[3]
1557	July	358½	36/0	LB.[3]
	5 Nov.	30	10/0	W.[4]
1562–3	7 Feb.	77	32/6	[5]
	Mar.	109	33/4	
[1566–7]	12 Feb.			
1568 (?)	Sept.	603	16/0	

Prices of Corn, 1568–73

Sold from the Bridgehouse, or municipal granary.

Unless otherwise stated, the entries refer to wheat. Meal is wheat meal.

The following abbreviations have been used:

T — total.

R — rye.

[ ] — price reckoned from total amount.

Corn sold on the markets was normally meal. It was sold to the poor in small quantities by the order of the lord mayor " to kepe downe the prices."

These statistics are from the Corn Book in the Guildhall of London, endorsed thus: " This Booke made for all suche Corne as shalbe Bowghte By Roberte Essington and Thomas Bates for the Cittis accoumpte and Layed up into the Brindge Howse."

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.	Particulars of sale
1568			
[Apr.?]	88¾	16/0	To bakers [etc.].
"	24	[16/0]	[To bakers.]
"	19	[15/11½]	" "
13 Sept.	32	16/0	" "
13 "	21	16/0	" "
13 "	35	16/0	" "
16 "	33¾	16/0	" "
16 "	31½	16/0	" "
Sept.	91	16/0	" "
"	66¾	16/0	" "
"	1⅝	[16/0]	
"	92½	13/6	To a brewer.
"	29	13/6	" "
17 "	29	16/0	[To bakers.]
[17] "	19¾	[16/0]	" "
[17] "	75¼	16/0	" "
[Apr.?–Nov.?]	575½ T	[16/0]	To bakers.
"	132 T	13/6	To a brewer.
1568		s. d.	
[Sept.]	1	[14/0]	To an alderman.
Sept.	8 [meal]	18/8	
"	16 "	17/0	
[Sept. or Oct.]	11	16/4	To bakers.
"	74 [meal]	18/8	On "the markets."
"	52	16/4	To bakers.
"	78	14/0	To beer brewer.
[Oct.]	19½	[16/4]	To bakers.
"	21	[16/4¾]	" "
10 Oct.	114	16/4	" "
[Oct.]	20	16/4	" "
"	19	16/4	" "
1568–9			
[Feb.]	1	14/2	To Alderman B.
"	1	16/4	To Mr. L.
15 Feb.	3	13/4	
15 "	4⅛	16/4	
15 "	20 [meal]	16/0	

[1] From a draper. [2] From Lincolnshire. [3] Danish wheat.
[4] French wheat. [5] Yorkshire wheat.

PRICES OF CORN, 1568–73 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale
1568		s. d.	
15 Feb.	107⅜	14/0	To a baker.
[Feb.]	37¾	18/8	On markets.
16 Feb.	66¼	18/8	On markets.
1569			
27 Apr.	10	15/0	To a brewer.
27 "	10	16/8	
6 May	31	15/0	To a brewer.
	16¼	16/8	" bakers.
June	62⅝	16/4	" "
"	52⅞	16/4	" "
[June?]	78	16/4	" [bakers?]
22 July	10 [meal?]	18/8	On the markets.
	30	16/0	To bakers.
	5	15/0	" brewers.
	20	16/0	
	21 meal	18/8	[To people?]
	26 "	18/4	" "
	2¾ R	12/6	To Alderman R.
	28	12/6	To Brown Bakers' Co.
3 Oct.	87⅞	16/0	" bakers.
3 "	19	[16/1½]	
1 July–	220 T meal	£798	To markets.
[Oct.]	674⅜ T		" bakers.
	78 T	3/3½	" brewers.
14 Nov.	45	16/0	" bakers.
14 "	44	16/0	" "
15 "	9	16/0	To a baker.
"	2	16/0	" "
—	10	15/0	" a brewer.
1569–70			
10 Jan.	15¼	16/8	" bakers.
10 "	5	15/0	" "
1570			
5 May	11½	15/0	" a brewer.
22 July	18¾	16/8	" bakers.
22 "	1 meal	17/4	On markets.
22 "	6 "	15/6	" "
31 Aug.	23 [meal]	17/4	" "
—	10	16/8	To two bakers.
15 Sept.	2	16/4	To a baker.
15 "	3	16/8	
15 "	42¼ [meal]	17/4	On markets.
—	15½	17/4	" "
—	18¾	12/0	To a brewer.
—	26¾	16/8	" bakers.
—	27	16/0	" "
4 Oct.	22 [meal]	17/4	On markets.
4 "	12 "	17/4	" "
"	5	16/0	To H. R.
—	29	16/8	" bakers.
27 Oct.	24	16/4	" a brewer.
27 "	12 [meal]	17/4	On markets.
—	51	16/8	To bakers.
—	5	16/0	" "
14 Nov.	38	16/0	" "

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale
1569–70		s. d.	
14 Nov.	65	16/0	To bakers.
15 "	34	16/0	" "
—	47	16/8	" "
20 Nov.	14	16/0	" "
20 "	17⅜ [meal]	17/4	[On markets.]
25 "	30	16/0	To bakers.
1570–1			
10 Jan.	21	16/8	" "
10 "	98	16/8	" "
1 July–	1100 T wheat	£925	
[Jan.]	and meal		
	31½ T R	7/9	
—	38 meal	18/8	On markets.
—	2	16/6	To Alderman M.
—	0½	16/0	" Thos. Bates.
—	46 meal	18/8	[On markets.]
—	13 "	18/8	" "
—	57	17/4	To bakers.
—	12	17/0	" "
—	40 meal	18/8	On markets.
—	15	18/0	" "
—	5	17/4	" "
—	5	17/6	To bakers.
—	10	17/0	" "
—	98	17/4	" "
—	2 meal	18/8	[On markets.]
1571			
—	20	16/0	To a brewer.
—	22	15/8	[To a brewer?]
—	59	17/4	To bakers.
—	87 meal	18/8	[On markets.]
—	6	17/4	To bakers.
—	59	17/4	" "
—	25 meal	18/8	[On markets.]
—	2	16/6	
—	40	15/0	To bakers, brewers, etc.
—	17	16/6	Ditto.
—	30	18/0	Ditto.
—	46 meal	18/8	[On markets.]
	5	17/4	
—	77	17/4	To bakers.
—	73	16/8	" "
—	89½	16/8	" "
– to 24 Dec.	716¾ T	[17/0]	To white bakers by order of the Lord Mayor.
—	297 T meal	18/8	On markets.
1571–2			
—	1	21/4	To Alderman: — Mull.
—	2	21/4	Martyn.
—	71½	22/8	To divers.
14 Feb.	9 + 1 pk.	22/8	
"	9⅜ + 1 pk.	21/4	

PRICES OF CORN, 1568–73 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale
1571–2		s. d.	
—	9 meal	22/8	[On markets.]
—	0½	17/0	To the Lord Mayor.
—	2⅜ meal	22/8	[On markets.]
—	60	[22/9½]	To millers.[1]
—	40	[22/8]	" "
—	6	[22/8]	" "
—	14	[22/8]	" "
—	8	21/4	" Christ Hospital.
—	1	21/4	" Alderman M.
—	2	22/8	
—	5	[21/4]	To St. Thomas Hospital.
—	8	[21/4]	To Christ Hospital.
—	117 meal	22/8	On markets.
—	21¾	21/4	To bakers.
—	[118½]	[21/4]	" "
—	[85]	[21/8½]	" "
—	8 meal	22/8	On markets.
—	[135]	[20/10½]	To bakers.
—	119½	22/8	On markets.
—	11½	[23/3]	To bakers.
—	14½	[20/0]	To the Lord Mayor, to Sir T. Gresham, etc.
1572			
—	30½	21/4	To bakers.
—	[135]	[21/4]	" "
—	[113]½	[21/11⅛]	" " etc.
—	[114]	[21/3]	" "
—	42¼	21/4	" "
—	17¾	[20/9½]	To mills, etc.
—	448⅛T meal	22/8	
—	24½T "	21/4	
—	10 T "	20/0	
—	4⅞T "	22/8	
—	1T "	16/0	
—	800 T	21/4	To white bakers.
—	14½T	17/0	
—	19½T	20/6	
—	29T	21/4	To hospital.
—	160T	21/0	Old wheat remaining.
1572–3			
—	87 meal	21/4	To millers.
—	29½ "	21/4	" " etc.
—	19	20/6	
—	15 meal	21/4	
—	14½	23/0	
—	20	21/4	On markets.
30 Jan.	42 "	24/0	" "
9 Mar.	28 "	21/4	" "
1572–3		s. d.	
—	70 meal	21/4	On markets.
—	4 "	25/4	" "
—	4 "	26/8	" "
—	1 "	24/0	" "
13 Mar.	100 "	24/0	" "
—	57 "	24/0	" "
—	44 "	24/0	" "
—	47 "	24/0	" "
—	77 "	24/0	" "
—	38 "	24/0	" "
—	17 "	24/0	" "
—	5 mistlin	[14/6]	To the mill.
—	1⅛ "	[14/3]	
—	31 meal	24/0	On markets.
—	37 "	24/0	" "
—	25 "	24/0	" "
—	120 "	24/0	" "
—	29 "	24/0	
—	54 "	24/0	On markets.
—	20 "	24/0	" "
—	18½ "	24/0	" "
—	1	[19/11]	To Mr. W.
—	28½ meal	24/0	On markets.
1573			
—	33 "	24/0	" "
—	57 "	24/0	" "
—	19R "	21/4	
—	31 meal	24/0	On markets.
—	0½ "	[20/8]	
—	15 "	24/0	On markets.
—	10 "	24/0	" "
—	41R "	21/4	" "
—	60 "	24/0	" "
—	40 "	24/0	" "
—	30 "	24/0	" "
—	20 "	24/0	On markets and to hospital.
—	20⅞ + 3 pks. meal	32/0	
—	120 meal	32/0	On markets.
—	10	[28/0]	Retailed.
—	1	[28/0]	"
—	2	[28/0]	"
—	0½	[28/0]	"
—	2	[28/0]	"
—	1½	[28/0]	"
—	5	[28/0]	"
—	0½	[28/0]	"
—	0¼	[29/4]	"
—	0¼	[29/4]	"
—	0¼	[29/4]	"
—	5	[28/0]	"
—	2	[28/0]	"
—	3	[28/0]	"

[1] And by them ground and sold as meal on the markets?

Prices of Corn, 1568–73 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale
1573		s. d.	
—	1	[28/0]	Retailed.
—	1	[28/0]	"
—	15	[26/8]	"
—	156	26/8	On markets.
—	42	26/8	" "
—	1R	[20/8]	To Mr. R.
—	124½T	[24/8½]	
—	249½T meal	21/4	On markets.
—	4T "	25/4	" "
—	3T meal	26/8	On markets.
—	1139½T "	24/0	" "
—	160 T "	32/0	" "
—	7⅝ T, R	[15/8]	
—	33 T, R meal	18/8	On markets.
—	60T " "	21/4	" "
—	33 T " "	24/0	
—	198 T " "	26/8	

Prices of Corn, 1568–73

Purchased for the City and laid up in the Bridgehouse.
Unless otherwise stated, the entries refer to wheat.
The following abbreviations have been used:

T — total.
R — rye.
[ ] — price reckoned from total amount.

These statistics are from the Corn Book in the Guildhall of London.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Whence and from whom bought
1568		s. d.	
9 Apr.	91	14/6	Kent, Husbandman.
9 "	25	14/4	" (Raynham).
27 "	20	13/0	"
29 "	40	14/7	" (Milton).
[29 Apr.]	10	14/2	Oxf. (Henley).
[29 "]	10	13/6	" "
10 May	77	14/2	" "
14 "	11	14/4	" "
14 "	20	14/4	" "
14 "	10	14/4	" "
14 "	11	14/10	" "
17 "	34	14/0	" "
17 "	37	13/4	London man.
22 "	31	14/5	Oxf. (Henley).
24 "	92	14/4	Henley on Thames.
1 June	67	14/0	" "
2 "	56	14/6	" "
2 "	40	14/0	" "
30 July	40	14/0	Kent, London man.
[Summer]	722½T	[14/2½]	Divers places. Divers men.
22 Nov.	20	14/0	Kent (Rochester).
7 Dec.	22	14/4	"
1568–69			
11 Jan.	120	15/0	" (Faversham).
16 "	20	15/0	"
18 "	20	15/0	" (Faversham).
1568–69		s. d.	
20 Jan.	38	15/0	Kent (Leynam).
25 "	75⅛	14/8	" (Estesheppe).
4 Feb.	55	14/4	" (Leynam).
4 "	83	14/0	" (Milton).
5 "	70	14/0	" (Faversham).
5 "	143	13/0	York(?)Hull. Merchants (?).
26 "	40	14/0	Kent (Raynham).
1 Mar.	66	14/0	Essex, Colchester.
[1] "	56	14/2	Kent.
22 "	81	15/0	" (Milton).
1569			
31 Mar.	95	14/0	" "
[Spring or Summer]	20	14/0	" (Faversham).
1568–69			
[22 Nov.–July?]	1024½T	[14/3]	"At Soundery Prysses."
1569			
20 Dec.	18⅛	14/8	Kent, Isle of Sheppey.
"In Summer"	1⅝	16/0	London markets.
1569–70			
14 Jan.	31⅝	16/6	Kent, Faversham.
18 "	89¾	16/0	Suffolk, Ipswich.
18 "	30R	12/0	" "
[18] "	11¾	15/6	Kent (Faversham).
4 Feb.	41½	14/0	" (Tennannt).

Prices of Corn, 1568–73 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Whence and from whom bought
1569		s. d.	
6 Feb.	17	15/6	Kent.
12 "	21	15/4	Essex (Malden).
15 "	47½	17/0	Kent (Faversham).
15 "	46	17/0	"
15 "	21	14/6	"
21 "	26	16/0	Oxf., Henley.
21 "	18	15/0	Essex.
22 "	19	15/8	Kent.
22 "	12	14/4	"
25 "	30	16/0	"
27 "	40	16/0	"
27 "	67	17/0	"
2 Mar.	23	16/10	"
2 "	49	16/10	" (Milton).
3 "	15½	17/4	Suffolk.
4 "	20	17/0	[London]. London Ironmongers.
10 "	55	15/0	Oxf., Henley.
1570			
25 Mar.	27	16/0	Kent.
25 "	18	17/0	" Upplande Whete."
25 "	9	16/0	Kent.
25 "	39⅝	16/0	—. Widow.
21 Apr.	35	17/0	Kent (" Gryff ").
13 May	24	16/6	Suffolk (Ipswich).
15 "	48	16/0	Kent.
20 "	22	17/0	" (" Gryff ").
27 "	57	15/0	" (Faversham).
29 "	100	15/8	"
31 "	29	15/0	[London?]. London man.
[1569 to 70–71			
20 Dec.–			
16 Jan.	1135⅝T	[16/0½]	
	30TR	12/0	
1570–71			
13 Mar.	40	15/6	Kent. Gentleman.
21 "	50	15/8	" "
"	74¾	17/0	" (Faversham).
1571			
28 Mar.	58	15/8	" " Gentleman.
28 "	119	17/0	" Gentleman.
4 Apr.	44	16/0	" (Sittingbourne).
4 "	62	17/0	" "
"	96	16/4	" Gentleman.
13 "	61	15/6	" "
21 May	27¾	15/8	"
23 "	120	13/4	Newcastle merchant.
25 "	50⅝	16/4	Kent. Gentleman.
27 "	80	17/0	" (Sittingbourne).
31 "	75	16/8	" (Faversham). Gentleman.
4 June	93	16/6	" Gentleman.
1570–71			
13 Mar.–			
30 June	1050⅝T	[16/1]	
1571			
15 Oct.	3	18/0	Kent. Gentleman.
5 Nov.	69	17/0	" "
18 Dec.	30⅝	17/0	"
24 "	10	17/0	"
1571–72			
2 Feb.	132	21/0	London merchant.
16 "	132	21/0	Sussex.
19 "	22⅝	20/0	Kent. Gentleman.
18 Mar.	123	21/0	Sussex. London merchant.
19 "	98	21/2	(By water). London man.
22 "	138	21/0	[London merchant?]
24 "	130	21/2	
1572			
29 Mar.	106	21/2	
12 Apr.	49⅝	20/0	Kent.
7 May	32	17/0	" Gentleman.
12 "	142	21/8	Sussex.
13 "	120	21/0	"
14 "	16	20/0	"
30 June	44	20/0	
16 Aug.	48	20/0	Kent.
1571–72			
[15 Oct.–			
30 Aug.]	1547T	[20/7½]	
1572			
[12 Mar.]	36⅞	15/0	Kent. Gentleman.
12 Mar.	19⅛	15/0	" "
10 Apr.	42⅝	19/0	Oxf., Henley. Yeoman.
20 Dec.	28⅛	18/0	Kent. Yeoman.
1572–73			
3 Jan.	70	19/0	Oxf., Henley. Yeoman.
3 "	99⅞	18/0	" " "
10 "	100	20/0	" " "
17 "	60	19/0	" " "
17 "	45	18/0	" " "
17 "	48	19/0	" " "
17 "	79	19/0	" " "
17 "	20 mistlin	14/0	" " "
21 "	40	17/0	" " "
21 "	21	17/0	" " "
31 "	33	20/0	" " "
4 Feb.	38	18/0	" " "
13 "	26	17/8	" " "
13 "	34	20/0	" " "
14 "	30	20/0	" " "
26 "	55	19/0	" " "
9 Mar.	21	19/0	" " "
18 "	20	20/0	
18 Mar.	29	19/0	Kent. Widow.
1573			
29 Mar.	23⅞ mistlin		

Prices of Corn, 1568–73 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Whence and from whom bought
1573		s. d.	
		23/0	Oxf., Henley. Yeoman.
29 Mar.	58	24/0	" " "
21 June	32	21/0	" " "
11 Aug.	15	29/0	" " "
11 "	10	28/0	Wellingsforth. "
11 "	24 mistlin and rye		
		20/0	" "
14 "	60	30/0	Oxf., Henley. "
14 "	40	30/0	" " "
1573		s. d.	
15 Aug.	30	28/0	Oxf., Henley. Yeoman.
26 "	20	28/0	" " "
9 Sept.	22	22/6	
9 "	180	27/0	Steelyard.
9 Oct.	200	20/8	Danzig. Yarmouth man.
1572–73			
5 Dec.–			
31 Oct.	1698T	[21/3⅜]	
	334⅞TR	[19/10]	

Prices of Corn, 1578–1670

Bought and sold by the Merchant Tailors' Company of London.

The year of the following accounts runs from August to August, e. g., 1586 to 1587 is August, 1586 to August, 1587, while 1586–1587 refers to the period 1 Jan. to 24 Mar.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1578 to 79		s. d.	
	310 wheat	[18/7⅜]	Bought and laid up in the Bridgehouse.
1579 to 80			
	5 wet wheat	18/0	Sold to a baker.
1580 to 81			
	216¾ wheat meal	[24/2½]	Sold on markets.
	3¼ " scryvings "	5/4	" "
1581 to 82			
	30⅜ wheat	22/0	Bought and laid up at the Bridgehouse.
	69½ "	23/0	Ditto.
	66 wheat meal	[22/11¼]	Sold on markets.[1]
	4 " "	[23/0½]	Ditto.
1582 to 83			
	21 " "	[22/2¾]	Ditto.
	2⅛ "scrnyngs "	[5/6]	Ditto.
1582–83			
			Bought from:—
5 Feb.	60 wheat	[21/0]	Wm. Cotes of Henley.
1583 to 84			
	208 "	[19/2¾]	Jno. Robinson and Wm. Goderinge.
	101 "	[19/3⅜]	Jno. Finche of Waidsworth.
1583 to 84		s. d.	
	181 wheat	25/0	Sold privately.
	1¼ " skrevings "	[9/3]	Sold.
	0⅞ "	[5/4]	"
1584 to 85			
20 Mar.–			Bought from:—
30 Apr.	127¾ wheat	17/6	Jno. Robinson and Thos. Margrave of Henley. Jno. Parkes of Henley.
	156 "	17/6	
1585 to 86			
	None bought or sold.		
1586 to 87[2]			
	100 " corne "	37/2	Snelling of Ipswich.
	50 rye	34/8	Mr. Clarke, salter.
	120 "	26/8	Mr. Snelling & Mr. Brownerigge.
	83 "	26/8	H. Sherat.
1586–87			
17 Feb.	10 wheat meal	[39/0½]	Sold at Leadenhall.
2 Mar.	9 " "	[39/4⅝]	Ditto.
1587			
1 Apr.	31 wheat	45/4	Ditto.
2 "	0⅛ "	[37/4]	Sold.
4 "	10 "	53/4	"

[1] " the laste of the furste provision," i.e., of [1578–9].

[2] Separate corn accounts begin here.

Prices of Corn, 1578–1670 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1587		s. d.	
10 Apr.	17 [wheat] meal	45/4	Sold.
5 May	10 wheat	39/4	"
11 "	4 rye	33/4	"
			Sold to: —
11 "	1 "	36/4	Mr. W. Webbe.
	4¾ wheat	37/4	Several of the M. T. Co.
12 "	4 "	40/0	Sold.
20 "	5 rye meal	28/5	Sold on Newgate markets.
12 June	80 rye	[22/11¾]	Sold.
24 "	4 "	26/0	"
24 "	1 "	26/0	"
27 "	5¼ wheat	37/4	"
27 "	13 rye	29/4	"
27 "	5 "	[24/7½]	"
1587 to 88			
	52 "	[26/8]	Bought from several.
	300 wheat	18/6	Ditto.
			Bought from: —
	100½ wheat	18/0	Frewin & Coles of Henley.
	100 "	16/0	Jno. Parkes of Henley.
1588			
17 June	6 wheat meal	[13/5]	Sold on markets.
16 Sept.	7 " "	18/10½	" "
13 Oct.	3 " "	18/8	" "
1588 to 89			
	No corn bought.		
	220 wheat	21/0	Sold.
	2 "	18/0	Sold to accountant.
1589			
8 Sept.	3 wheat meal	24/0	Sold at Leadenhall.
	2 " "	[20/0]	Sold to Bachelors' Co.
22 "	5 " "	[20/6]	Sold at Leadenhall.
6 Oct.	5 " "	24/0	Sold.
11 "	3 " "	24/0	Sold at Leadenhall.
20 "	4 " "	24/0	Ditto.
27 "	6 " "	24/0	Ditto.
10 Nov.	4 " "	24/0	Ditto.
24 "	10 " "	24/0	Ditto.
1 Dec.	10 " "	24/0	Ditto.
8 "	5 " "	25/4	Sold.
15 "	5 " "	25/4	"
22 "	7 " "	26/8	"

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1589 to 90		s. d.	
	100 rye	20/0	Bought from Ald. Hugh Ofiley.
1589–90			
13 Jan.	7 wheat meal	26/8	Sold.
19 "	1 " "	25/0	"
19 "	5 " "	26/8	"
26 "	7 " "	26/8	"
9 Feb.	10 " "	26/8	"
16 "	8 " "	26/8	"
	9 " "	26/8	"
2 Mar.	10 wheat	26/8	"
9 "	10 wheat meal	26/8	"
16 "	10 " "	26/8	"
23 "	10 " "	26/8	"
1590			
30 Mar.	10 " "	28/0	"
6 Apr.	5 " "	28/0	"
15 "	10 " "	28/0	"
29 "	8 " "	28/0	"
4 May	5 " "	28/0	"
11 "	5 " "	28/0	"
18 "	7 " "	28/0	"
1 June	4 rye meal	[20/3¾]	Sold at Leadenhall.
18 July	5	[18/8¼]	Ditto.
1590 to 91			
	None bought.		
	10 rye meal	21/4	Sold at Leadenhall.
	5 " "	[18/0]	Sold.
5 Oct.	27 "	18/0	"
16 Nov.	10 "	19/11	"
16 "	6 "	18/0	"
16 "	7 rye meal	24/0	"
14 Dec.	1 wheat "	[27/6]	"
	7 rye "	[20/0]	"
1590–91			
6 Jan.	6 " "	24/0	Sold at Leadenhall.
6 "	2 wheat "	29/4	Sold.
	6 rye "	20/0	Sold at Leadenhall.
	3½ " "	20/0	Ditto.
1591 to 92			Bought from: —
	300 Kent. wht.	19/0	Rich. Touche.
	50 Hants wheat	17/6	Jno. Parkes of Henley.
	50 " "	18/0	Ditto.
	50 " "	18/6	Avery Brayton.
	50 " "	[18/6]	" "
	24 wheat meal	25/0	Sold on markets.
	2 " "	17/0	Sold.

PRICES OF CORN, 1578–1670 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1591 to 92		s. d.	
	2 wheat	[20/0]	Sold.
1592 to 93			Bought from:—
	20 "	17/0	Ed. Nicholson.
	149½ "	16/6	Wm. Cotes of Henley.
	100 "	16/8	Ditto.
	150 "	16/6	Jno. Parkes of Henley.
	498⅛ "	19/0	Sold to Ald. Radclyff.
	0½ "	[20/0]	Sold.
1593 to 94	None bought.		
	4 wheat	24/6	Sold on markets.
	45 "corne"	24/0	" "
	4 wheat	20/0	" "
	10 "corne"	28/0	" "
	1 "	24/0	" "
	10 "	28/0	" "
1594 to 95			Bought from:—
	25 wheat	38/6	Rog. Vangogle.
	5 "	38/0	Mr. Denman.
	100 rye	25/4	Peter Collett.
	25 "	24/0	Peter Collett.
	64 "	26/4	Sir Rich. Martyn.
1595			
26 Mar.	68 wheat	26/8	Sold.
	23 "	29/0	"
	3 "	30/0	"
	42¾ "	32/4	"
	55 "	35/2½	"
	11¼ "	38/0	"
	3 "	34/0	"
	34⅝ "	37/4	"
	37 "	36/7	Sold.
	2½ "	40/0	"
	57 "	37/3	"
	8½ "	[23/6¼]	Sold to the accountant.
	30 "	[38/5]	Bought.
	100 rye	25/4	Bought of Peter Collett.
	10 "	26/7	Sold.
	40 "	26/10	"
	20 "	26/3	"
	5 "	26/8	"
	25 "	27/0	"
	25 "	19/4	Sold (it had cost 24/).
2 Aug.	10 "	26/10	Sold (it had cost 27/8).
9 "	10 "	16/10	Sold (charges deducted).
	1½ wheat	36/0	Sold.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1595 to 96		s. d.	
	44 rye	21/0	Sold.
	None bought.		
1596 to 97			Bought from:—
	280 rye	35/0	Chamberlain of London.
	83 "	32/0	A haberdasher.
	100½ wheat	46/0	A haberdasher.
	280 rye	35/0	Bought at "Suserdam."
	90 "	32/0	Bought.
	100½ wheat	[45/8⅝]	Sold.
	5 "	53/4	"
1597 to 98			Bought from:—
	200 foreign rye	[42/10⅝]	Ald. Hallyday.
	50 rye	32/0	Ald. Clarck.
1597–98			
10 Mar.	4½ rye meal	45/4	Sold.
10 "	1 " "	42/8	"
10 "	4½ " "	42/8	"
10 "	1 " "	40/0	"
15	3 " "	40/0	"
15	6½ " "	38/8	"
20–4"	17⅝ " "	37/4	"
1598			
26 Mar.	9½ " "	37/4	"
29 "	4¾ " "	37/4	"
31 "	5⅞ " "	37/4	"
5 Apr.	8½ " "	37/4	"
6 "	5⅞ " "	37/4	"
7 "	9¾ " "	37/4	Sold on markets.
9 "	5¾ " "	37/4	Sold.
10 "	6¾ " "	37/4	"
12 "	6¾ " "	37/4	"
14 "	3 " "	37/4	"
16 "	19 rye	33/4	Sold to R. Taylor.
21 Apr.	2⅞ rye meal	37/4	Sold.
26 "	11¾ " "	37/4	Sold on markets.
			Sold to:—
6 May	10 "	32/0	R. Taylor.
6 "	1 "	[33/4]	Thos. Kelyn.
6 "	2 "	30/0	Mr. Ellyott.
8 "	20⅝ " meal	37/4	Sold on markets.
9 "	1⅞ " "	37/4	" "
1–12 June	19⅛ rye meal	34/8	" "
7 Aug.	2 rye	24/0	Sold.
1598 to 99			
	6	24/0	"
	10	23/0	"
	10	21/0	"
	20	21/0	"
	None bought.		
1599–1600			
21 Jan.	99 wheat	24/0	Bought.

Prices of Corn, 1578–1670 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1599–1600		s. d.	
4 Feb.	83⅛ wheat	24/0	Bought.
			Bought from: —
9 "	32¼ "	22/0	G. Spier of Reading.
26 "	40 Kent. wht.	25/0	Thos. Spratt of Hyde, Kent.
27 "	19½ " "	23/0	H. Moody.
1600			
2 May	50 " "	29/6	Bought.
June	78¼ wheat	25/4	Sold at Leadenhall.
June & July	236¼ "	[31/6½]	Sold.
1600–01			Bought from: —
3 Jan.	43⅜ Reading wht.	32/6	Ed. Fawcett.
	100 Kentish "	33/0	Thos. Wood.
14 "	100 French "	32/6	Bought.
			Bought from:—
	50½ Reading "	32/6	Ed. Fawcett.
	100 Kentish "	33/0	Thos. Wood.
	40 rye	20/0	Bought.
	40 "	[19/11½]	Sold.
	216 wheat	[28/4⅛]	Sold on markets.
1601 to 02	No corn bought.		
1601			
11 Aug.	9⅛ "corne"	28/0	Sold on markets.
	2½ "	29/4	" "
12 Aug.	5⅞ "	[29/5]	Sold to a member of the M. T. Co.
14 "	1⅞ "	[32/0]	Sold.
17 "	3¼ + 1 pk. "	[30/4]	"
19 "	3½ + 2½ pks. "	[30/3⅛]	"
21 "	0⅜ + 3½ pks. "	[36/0]	"
24 "	0⅜ + 1 pk. "	[40/0]	"
26 "	0½ + 1½ pks. "	[31/10⅜]	"
1 Sept.	1 + 1 pk. "	[32/10]	"
2 "	3⅛ + 1 pk. "	[29/8½]	"
4 "	4⅞ + 2 pks. "	18/9½	"
4 "	3⅞ + 2 pks. "	19/4	"
7 Oct.	1 + 1 pk. "	26/8	"
9 "	0¾ "	26/8	"
14 "	1½ "	26/8	"
23 "	3 + 1 pk. "	24/0	"
2 Nov.	2¾ + 3 pks. "	24/0	"
	16 " corne "	19/4	Sold by the miller.
1602 to 03			Bought from: —
	9 wheat	26/0	Ed. Walters.
	18 "	29/6	Ed. Wier.
	36 "	29/6	Mich. Borrowe.
	30 "	28/0	Jno. Lawrence.
	45 "	29/6	Wm. Balcome.
	20 "	30/0	H. Baker.
	7½ wheat	29/6	H. Baker.
	216 "	29/0	Thos. Dawes.
	3 meal	30/0	Bought in the market.
	10 wheat	20/0	Bought from Jno. Swyverton.
	3 meal	24/0	Sold.
	10 wheat	31/0	"
	30 "	28/0	" to a miller.
	10 "	24/0	" " "
	10⅞ "	23/0	" " "
	6 "	22/0	" " baker.
	2 "	21/0	" " Roger Silverwood.
	0½ "	24/0	" to a wife.
	1 "	24/0	" to Fr. Attley.
	289 "	23/0	Ditto.
1603 to 05	None bought or sold.		
1605 to 06			
1 Feb.–			Bought from: —
30 Apr.	105 wheat	24/0	Sir Rich. Sands of Kent.
18 Mar.	76 "	23/6	Nich. Russel of Shorem, Sussex.
1606			
25 Mar.	19¾ "	22/6	Wm. Cleydon of Henley.
	39½ "	23/0	Ditto.
	39⅝ "	23/0	Ditto.
	87 "	22/0	A fruiterer.
	None sold.		
1606 to 07			Sold to:
	102⅛ corn	29/0	A member of the M. T. Co.
	354 wheat	29/6	Jno. King and Thos. Probyn.
			Bought from: —
	105 "	[24/9½]	Sir Rich. Sands of Kent.
1607 to 08			
	50 rye	29/8	A merchant.
1608			
18 July	5 rye meal	29/0	Sold on markets.
24 "	10 " "	26/8	" "
2 Aug.	7 " "	26/8	" "
	2 " "	25/4	" "
	5 " "	26/8	" "
	10 " "	26/8	" "
	11 rye	20/0	" to a miller.
	0⅛ "	[20/0]	Sold.
1608 to 09			Bought from:
18 Aug.	50 wheat	44/0	Geo. Sotherton.

PRICES OF CORN, 1578–1670 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1608 to 09		s. d.	
18 Aug.	25 wheat	[45/0½]	Sold.
	25 "	[43/5]	"
	0¼ "	48/0	"
1609 to 10	None bought or sold.		
1610 to 11			Bought from:—
	49¾ wheat	26/8	Jno. Wood, Kent.
	83⅝ "	25/0	Rich. Back, "
	60 "	26/4	Wm. Goldock, "
	42⅜ "	26/6	H. Bote, "
	39¾ "	26/4	Eliz. Seede, "
	15 "	26/0	Rob. Allyn, "
	21 "	26/3	Ran. Brokoll, "
	41 "	26/8	Xfer Allyn, "
	10 "	27/0	Rob. Raynen, "
	27⅛ "	26/8	Jno. Allyn, "
	40 Scotch wheat	25/0	A merchant taylor.
1611 to 12			
	60 wheat	36/6	Xfer Clitherowe.
			Sold to:—
	376 "	32/0	A Co. of bakers.
	37 "	30/0	" " "
	6¼ "	32/0	Members of the M. T. Co.
	20 wheat meal	36/0	Sold on markets.
	60 " "	36/0	" "
			Bought from:—
	15 wheat	34/0	Hum. Basse.
	230 "	31/0	Two men in Lewes, Sussex.
	5 wheat meal[1]	36/0	Sold at Leadenhall.
	5 " "	36/0	Ditto.
	5 " "	36/0	Ditto.
1613 to 14			Bought from:—
	18 wheat	36/0	Wm. Bardsey.
	6 "	36/0	Wm. Bardsey.
	3 "	36/0	Jas. Cambell.
	3 "	36/0	Bought.
	6 meal	36/0	Sold on markets
	6 "	36/0	" "
	6⅛ "	36/0	" "
	6 "	36/0	" "
	6⅜ "	36/0	" "
1614 to 15			Bought from:
	49 wheat	39/0	Jno. Gore.
	28 "	34/0	Bought.
	10 rye	24/0	"
			Bought from:—
	26 wheat[2]	25/0	Xfer Allyn, Kent.
	25 " [2]	24/0	Allyn, "
1614 to 15		s. d.	
	10 wheat	25/0	Raynen, Kent.
	5 "	25/0	Ed. Allen, "
	10 "	28/0	Rob. Edwards, "
	21 " [2]	20/0	Rob. Edwards, "
	21 " [2]	26/0	Rich. Taylor, "
	28 "	£46 5/4	Sold to a salter.
	10 rye		" " "
	10 meal	37/4	" on markets
	9 "	37/4	" " "
	8 "	36/0	" " "
	10⅜ wheat	36/0	" to a baker.
	10 meal	37/4	" on markets.
1615 to 16	None bought.		
	10 wheat	30/0	Sold to a baker.
	11½ meal	32/0	" on markets.
	2¼ "	32/0	" "
	13⅛ "	32/0	" "
1616 to 17			Bought from:—
12 Dec.	80 wheat	33/0	Several.
18 "	20 "	[35/0]	Rich. Taylor.
1616–17			
12 Jan.	21 "	[33/9⅜]	Hooper (Kent).
12 "	10 "	34/0	Joshua Lott of [Kent ?]
12 "	5 "	34/0	Bought.
			Bought from:—
8 Feb.	80 "	41/0	A merchant.
20 "	5 "	38/0	Hooper of Kent.
4 Mar.	16½ meal	[34/10½]	Sold at Leadenhall.
1617			
29 Mar.	23 "	[34/0½]	Ditto.
19 Apr.	16½ "	[31/10½]	Ditto.
10 May	18 "	[31/11½]	Ditto.
3 June	17½ "	[31/10½]	Ditto.
21 "	16½ "	[31/10]	Ditto.
19 July	21 "	[31/10½]	Ditto.
5 Aug.	12 "	[31/11½]	Ditto.
1617 to 18			Bought from:—
	20 wheat	40/0	Rich. Taylor.
	20 "	35/0	Rich. Taylor.
	20 "	39/0	Arthur Keenlaw.
	20 "	38/0	John Fisher.
	20 "	37/0	John Fisher.
	60 "	[37/6]	S. Crow.
29 Aug.–			
12 Sept.	17 meal	[29/2½]	Sold on markets.
19 Sept.–			
3 Oct.	15½ "	[29/3½]	" "
19–24 Oct.	6⅜ meal	[29/3¾]	" "
1618 to 19	None bought.		

[1] Containing 37½ bushels.

[2] Twenty-one quarters to the score.

PRICES OF CORN, 1578–1670 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1618 to 19		s. d.	
21 Aug.–			
28 Oct.	18 meal	[32/9½]	Sold on markets.
1619 to 20			Bought from:—
	46 Kent. wht.	20/6	Marke Trowte.
	49 " "	19/0	Marke Trowte.
	50 " "	21/4	Marke Trowte.
	129¾ Sussex "	22/6	Mr. Staker.
1620 to 21	No corn bought.		
	100 wheat	[22/0]	Sold to Mr. Coswell for Virginia Co.
	4 meal	[15/9]	Sold on markets.
1621 to 22			
	45 wheat	34/0	Bought.
	22 meal	[19/1½]	Sold.
12 Oct.–			
2 Nov.	20 "	[25/1]	"
1622 to 23			
	140 wheat	46/0	Bought.
16 Aug.–13 Sept.	30 meal	[36/1¾]	Sold on markets.
20 Sept.–18 Oct.	30 "	[39/5]	" "
8 Nov.–13 Dec.	30 "	[39/5]	" "
20 Dec. – 7 Feb.	42 "	[41/0½]	" "
Feb. – Mar.	39 "	[41/10½]	" "
21 Mar.– 9 May	70 "	[38/9½]	" "
16 May –20 June	68 "	[38/0]	" "
20 June – 1 Aug.	77 "	[38/0]	" "
1623 to 24			Bought from:—
30 Dec.	20¾ wheat	35/0	Wm. Knight.
28 Feb.	77 "	38/0	Wm. Knight.
5 Mar.	10¾ "	37/0	Wm. Knight.
	No corn sold.		
1624 to 25			Bought from:—
21 Jan.	100 wheat	40/0	Mr. Yates.
4 Mar.	70 "	40/0	H. Batchlor of Mundon, Essex.
16 "	67½ "	42/0	David Moorhead.
	50 "	40/0	City Chamberlain.
1625			
22 Apr.	50 "	36/0	D. Jerrard.
	55 "	[40/0]	Sold to Sir Allen Apsley.
	— corn		Sold for £16/0/0
1625 to 26	None bought.		
	— corn		Sold for £35/0/0
	— " & meal		" £159/16/0
	24 meal	[36/8]	Sold.
1626 to 27			Bought from:—
	68½ wheat	32/0	Marke Trowte.
	31 "	33/0	Marke Pearce.
	52½ "	32/0	Jno. Banfield.
	9¾ "	32/0	Geo. Pollard.
1626 to 27		s. d.	
	54½ wheat	28/0	Marke Trowte.
	None sold.		
1627 to 30	None bought or sold.		
1630 to 31			Bought from:—
8 Mar.	24 Irish wheat	44/0	Abram Freeman.
1631			Bought from:—
29 Apr.	30 " "	44/0	Abram Freeman.
6 June	42 " "	44/0	Mr. Burlimarchy.
	150 " "	[37/4]	Sir Rich. Deane.
	31⅛ Kent. "	26/8	Nich. Pordage.
1 July	30 Irish "	44/0	Abram Freeman.
12 "	78 " "	44/0	Abram Freeman.
	— meal		Sold on markets for £503/11/6.
1631 to 32			Bought from:—
	55 rye	38/0	Mr. Longe.
	49 "	38/0	Cap. Stiles.
	48¼ wheat	[37/0]	Bought.
			Bought from:—
	38 "	34/6	Rob. Rye of Faversham.
	171⅞ "	[27/3]	Wm. Bridge.
	14½ "	36/0	H. Jenkin.
	13¾ "	36/6	Nich. Pordage.
	5½ "	30/0	Abraham Rey.
	229¼ " }	Sold on markets	
	28½ rye }	(at £451/2/7).	
	20 wheat	[28/0]	Sold on markets.
1632 to 33			Bought from:—
	150 Hamburg wt.	40/0	Lawr. Reade.
28 Nov.	20¼ wheat	38/9	Jno. Tront.
	47 "	40/0	Rob. Rye.
	21½ "	39/6	Jno. Tront, Jr.
	59½ "	38/0	Jno. Tront, Jr.
	41 "	40/0	Jno. Tront.
	64½ "	41/0	Ely Hardyman.
	66 "	39/0	Ely Hardyman.
	39 "	42/0	Marke Pearce.
	47 "	42/6	Jno. Tront, Jr.
	2 "	35/0	Jno. Tront, Jr.
	54⅝ "	43/6	Rob. Ride.
	6½ "	41/0	Ely Hardyman.
	29½ "	41/6	Nich. Pordage.
	15⅝ "	41/0	Jno. Neve.
1633 to 34	50¾ "	44/0	Thos. Lathum.
	100 "	42/0	Rob. Bell.
	30½ "	41/0	Rob. Bell.
1634			
6 May	50 "	36/0	Job Harley.
13 June	60 "	34/0	Bought.
			Bought from:—
11 July	144 "	40/0	Rob. Bell.
11 "	2 "	41/0	Rob. Bell.
17 "	91 "	38/0	Geo. Porter.

Prices of Corn, 1578–1670 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1634 to 35		s. d.	
24 Aug.	40 wheat meal	36/0	Sold on markets.
30 "	40 " "	36/0	" "
1 Oct.	40 " "	36/0	" "
24 Dec.	40 " "	36/0	" "
1634–5			
24 Jan.	40 " "	40/0	" "
11 Mar.	40 " "	40/0	" "
1635			
6 May	40 " "	40/0	" "
10 June	40 " "	40/0	" "
23 July	40 " "	40/0	" "
			Bought from:—
	135 Fr. wheat	36/0	Rob. Bell.
	58¾ " "	37/0	Rob. Carter.
	264⅜ wheat	35/0	Mr. Delabarre.
	553 meal	40/0	Sold on markets.
1635 to 36			Bought from:—
	110¾ wheat	38/0	Geo. Johnson.
	70¼ "	34/0	Geo. Johnson.
19 Nov.	29⅝ "	36/6	Jno. Adman.
24 "	20 "	36/6	Ed. Egleston.
1636–37			
5 Jan.	88½ "	38/0	Geo. Evans.
17 "	25⅜ "	35/0	Thos. Lathum.
3 Feb.	112¾ "	35/0	Rob. Rye.
	156 " corne "	40/0	Sold on markets.
5 Mar.	91⅜ wheat	38/6	Bought from Geo. Johnson.
	439 meal	40/0	Sold on markets.
	100 wheat	35/0	Bought from Jno. Richardson of Maidstone.
1637 to 39	No corn account.		
1639 to 40			Bought from:—
	30 wheat	30/0	Mr. Smith, broker.
	26 "	28/0	Ditto.
	93 "	31/0	Ditto.
	— "		Bought as above at £128/14/6.
	20 "	32/0	Bought from Warden Mollish.
	No corn sold.		
1640 to 41	No corn bought.		
	— corn		Sold at £290/17/0.
	— "		" " £ 87/3/0.
1641 to 42			Bought from:—
	36¾ wheat	29/0	Mr. Greensheet of Faversham.
	10½ "	30/0	Ditto.
	10 "	33/0	Ditto.
	24 fine wheat	33/0	Mr. Besbich of Faversham.
1641 to 42			Bought from:—
	6 wheat	33/0	Mr. Besbich of Faversham.
	17 "	30/0	Ditto.
	67 Kentish wht.	32/0	Thos. Bewtye.
	7 " "	30/0	Thos. Bewtye.
	10 " "	32/0	Thos. Bewtye.
	65½ " "	30/0	Thos. Bewtye.
	87⅛ wheat	29/0	Fr. Smith.
	46¾ "	29/6	Fr. Smith.
	9 "	30/0	Fr. Smith.
	None sold.		
1642 to 43			Bought from
26 Sept.	19⅛ wheat	34/7	Fr. Cripps.
	No corn sold.		
1643 to 46	No corn bought or sold.		
1646 to 47			Bought from
	100 wheat	43/0	Geof. Lee.
	No corn sold.		
1647 to 48	No corn bought.		
25 Oct.–			
17 July	196 wheat meal	48/0	Sold [on markets].
1648 to 52	Hiatus in records.		
1652 to 53			Bought from:—
	126¾ wheat	34/0	Rich. Blackenstall.
	10 "	33/0	Raph Sherly.
	65 "	32/7	Raph Sherly.
	38 " }	32/0	
	38 " }	33/0	
	No corn sold.		
1653 to 54	— wheat		Bought at £99/15/0.
	— "		" " £149.
			Bought from:—
	20 "	26/3	Warden Blackwell.
	45 "	28/0	Mr. Goodwin.
	No corn sold.		
1654 to 55			Bought from:—
	200 wheat		Mr. Strange.
	47 "	[22/0]	Warden Blackwell.
	45 "	[28/0]	Mr. Goodwin.
	No corn sold.		
1655 to 58	No corn bought or sold.		
1658 to 59	No corn bought.		
	30 wheat [meal?]	[42/8]	Sold at Leadenhall.
1659 to 60	No corn bought.		
	20 wheat [meal?]		Sold at Leadenhall.
	50 "	51/0	Sold to Mr. Bobb, baker.
1660 to 63	Gap in records.		
1663 to 69	No corn bought or sold.		
1669 to 70	No corn bought.		
	137½ wheat	22/6	Sold.
1670 to 82	No corn bought or sold.		

Prices of Corn, 1579–1672

Bought and sold by the Skinners' Company.

The year of these accounts is from Lady Day to Lady Day.

The accounts are found in sundry volumes of "Receipts & Payments," dated 1564–1596, 1596–1617, 1617–1646, 1646–1672 (vol. 1672– missing), preserved in the Skinners' Hall, London.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1579–80		s. d.	
	16½ wheat (9 lots)	[16/0]	Sold.
1580–81	70 "	[21/0½]	Sold to a baker.
	65 "	[21/10½]	" " Royden, baker.
	— wheat [meal]		Sold on markets for £73/17/6.
1581–82	1 " [meal?]	[21/0]	Sold on markets.
	1⅞ "	[22/0½]	" to a baker.
	2⅞ "	[21/6¾]	" " "
	0⅜ +3 pks. wht.	[21/4]	" to Goodman Amias.
1583			
31 Aug.	1 wheat	22/6	Sold to Ald. S.
1583–84			
4 Mar.	123 " [1]	[22/0]	" " Nich. Bonde.
1584–85	25 "	20/0	Bought.
	65 "	20/0	Sold privately.
1585			
15 Aug.	2 "	[23/0]	" on markets.
21 "	2 "	[23/4]	" " "
21 "	1 "	[23/0]	" " "
23 "	4 "	[23/4]	" " "
26 "	2 "	[21/4½]	" " "
2 Sept.	2 "	[22/9]	" " "
3 "	3 "	[24/1½]	" " "
	1½ "(2 lots)	[24/0]	" " "
11 Sept.	2 "	[22/6]	" " "
11 "	1 "	[21/3]	" " "
18 "	5 "	[23/3½]	" " "
20 "	5 "	[23/0]	" " "
24 "	4 "	[23/0]	" " "
	1 "	[24/0]	" " "
	3 "	[23/0]	" " "
25 Sept.	3 "	[23/0]	" " "
29 "	5 "	[23/0]	" " "
3 Oct.	3 "	[23/0]	" " "
6 "	5 "	[22/3]	" " "
9 "	3 "	[23/0]	" " "
12 "	5 "	[23/0]	" " "
16 "	3 "	[23/0]	" " "
19 "	4 "	[23/0]	" " "
	2 "	[23/0]	" to queen's baker.
	1½ "	24/0	Sold to the Clerk.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1585		s. d.	
	1 wheat	24/0	Sold to the corn seller of the Co.
	13 "	24/0	Sold to the Lord Mayor.
1586–87			Bought from:—
2 May	50 Hamb'g wt.	28/0	Alderman Bonde.
2 Dec.	100 Eastland "	37/2	Rob. Snelling.
	20 rye	34/8	Roger Clark and Jerome Baile.
1587–88			
8 May	50 "	26/8	Wm. Cockayne.
12 "	33 "	26/8	Wm. Cockayne.
22 "	47 "	26/8	Thos. Brainrigg.
	17[wheat]meal	[30/6]	Sold on markets.
	10 wheat	30/0	"
	9 "	29/6	"
	37[wheat]meal	[41/4½]	" on markets.
	55 wheat (2 lots)	40/0	" privately.
	8 wheat	[40/0]	" "
	18½ rye meal	[33/9]	" on markets.
	1 rye	[34/8]	"
	25 "	[26/5]	" on markets.
	0¾ "	26/8	" privately.
7 July	24½ " (2 lots)	30/8	" at Bridge-house.
8 "	1⅛ "	30/8	Ditto.
10 "	24½ " (2 lots)	30/8	Ditto.
11 "	13½ "	29/4	Ditto.
13 "	35 "	[26/8]	Bought from Sir Thos. Pullinson.
	3 rye meal	32/0	Sold on markets.
	0¾ " "	34/8	" " "
14 July	3 "	30/8	" at Bridge-house.
	3 "	[25/5¼]	Ditto.
15 July	3 [wheat] meal	[31/0¾]	Sold on markets.
15 "	1 " "	[29/4]	" " "
17 "	5 " "	[32/6¾]	" " "
26 "	4 " "	37/4	" " "
27 "	30½ rye	32/0	" at the Bridge-house.
31 "	1 "	32/0	Sold privately.
	0⅜ "	30/2	" "
11 Aug.	0½ "	26/8	" "
19 "	7⅛ "	24/0	" "

[1] "half reddye money."

PRICES OF CORN, 1579–1672 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1587–88		s. d.	
	$0\frac{1}{8}$ rye	37/4	Sold privately.
27 Sept.	$0\frac{1}{2}$ "	[26/8]	" "
	$0\frac{3}{4}$ "	[30/8]	" "
	3 wheat meal	[16/0]	" on market and to several of the Co.
	2 rye	[26/8]	Sold privately.
1588–89	$9\frac{1}{2}$ [wht.] flour	[19/10½]	" "
$0\frac{3}{8}$ + 1 pk.	" "	[19/10]	" "
$5\frac{1}{2}$	" "	[22/0]	" "
	2 wheat	20/0	"
	1 "	[20/0]	
1589–90			Bought from
	100 rye	20/0	Ald. Offley.
3 Sept.	2 wheat	[21/4]	Sold.
	1 "	[24/0]	"
	1 "	[22/8]	"
	1 "	[22/4]	"
1 Oct.	5 "	[18/8]	Sold [on markets?]
22 "	5 "	[23/1¾]	" "
26 "	3 "	[23/2½]	" "
6 Nov.	3 "	[23/2½]	" "
8 "	4 "	[23/3]	" "
13 "	3 "	[23/1]	" "
18 "	5 "	[23/1]	" "
22 "	8 " (2 lots)	[23/3]	" "
26 "	3 "	[23/3]	" "
27 "	4 "	[23/3]	" "
2 Dec.	4 "	[24/0]	" "
7 "	6 "	[24/3¼]	" "
9 "	9 "	[25/3½]	" "
10 "	5 "	[23/1⅞]	" "
14 "	2 "	[24/3¼]	" "
17 "	2 "	[25/2]	" "
20 "	1 "	[25/4½]	" "
22 "	1 "	[25/4]	" "
1589–90			
6 Jan.	6 "	[25/1½]	" "
8 "	4 "	[25/3]	" "
13 "	6 "	[25/2½]	" "
14 "	5 "	[25/3]	" "
17 "	4 "	[25/3]	" "
20 "	4 "	[25/3]	" "
24 "	5 "	[25/3]	" "
25 "	7 "	[25/3]	" "
8 Feb.	7 "	[25/3]	" "
20 "	10 "	[25/0¾]	" "
21 "	6 "	[25/3]	" "
14 Mar.	5 "	[25/3]	" "
20 "	5 "	[25/3]	" "
	5 wheat meal	26/0	Sold to Ald. Slany.
	2 " "	[26/0]	" " Clark.
	6½ " " (7 lots)	[26/8]	Sold privately.
	2 wheat meal	[24/0]	" "

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1590–91		s. d.	
	1 wheat	[24/0]	Sold privately.
	4 mistlin	[21/8]	" "
	1 "	[18/9]	" "
1590			
16 Sept.	[$0\frac{1}{2}$?] rye	[18/0]	"
	29 rye (2 lots)	18/0	"
	7 "	19/0	" privately.
	4 "	19/0	" to a baker.
	$1\frac{3}{8}$ "	20/0	" " "
	46 wheat	26/0	" " "
	50 rye	18/0	" " "
	50 wheat	25/0	" for queen's ships.
1591–92	2 rye	20/0	Sold.
			Bought from:—
	100 wheat	20/0	Mr. Storie.
	100 "	20/0	Mr. Osborn.
1592–94	[None bought or sold?]		
1594–95			
26 June	100 wheat	[26/7¼]	Sold to Thos. Cockayne.
5 Aug.	3 [wheat] meal	32/0	Sold on markets.
7 "	2 " "	28/4	" " "
12 "	5 " "	[28/2⅛]	" " "
16 "	5 " "	[28/2⅛]	" " "
19 "	4 " "	[28/0]	" " "
21 "	4 " "	[28/0]	" " "
23 "	6 " "	[28/0]	" " "
26 "	5 " "	[28/0]	" " "
28 "	6 " "	[28/0]	" " "
30 "	3 " "	[28/0]	" " "
2 Sept.	7 " "	[28/0]	" " "
4 "	3 " "	[28/0]	" " "
6 "	2 " "	[32/0]	" " "
14 "	4 " "	[30/9]	" " "
18 "	2 " "	[30/9]	" " "
19 "	5 " "	[32/1⅜]	" " "
21 "	3 " "	[30/4]	" " "
22 "	2 " "	[32/0]	" " "
24 "	1 " "	[32/6]	" " "
26 "	2 " "	[32/6]	" " "
29 "	2 " "	[32/6]	" " "
6 Oct.	1 " "	[28/0]	" " "
14 "	$2\frac{1}{8}$ " "	34/8	" " "
1594–95			
17 Mar.	— wheat	40/0	" " "
	— rye	32/0	" " "
19 Mar.	— wheat	40/0	" " "
1595–96			
4 Apr.	— rye	32/0	" " "
8 "	26 "	25/4	" to Thos. Cockayne.
	2 wheat	33/4	Sold privately.
9 Apr.	— "	42/8	" on markets.
18 "	— rye	34/8	" " "

PRICES OF CORN, 1579–1672 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1595–96		s. d.	
9 May	— wheat	42/8	Sold on markets.
	1½ rye-unground	32/0	" privately.
13 May	1 rye	32/0	" "
13 "	0½ wheat	40/0	" "
19 "	1 wheat ground	42/8	Sold to accountant.
27 "	0½ wheat 0¾ rye-unground	} Sold for £1/16/.	
6 June	2 wheat	[42/0]	Sold to four men.
20 "	1½ " unground	[42/8]	" " several at Bridgehouse.
21 "	2 wheat	[42/8]	Sold to accountant.
21 "	0½ rye	[34/8]	" privately.
	1 wheat ground	[42/8]	" "
24 June	3 wheat	[41/8¾]	" [on market?]
	40 rye	25/4	" to Thos. Cockayne.
5 July	0½ wheat	[42/8]	Sold.
23 "	2 " meal	[39/6]	"
23 Aug.	3 " "	[39/6]	"
3 Sept.	1 " "	[36/6]	"
	0½ " "	[40/0]	"
13 Sept.	1½ " "	[38/8]	"
	2 " "	[27/6]	Sold to accountant.
25 Sept.	0½ " "	[37/4]	
	1 " "	[40/0]	
	2 " "	[40/0]	
Sept.	4½ "	40/0	Sold.
	1 "	35/0	"
	1 "	32/8	"
	2 [wheat] meal	[35/0]	"
	0¾ wheat	[35/0]	" to accountant.
	3 rye meal	[28/0]	"
	6 " "	[21/2½]	"
	10 " "	[20/10½]	"
	5 " "	[22/7½]	"
	1 " "	[24/0]	"
	2 wheat meal	28/0	"
25 Nov.	1 rye	[24/0]	"
1596–97			
12 June	4 " meal	[25/9]	"
8 July	4 " "	[26/7]	"
8 "	3 " "	[22/10]	"
8 "	0⅜ " "	[28/0?]	"
1596–97			
14 Mar.	6 wheat meal	42/8	Sold on markets.
16 "	4 rye meal	[38/10½]	" " "
18 "	4 " "	[39/4]	" " "
20 "	6 " "	[28/5]	" " "
23 "	10 " "	[38/4½]	" " "
1597–98			
31 "	2 " in corn	[37/0]	" privately.
1 Apr.	10 " meal	[38/8½]	"
6 "	8 " "	[38/9]	"
7 "	3 " in corn	[41/0]	"

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1597–98		s. d.	
11 Apr.	6 rye in meal	[38/10½]	Sold at Bridgehouse.
12 "	15 " in corn	41/0	Sold to W. W. of Reading.
14 "	2 " " "	40/0	Sold.
15 "	6 " meal	[38/4]	" on markets.
18 "	4¾ wheat	47/6	" " "
20 "	2 rye in corn	—	" " "
21 "	5 " meal	[38/7½]	" " "
[21] "	5 " in corn	41/0	" privately.
22 "	7 " meal	[38/5½]	" on markets.
	1 " in corn	[41/0]	" to a widow at Kingston.
	0½ "	[42/0]	Sold privately.
27 Apr.	7 " meal	[37/7]	" on markets.
29 "	7 " "	[38/4¾]	" " "
6 May	10 " "	[38/0]	" " "
6 "	1 "	[41/0]	" privately.
9 "	6 " meal	[27/10]	"
11 "	8 " "	[38/0]	"
	1 " "	42/8	" privately.
12 May	1 " in corn	[40/0]	"
13 "	1 " " "	[41/0]	"
23 "	8 " meal	[40/0]	"
25 "	4 " "	[40/0]	"
31 "	60 " in corn	[38/0]	"
3 June	5 " " "	[35/0]	"
10 "	7 meal	[37/1½]	"
17 "	3 rye meal	[36/7½]	"
22 "	2 " "	[34/0]	"
	2 " "	[35/1]	"
23 June	1 " "	[30/0]	"
	1½ "	[37/8]	"
	5 wheat	46/0	Bought.
	166 rye	35/0	"
	93¾ "	32/0	"
1597–98			
	170 [wheat] meal	[37/9½]	Sold on markets.
114¾	" Corne " [wheat]	[30/10½]	" to several.
15 Mar.	5 " corne "	33/0	"
15 "	3 "	36/0	"
18 "	2 "	32/0	"
23 "	5 "	33/0	"
1598–99			
28 "	3 "	36/0	"
	2 "	36/0	"
	2 "	36/0	"
12 Apr.	5 "	34/0	"
	3 " (2 lots)	35/0	"
	7 "	34/0	"
13 Apr.	10 "	34/0	"
14 "	0⅛ "	32/0	"
19 "	0½ "	32/0	"
22 "	45 "	32/0	"
29 "	0⅜ "	32/0	"

PRICES OF CORN, 1579–1672 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1598–99		s. d.	
3 May	$0\frac{1}{2}$ "corne"	[32/0]	Sold.
18 May	$0\frac{1}{2}$ "	[32/0]	"
26 "	$0\frac{1}{8}$ "	[32/0]	"
30 "	1 "	42/8	"
30 "	1 "	32/0	"
2 June	$13\frac{5}{8}$ "	30/0	"
2 "	48 " [wheat]	43/8	" to white bakers.
	40 " "	43/8	" " dyers.
	8 " "	43/8	" " wax-chandlers.
	6 " "	43/8	" " fruiterers.
	394 " "	[37/3¾]	"
1599–1600			
16 May	5 wheat meal	40/0	" on markets.
23 "	8 " "	40/0	" " "
28 "	$3\frac{1}{8}$ " "	37/4	" " "
30 "	$15\frac{1}{2}$ " "	36/0	" " "
30 "	$5\frac{5}{8}$ " "	44/0	" to a baker.
2 June	$2\frac{3}{4}$ " "	36/0	" " grocers.
6 "	$22\frac{7}{8}$ " "	33/4	" on markets.
6 "	2 " "	33/4	" to a baker.
13 "	15 " "	33/4	" [on markets].
20 "	25 " "	33/4	" "
27 "	20 " "	33/4	" "
30 "	5 " "	33/4	" "
1600–01			
4 July	20 " "	[31/2]	" on markets.
11 "	20 " "	[31/9½]	" " "
18 "	5 " "	[31/3¾]	" " "
28 "	5 " "	32/0	" " "
1 Aug.	5 " "	32/0	" " "
8 "	$2\frac{3}{4}$ rye meal	[23/6½]	" " "
13 "	7 " "	Sold on markets for	
13 "	5 wheat meal	£15/17/10.	
19 "	$0\frac{1}{2}$ rye	Sold privately for	
19 "	$0\frac{1}{2}$ wheat	£1/3/0.	
22 "	5 wheat meal	Sold privately for	
22 "	3 rye "	£11/10/0.	
29 "	5 wheat	Sold privately for	
29 "	7 rye	£14/15/11.	
5 Sept.	5 wheat	Sold for	
5 "	3 rye meal	£13/5/0.	
10 Dec.	$0\frac{1}{2}$ wheat	[26/8]	Sold.
	$0\frac{1}{8}$ "	[26/8]	"
1600–01			
6 Feb.	1 wheat meal	Sold for	
6 "	2 rye in corn	£3/13/4.	
	$0\frac{1}{8}$ wheat	[26/8]	Sold.
	1 rye in corn	[21/4]	"
1601–02			
	49 wheat	26/0	Sold privately.
	2 "	26/0	" "
	$0\frac{1}{2}$ "	26/0	" "
	$0\frac{1}{2}$ rye	20/0	" "
	$1\frac{1}{2}$ " meal	24/0	" on markets.
1601–02			
	$1\frac{1}{4}$ rye meal	20/0	Sold on markets.
	$1\frac{3}{8}$ " "	20/0	" " "
1602–03			
2 Apr.	$41\frac{5}{8}$ "	20/0	Bought.
	30 wheat	30/0	" from Rob. Easton of Faversham.
	11 "	28/0	Ditto.
	5 wheat meal	24/0	Sold on markets.
1603–04			Bought from
	9 wheat	24/6	Jno. Parkes of Henley.
	$30\frac{1}{2}$ "	24/0	Bought.
	$9\frac{3}{4}$ "	22/0	"
	$41\frac{1}{4}$ "	22/0	"
	$46\frac{7}{8}$ "	24/0	"
	10 "	24/6	"
	$19\frac{1}{8}$ "	22/0	"
1604–05	20 "	29/0	"
	32 "	29/0	"
	$5\frac{3}{8}$ "	30/0	"
	20 "	32/0	"
	195 "	25/0	Sold.
	43 rye	16/0	"
1605–06	2 wheat	20/0	"
1606–07	20 "	[28/0]	"
1607–08	1 " meal	44/0	" on markets.
	2 " "	44/0	" [on markets].
	3 " "	44/0	" "
1607			
17 June	2 rye	34/8	" "
	2 wheat meal	44/0	" "
22 June	2 rye "	34/8	" "
25 "	1 wheat "	44/0	" on markets.
	1 rye [meal]	32/0	"
27 June	2 " meal	32/0	Sold.
	100 rye	29/0	Bought.
1608–09			Bought from
	200 wheat	44/0	Thos. Franklyn.
	97 " meal	Sold on markets for	
	$90\frac{1}{2}$ rye "	£324/16/5.	
1610–11	$126\frac{3}{4}$ wheat	[22/10½]	Sold (all Co. had).
1611–12	No account found.		
1612–13	35 wheat	[34/0]	Bought from Mr. Ball.
	35 "	[34/0]	Sold to a baker.
	2 "	35/6	Bought from G. Bland.
1613–14	10 "	37/6	Bought.
	5 "	34/0	"
	100 "	36/0	"
17 Sept.–			
25 Mar.	$71\frac{5}{8}$ " meal	36/0	Sold on markets.
1614–15	40 "	[27/0]	Bought from Jno. Willingson.

Prices of Corn, 1579–1672 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1614–15		s. d.	
	54 wheat meal	[38/4½]	Sold on markets.
1615–19	No account found.		
1619–20			Bought from:—
	48¼ wheat	[20/0]	Mr. Henrys.
	41 "	[18/0]	Mr. Saunders.
	37⅓ "	[17/11⅔]	Mr. Saunders.
	0⅜ wheat meal	[24/0]	Sold on markets.
	0⅜ " "	[24/0]	" " "
	0⅜ " "	[22/0]	" " "
	0½ "	[20/0]	" " "
	0⅜ "	[20/7½]	" " "
1620–21	3 "	—	Sold.
1621–22	16 " [meal?]	21/4	Sold [on markets?]
	14 " "	24/0	" "
	5 " "	26/8	" "
	4 " "	32/0	" "
	20 " "	22/0	Sold.
	54 " "	23/0	"
1622–23			Bought from:—
	20 " "	46/0	W. Grimward.
	100 " "	48/0	Wm. Cockayne.
	20 rye	[33/6]	Mr. Stile.
	90 wheat	46/4	The Lord Mayor.
	10 "	[45/0]	Rich. Whitlock.
	10 "	[43/0]	Sold to Rob. Horne.
	5 "	—	" Thos. Aslett.
	20 "	—	" Jno. Farrar.
	12½ rye	—	
	48¾ wht. meal (5 lots)	40/0	Sold on markets.
	39⅜ " " (5 ")	42/8	" " "
	30 " " (5 ")	45/4	" " "
	6 " " (1 lot)	48/0	" " "
	27 " " (4 lots)	45/4	" " "
	46 " " (1 lot)	44/0	" " "
	22¾ " " (1 ")	42/8	" " "
	12½ " " (1 ")	44/0	" " "
	10 rye	32/0	Sold.
1623–24			Bought from:—
	20 wheat	36/0	Thos. Stiles.
	20 "	36/0	M. Cradock.
	0½ wheat meal	32/0	Sold [on markets?]
	5 " "	40/0	" on markets.
	4 " "	36/0	" " "
	4 " "	34/8	" " "
	20½ " " (2 lots)	32/0	" " "
1624–25			
	40 Kentish wt.	37/0	Bought.
	50 Scottish "	42/0	"
	50 French "	40/0	"
	42¾ "Old East Countrie wheat"		On hand.
1625–26	123½ wheat	—	Sold.
1626–27	38½ Lincolnshire wheat	26/0	Bought.
	80 Norfolk wt.	32/0	"
	60¼ Kentish "	32/0	"

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1626–27		s. d.	
	3 wheat	[21/2¾]	Sold.
	1 old "corne"	[26/0]	"
	0⅜ new "	[18/0]	"
1627–28			Sold to
	100 "Corne" [wheat]	[24/0]	Mr. Clifton the baker.
	1 wheat	[25/0]	Sold.
1628–29	None bought or sold.		
1629–30	1 wheat meal	48/0	Sold at Queenhithe.
	2 " "	42/8	" " "
	2 " "	40/0	" " "
	0½ "corne"	36/8	Sold.
	0½ "	36/8	"
1630–31			Bought from
	102 Irish wheat	44/0	Mr. Barlemooke.
	24 wheat and mistlin	[45/9]	Bought.
	8 rye	[42/0]	"
23 Aug.–			
22 July	168 "corne" [wheat]	[46/2½]	Sold [on markets].
1631–32			Bought from
	50½ Danzig rye	38/0	Mr. Highlord.
	20 wheat	40/0	Bought.
	19 "	38/0	"
	85⅜ " (2 lots)	36/0	"
	13⅞ "	34/0	"
	20½ "	37/0	"
	40 "	32/0	"
	4½ [wheat] meal	40/0	Sold.
	5½ " "	36/0	"
	5 rye	24/0	"
	6 " meal	34/8	"
	15½ " " (3 lots)	32/0	Sold.
	14½ " " (4 lots)	26/8	Sold.
	0½ rye	[30/8]	"
	0¼ [wht.] meal	[29/4]	"
	20 rye & wheat	24/0	"
	3 rye and wheat meal	26/8	"
	2 " " "	32/0	"
	5 rye	[22/0]	"
	14½ Irish wht.	34/0	"
	16 wheat	26/0	"
	0½ rye and wheat meal	26/8	"
	1 Irish wheat	32/0	"
1632			Bought from:—
20 Dec.	41 wheat	40/0	R. A. of Faversham.
1632–33			
10 Jan.	25¾ "	39/0	A. R. " "
29 "	55 "	41/0	R. R. " "
22 Feb.	82 "	40/0	R. R. " "
22 "	20 "	40/6	W. T. " "
22 Mar.	50 "	35/0	Mr. Brand.
	28¼ [wht.] meal	36/0	Sold.
	56¾ " "	42/8	"
	39⅜ " "	40/0	"

Prices of Corn, 1579–1672 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1633–34		s. d.	
			Bought from:—
	100 wheat	40/0	Mr. Johnson.
	101 "	41/0	Mr. Johnson.
	30 "	42/0	Mr. Gough.
	60 "	42/0	Mr. Bell.
	104½ [wht.] meal	36/0	Sold.
	141¼ " "	40/0	"
1634–35			
	108 " "	40/0	"
	23⅝ " "	32/0	"
1635–36			
8 Feb.	101¼ wheat	41/0	Bought.
12 Mar.	46¾ "	37/3	"
1635–36			
	151⅞ [wht.] meal	40/0	Sold.
	2 " "	36/0	"
1636–37	2 " "	36/0	"
	43 " "	40/0	"
	18 " "	45/4	"
	19 " "	36/0	"
1637–38	Account missing.		
1638–39	95 wheat	28/3	Bought.
	117½ "	31/0	"
	1 [wheat] meal	36/0	Sold.
	0½ " "	30/0	"
1639–40	82½ "corne"	26/6	Sold to Mr. Van Hoegard & Mr. Luce.
1640–41	None bought or sold.		
1641–42		s. d.	
			Bought from:—
	66½ wheat	30/0	Mr. Backensales.
1642–43	91 "	32/6	Mr. Claye.
1643–47	None bought or sold.		
1647–48	251 wheat	—	Sold to Mr. Fludd.
1648–49			Sold by
	30 wht. [meal]	[45/10½]	Beadle on markets.
1649–50	5 " "	[48/0]	" " "
1650–51	87 + 3 pks. [wheat] meal	[68/5]	Sold to Thos. Woodall, granary keeper.
1651–52	13 wheat	40/0	Sold.
1652–54	No account found.		
1654–55			
27 Apr.	33 wheat	28/0	Bought.
	22 "	26/0	"
14 May	49½ "	26/0	"
	7¾ "	26/0	"
12 June	11 "	24/0	"
1655–58	None bought or sold.		
1658–59	10 [wheat] meal	—	Sold on markets.
1659–60	20 " "		" " market.
1660–61	None sold or bought.		
1661–62			
11 Feb. & fol.	90 [wheat] meal		Sold on market.
11 "	" 10 "	"	Given to poor of Co.
1662–71	None bought or sold.		
1671–72	No account found.		

Prices of Various Kinds of Grain,

Bought by "John Tayler of London Bruer."

1582–88

The dates given here are not always those of purchase, but rather when the purchase was entered in the account. The time elapsing between the purchase and the entry was, however, not great.

The source of these prices is A Brewers Account Book, R.O., K.R. Customs, 522/16.

Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price
			s. d.				s. d.
1582	4 Oct.	60 best —	6/4.	1582–83	21 Jan.	20 wheat	20/6.
	4 "	56 berecorn	9/10.		21 "	52 malt	14/0.
	15 "	12 wheat	17/0.		23 "	35 berecorn	9/6.
	24 "	6¾ "	16/0.		23 "	40 malt	14/8.
	30 "	13 "	18/0.		24 "	8 "	13/6.
	[5] Dec.	29 malt	14/0.		24 "	8 "	[13/6]
	7 "	2¾ wheat	19/0.		29 "	8 "	[13/6]
	7 "	4 "	18/0.		1 Feb.	29 "	[9/9½]
	7 "	4 "	21/0.		6 "	8 "	14/0.
	8 "	12 "	[17/0]		6 "	50 "	12/8.
	21 "	40 berecorn	9/0.		6 "	7 wheat	18/0.

Prices of Various Kinds of Grain, 1582–88 (*continued*)

Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.
	11 Feb.	5½ wheat	19/6.
	18 "	16 malt	14/0.
	19 "	49 berecorn	9/6.
	1 Mar.	99 malt	14/0.
	1 "	20 "	13/8.
	2 "	5 "	12/4.
	4 "	5 wheat	17/0.
	5 "	4 malt	12/6.
	17 "	6⅜ meal	19/6.
	19 "	20 wheat	18/0.
	20 "	108 berecorn	9/4.
1583	25 "	10 wheat	18/0.
	25 "	5 "	15/0.
	25 "	5 "	12/6.
	4 Apr.	20 berecorn	9/6.
	13 "	82½ wheat	19/0.
	16 "	13 "	18/0.
	19 "	15 malt	14/6.
	23 "	6 "	12/0.
	23 "	5 meal	[18/8]
	23 "	8 wheat	18/0.
	24 "	5 " meal	18/0.
	24 "	40 malt	12/8.
	29 "	3 wheat	16/0.
	6 May	20 malt	13/0.
	6 "	5 wheat	16/6.
	13 "	49⅜ malt	12/4
	14 "	40 "	13/4.
	24 "	19⅞ "	13/6.
	27 "	49⅜ "	12/4.
	3 June	10 wheat	[16/4].
	7 "	20 malt	13/8.
	12 July	5 [berecorn]	9/10.
	6 Aug.	75 malt	13/0.
	[10] "	5 berecorn	10/0.
	12 "	5 new berecorn	10/1.
	12 "	12 malt	12/7.
	15 "	5 new berecorn	10/1.
	21 "	5 " "	10/1.
	30 "	102 malt	13/4.
	30 "	40 [malt]	13/4
	30 "	40 malt	14/0.
	7 Sept.	15¾ "	13/4.
	20 "	8 berecorn	10/0.
	21 "	0⅞ + 1 pk. meal	17/0.
	8 Oct.	6 malt	10/6.
	12 "	33 berecorn	9/0.
	16 "	100 malt	12/6.
	16 "	9 "	13/0.
	26 "	27 berecorn	8/8.
	28 "	6 malt	10/6.
	8 Nov.	55 berecorn	9/0.
	12 "	6¾ malt	12/6.
	12 "	2 wheat	16/6.
	12 "	7 "	18/8.
	12 "	12 "	12/6.
1583	12 Nov.	5 wheat	16/8.
	13 "	6 "	16/0.
	15 "	100 berecorn	9/10.
	15 "	100 " wotes "	6/10.
	18 "	9½ wheat	16/0.
	25 "	31 malt	12/7.
	25 "	7 wheat	17/6.
	25 "	40⅜ "	16/6.
	26 "	57⅞ berecorn	9/0.
	2 Dec.	28 malt	13/0.
	2 "	36 "	12/6.
	2 "	30 "	14/6.
	9 "	20 "	12/0.
	9 "	9 wheat	16/0.
	9 "	22 "	16/0.
	18 "	34 malt	12/1.
	30 "	16 berecorn	9/4.
1583–84	7 Jan.	56 malt	12/0.
	10 "	10 "	14/0.
	10 "	40 berecorn	9/6.
	6 Feb.	15 malt	12/4.
	21 "	7 "	13/6.
	23 "	50 berecorn	9/0.
	22 Mar.	34 malt	11/10.
1584	25 "	29 berecorn	9/0.
	27 "	39 wheat	15/0.
	3 Apr.	25 "	15/0.
	3 "	25⅜ malt	12/6.
	8 "	22 "	12/1.
	8 May	42¾ "	13/0.
	9 "	22 "	12/0.
	25 "	20 "	12/0.
	30 "	20 "	[13/8]
	4 June	40 "	14/0.
	16 "	113 "	14/0.
	2 July	20 "	13/8.
	20 "	44 berecorn	9/2.
	20 "	27 oats	8/6.
	4 Sept.	15⅞ musty wheat	16/6.
	4 "	6 wheat	15/0.
	16 "	12 malt	12/0.
	16 "	9½ wheat	16/0.
	29 "	10 "	14/6.
	29 "	16 "	15/6.
	13 "	45 berecorn	9/0.
	27 "	22 malt	12/4.
	27 "	6 wheat	15/6.
	28 "	34 berecorn	9/6.
	28 "	27 oats	6/8.
	4 Nov.	7 malt	11/4.
	9 "	25 "	[11/2½]
	16 "	5 wheat	15/0.
	24 "	53 malt	12/4.
	24 "	20 wheat	17/0.
	24 "	1 " mastan "	11/0.
	24 "	20 malt	12/6.

Prices of Various Kinds of Grain, 1582–88 (*continued*)

Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.
	24 Nov.	10 wheat	17/0.
	30 "	12 "	15/0.
	30 "	24 malt	13/4.
	10 Dec.	16 wheat	15/0.
	10 "	7 malt	11/4.
	15 "	20⅜ wheat	15/0.
	16 "	7 "	14/6.
	16 "	8 "	15/0.
	17 "	10⅝ "	17/0.
	17 "	118 malt	13/4.
	[17] "	84 "	13/4.
1584–85	12 Jan.	13 "	11/0.
	16 "	17 wheat	15/6.
	21 "	40 malt	13/0.
	2 Feb.	10 "	12/4.
	3 "	10 "	13/6.
	3 "	8 wheat	16/0.
	5 "	9 "	16/0.
	9 "	5¼ "	16/0.
	9 "	21 "	16/6.
	12 "	200 berecorn	10/0.
	13 "	10 malt	13/0.
	20 "	1 wheat	17/0.
	5 Mar.	25⅝ berecorn	9/6.
	10 "	40 malt	12/0.
	11 "	10½ wheat	16/8.
	19 "	36 oats	8/0.
1585	31 "	31 malt	12/0.
	5 Apr.	6 wheat	17/0.
	7 "	4⅛ "	17/0.
	16 "	91 berecorn	10/0.
	16 "	35⅞ wheat	16/6.
	21 "	5½ meal	17/0.
	26 "	6 wheat	17/0.
	19 May	40 "	16/0.
	20 "	17 musty wheat	17/6.
	3 Aug.	40 malt	16/4.
	5 "	14 "	14/8.
	5 "	14 "	14/0.
	15 "	20 "	15/0.
	7 Nov.	20 "	20/4.
	9 "	19 "	18/0.
	22 "	19 berecorn	10/0.
	29 "	10 malt	16/0.
	30 "	17 "	16/0.
	7 Dec.	60 "	17/0.
	12 "	9⅝ wheat	24/0.
	14 "	42 malt	16/0.
	20 "	62 "	16/0.
	21 "	5 wheat	22/0.
1585–86	8 Jan.	9 "	22/0.
	13 "	6 "	22/0.
	3 Feb.	40 malt	17/3.
	5 "	2 wheat	[26/8].
1586	29 Mar.	5⅜ meal	29/0.
	27 Apr.	48⅜ malt	14/0.
	27 Apr.	5 wheat	24/0.
	18 May	104 malt	16/0.
	18 "	120 "	16/4.
	18 "	90 "	17/0.
	20 June	20 malt from the west	17/10.
	21 "	20 malt	18/4.
	6 Aug.	17 "	18/8.
	12 "	8 "	18/6.
	17 "	4 "	19/0.
	25 "	26 "	15/0.
	26 "	20 "	17/8.
	29 "	8 "	15/6.
	10 Sept.	7 "	16/8.
	12 "	3 "	17/8.
	12 "	5 "	18/0.
	19 Oct.	4 "	19/0.
	21 "	20 "	18/4.
	29 "	22 "	18/9.
	31 "	43 "	18/0.
	2 Nov.	20 "	18/4.
	7 "	11 "	17/6.
	7 "	1 wheat	42/0.
	7 "	6 malt	18/6.
	7 "	5 "	19/0.
1586–87	17 Jan.	20 "	22/6.
	21 "	20 "	22/0.
	21 "	8 "	22/0.
	7 Feb.	10 "	20/10.
	10 "	20 [malt]	21/0.
	16 "	4⅜ wheat	40/0.
	17 "	9½ malt	20/8.
	17 "	7 "	22/0.
1587	28 Mar.	60 "	20/0.
	29 "	36 "	20/0.
	2 Apr.	100 oats	11/0.
	27 "	20 malt	24/4.
	29 "	5⅞ berecorn	14/0.
	16 June	50 oats	11/0.
	21 "	30 malt	26/0.
	23 "	22 "	24/6.
	7 July	40 "	26/0.
	5 Aug.	5 wheat	23/4.
	8 Sept.	2 "	20/0.
	18 "	20 malt	19/6.
	11 Oct.	20 "	18/0.
	11 "	13 "	15/6.
	11 "	12 "	14/8.
	11 "	6 wheat	19/6.
	23 "	6 "	17/6.
	3 Nov.	20 malt	12/6.
	3 "	11 wheat	17/0.
	9 "	5¼ "	17/6.
	27 "	8 malt	13/8.
	28 "	6 wheat	17/0.
	29 "	9 malt	13/6.
	1 Dec.	17 [malt]	14/0.

Prices of Various Kinds of Grain, 1582–88 (*continued*)

Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.
	1 Dec.	60 [malt]	13/8.
	1 "	35 "	13/6.
1587–88	12 Jan.	3 wheat	17/0.
	30 "	11 "	16/8.
	31 "	132 malt	13/0.
	19 Feb.	10 wheat	16/4.
	18 Mar.	6 "	16/2.
	18 Mar.	3 wheat	16/2.
1588	26 "	8 "	16/0.
	4 Apr.	40 [malt]	12/10.
	4 "	6 "	12/6.
	6 "	10 malt	[12/0]
	12 "	8 "	11/8.
	14 May	11¾ wheat	15/0.

Prices of Corn, 1580–1643

Bought and sold by the Drapers' Company.
The year is usually from Mich. to Mich.
Manuscripts in Drapers' Hall, called Renters Accounts (unbound).

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.	Particulars of sale and purchase
1580 to 81			Bought from:
Mar.	19¾ wheat	22/0	Pluckley man, Kent.
"	25 "(very good)	22/6	Faversham man, Kent.
"	15 " "	23/0	Kent man (bare measure).
"	26 " "	22/6	Sittingbourne man, Kent.
10–17 Apr.			
	7 wheat (less a pk.)	26/8	Sold on markets.
24 Apr.			
10	" " " "	[26/5⅜]	" " "
1 May			
5	" " " "	[25/11⅜]	" " "
8 May	8 wheat	[26/5½]	" " "
22 "	10 "	[26/5]	" " "
29 "	6 "	[26/0¼]	" " "
2 June	6 "	25/0	Bought from a Sittingbourne man, Kent.
5 "	6 "	[26/2¼]	Sold on markets.
12 "	5 "	[26/3⅜]	" " "
20–27 "	6¼ "	[25/5]	" " "
3 July	4 "	24/0	" " "
10 "	5 "	24/0	" " "
17 "	3 "	24/0	" " "
24 "	4 "	26/0	" " "
31 "	5 "	26/0	" " "
7–14 Aug.	7 "	24/0	" " "
21 "	3 "	24/0	" " "
28 "	6 "	[23/5½]	" " "
4 Sept.	2 " (" best wheat of all ")	[24/9]	" " "
			Sold to:
[Sept.]	1 wheat	[24/0]	the Lord Mayor.
1580 to 81			Sold to:
[Sept.]	1 wheat	[25/0]	an Alderman.
"	3 "	25/0	Mr. W.
"	2 "	25/0	wardens.
"	17 "	24/0	a baker, " price did fall."
1581 to 82			
Jan.	150 "	20/0	Bought from a Sussex man.
"	15 "	22/0	Came in same ship.
[Jan.]	45 "	21/0	Bought from master of Yarm. ship.
2 Apr.	2 Norf. meal	[24/0]	Sold on markets.
12 July	2 wheat meal	25/4	" " "
14 "	4 " "	25/4	" " "
17 "	4 " "	24/0	" " "
23 "	5 " "	24/0	" " "
30 "	13 " "	24/0	" " "
6 Aug.	9 " "	24/0	" " "
13 "	8 " "	24/0	" " "
20 "	7 " "	24/0	" " "
27 "	5 " "	24/0	" " "
	41½ wheat	22/6	Sold privately.
	20 "	25/0	Sold to a baker.
	20 "(4 lots)	25/0	Sold privately.
	10 "	25/0	" "
	5 "	24/8	" "
	3 "	25/0	" "
	9 "(2 lots)	23/0	" "
	34 "	23/6	" "
1582 to 83			Bought from:
18 Feb.	120 wheat [1]	20/0	Two men.
	80½ "	21/10	Ditto.

[1] 21 qrs. to the score.

PRICES OF CORN, 1580–1643 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1582 to 83		s. d.	
	30⅜ wheat	20/0	A man of Henley.
	17½ "	20/0	Ditto.
			Sold to:
30 Aug.	120 "	24/0	A draper.
	80 "	22/0	Ditto.
[Aug.]	1 "	22/0	An alderman.
			Bought from:
	44 "	18/0	J. K. of Henley.
	163 "	19/6	Quinby of Sussex.
	10 "	19/0	Ditto.
	6 "	17/8	Goodwin of Henley.
	15 "	17/0	T. Wheeler of Henley.
1583 to 84			
22 Feb.	None sold. Exchanged for next year's supply.		
1584 to 85			Bought from:
	35½ wheat	21/6	Man of Faversham.
12 June–6 Aug.			
	3½ wheat meal	22/0	Sold to the Lord Mayor.
	4 " "	23/0	" at Queenhithe.
	0½ " "	24/0	" to a miller.
5 July	4 " "	23/0	" on market " by great."
5 "	0½ " "	24/0	" on market " by retale."
9 "	5 and 3 pks., 8 lbs. wheat meal	22/8	" on market.
19 "	7 wheat meal	23/0	" " markets.
21 "	5 " "	23/0	" " " " by great."
			Sold to:
29 "	12 " "	21/6	Fintche of Wansworth.
29 "	0¾ " "	24/0	Wardens for their dinner.
31 "	20 "	22/0	A baker.
3 Aug.	4 "	22/6	Ditto.
3 "	4 " meal	23/8	Sold on markets.
			Sold to:
6 "	9 "	23/0	Newgate man.
7 "	7 "	22/0	A baker.
7 "	5 "	23/0	Detford man.
	5 " meal	24/0	Sold on markets.
	1 " "	24/0	" " "
1584 to 85		s. d.	
28 Aug.	7 wheat meal	26/8	Sold at Queenhithe.
28 "	2 "	24/0	Sold to a "mealeman" of Stratford.
30 "	10 "	24/0	Ditto.
30 "	10 "	24/6	Ditto.
4 Sept.	7 " meal	24/0	Sold on markets " by retaile."
6 "	5 " "	24/0	Ditto.
6 "	10 "	24/0	Sold to a baker of Southwark.
10–12 "	10 " meal	24/0	Sold on markets by retail.
23–26 "	10 " "	24/0	Ditto.
23–26 "	4 " "	24/0	Sold to mealman of Patney.
27–30 "	10 " "	24/0	Sold on markets by retail.
1585 to 86			
7 Oct.	5 " "	24/0	Ditto.
12–21 "	25 " "	24/0	Ditto.
25 "	4 "	24/0	Sold to Sir Thos. Cesill.
10 Nov.	5 " meal	24/0	Sold on markets by retail.
12 "	5 "	24/0	Sold to Sir T. Pullyson.
12 "	5 "	24/0	Sold to a draper.
14 "	6 wheat (6 lots)	24/0	" privately.
28 Nov.–			
11 Jan.	55 wheat meal (11 lots)	26/8[1]	Sold on markets.
16 Jan.–			
13 Sept.	110 wheat meal (22 lots)	32/0	" " "
30 Apr.	100 wheat	20/0	Bought from man of Cockham, Sussex.
[Aug. or			
Sept.]	0½ "	[26/8]	Sold to a draper.
Aug.	1 " meal	26/8	" " the wardens for dinner.
	10 "	26/8	Sold to Sir T. Pullyson.
	1 "	26/8	Sold privately.
1586 to 87			
	30 rye	34/6	Bought from R. Clark, merchant
Apr.-July	92 rye meal	33/0	Sold on markets.
			Bought from:
May	83 rye	26/8	A merchant.

[1] " 6 d. per qr. overmeasure."

Prices of Corn, 1580–1643 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1586 to 87		s. d.	
May	87 rye	26/8	Two merchants.
20 "	10 "	26/8	Sold to a mealman of Stratford.
20 "	21 "	26/8	Sold out of a lighter at Billingsgate.
27 "	14 "	26/8	Sold to two meal-men.
27 June	55 "	26/8	Bought from Sir T. Pullyson.
3 July	24½ "	29/4	Sold at the Bridgehouse.
7 "	12 "	29/4	Ditto.
11 "	20 "	29/4	Ditto.
14 "	2½ "	30/8	Sold.
	1½ "	26/8	"
19 and 31 July	29 "	32/0	Sold to a warden.
[July–Sept.]	3 "	26/8	" at the Bridgehouse.
"	1 "	26/8	" to Sir T. Pullyson.
"	2 "	26/8	Sold to a draper.
1588 to 89			
[Mich–Apr.]	3 wheat	20/0	" " " white baker.
"	2 wheat	20/0	Sold privately.
"	1 "	20/0	" "
"	3 "	18/6	" "
2 Apr.	40 "	21/0	" to a baker.
10 June	76 "	21/0	" " Wm. Garwaye, Rob. Saddeler " & Company."
[June]	8 "	21/0	Sold to a baker.
"	1 "	20/0	" " Wardens of Livery for a great dinner.
1589 to 90			
[June–June][1]	100 rye	20/0	Bought.
17 Sept.	5 wheat	24/0	Sold on markets.
8 Oct.	4 " [meal]	24/0	" privately.
17 "	7 " meal	[24/7⅜]	Sold.
20 "	3 " [meal]	24/0	" [on markets].
22 "	5 " "	24/0	" "
1 Nov.	5 " "	24/0	" "
5–22 Nov.	20 wheat [meal]	24/0	Sold [on markets].
30 Nov.– 15 Dec.	21 " "	25/4	" "
1589–90		s. d.	
Dec.	1 wheat [meal] (ground)	22/0	Sold on markets.
31 Dec.– 8 Jan.	15 wheat [meal]	26/8	" "
22 Jan.– 28 Feb.	40 " "	26/8	" "
Feb.	4 wheat	24/0	" privately.
15 Mar.	15 wheat meal	26/8	" on markets.
	1 " "	25/0	" privately.
3 Mar.– 14 June	25 " "	26/8	" on markets.
	7½ " "	24/0	" privately.
	1½ " "	25/0	" to clerk, etc.
10 June	75 "	26/8	" to baker (London).
	6⅞ corn	24/0	Sold to members of Co.
	2 wheat	24/0	Sold for wardens' dinner.
20 June	96½ rye	18/0	Sold to London baker.
	75 wheat	26/8	Ditto.
	1 rye	20/0	Sold to Sir T. Pullyson.
	1 "	18/0	Sold privately.
	1 "	18/0	" "
	0½ "	18/0	" to Renter himself.
1593–94	50 wheat	24/0	Sold for Queen's use.
June	5 "	24/0	Sold privately.
	1 "	28/0	" to clerk.
	4 "	24/0	"
	30 "	28/0	"
	5 "	30/0	"
	24½ "	29/0	"
1594–95[2] July and Aug.	30 [wheat meal]	[30/0]	" to several on markets.
Sept. and Oct.	22 " "	[26/11½]	Ditto.
Oct. and Nov.	48 " "	[37/1]	Ditto.
15 Dec.	50 wheat	38/6	Bought.
Dec. and Jan.	30 rye [meal]	[30/1⅜]	Sold to several on markets.
7 Jan.	100 wheat	37/0	Bought.
9 "	116 "	37/6	"
23 "	50 rye	24/0	" from a Grocer.

[1] Midsummer to midsummer.

[2] Apparently account runs from July to July.

Prices of Corn, 1580–1643 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.		Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1594–95			s. d.	
Jan., Feb. and Mar.	50	wheat meal	[41/9⅜]	Sold to several on markets.
[Apr.]	25	"	[36/4⅜]	Sold to a baker.
Apr.	20	rye [meal]	[30/10⅜]	" on markets.
	20	wheat "	[36/11⅜]	" " "
	3	wheat	[40/0]	" privately.
	70	"	[36/0⅜]	" to two bakers.
May and June	40	"	[40/4⅜]	" on markets.
27 June	16	rye	24/0	Bought from a Grocer.
June	26	wheat meal	[39/10½]	Sold on markets.
	8	" "	[40/3½]	" to members of Co.
10 July	54	rye	26/8	Bought.
"	11	wheat meal	[43/7]	Sold on markets.
	10	rye "	[24/4⅜]	" " "
	10	wheat	[37/6]	" to a baker.
	2	"	[40/0]	" privately.
	20	rye	[19/0]	Sold.
	40	"	[19/0]	"
	4	wheat	[40/0]	" to members of Co.
1596–97				
18 Dec.	231	rye	35/0	Bought.
Feb.	44	" meal	42/8	Sold on markets.
5 Mar.	66	"	32/0	Bought.
	29	wheat	46/0	"
Mar.	25	rye meal	42/8	Sold on markets.
Apr.	20	" "	42/8	" " "
"	38	" "	42/8	" " "
May	38	" "	42/8	" " "
June	18	" "	42/8	" " "
July	16	" "	42/8	" " "
13 Aug.	25⅝	" "	46/0	Bought.
Aug. and Sept.	26	" "	46/0	Sold on markets.
	119	corn	[35/3½]	" privately.
	8	"	[36/10¾]	" to members of Co.
Dec.	21	corn meal	50/8	Sold on markets.
1597–98	130	rye ("Blasts")	43/1	Bought from ships.
	160	"	43/1	" " "
	170	"	43/1	" " "
	15⅝	"	[40/0]	Bought.
	5⅜	wheat	40/0	"
	9	corn	35/0	Sold privately.
1599–1600				Bought from:
20 Nov.	34⅝	wheat	20/0[1]	Chichester man.
20 Feb.	107½	"	24/0	Henley man.
	5	"	23/6	" "
1599–1600			s. d.	
	36⅝	wheat	24/0	A London haberdasher.
26 Mar.	200	"	31/0	Gentleman of Sussex.
May	14	wheat meal	40/0	Sold on markets.
"	10	" "	37/4	" " "
"	9	" "	34/8	" " "
	1	"	21/0	" privately.
June	73	" [meal]	33/4	" on markets.
July	45	" "	33/4	" " "
19 July	40	rye	20/0	Bought from a man of Copenhagen.
Aug.	8⅜	wheat [meal]	[29/1⅛]	Sold on markets.
Aug. and Sept.	39	rye "	26/8	" " "
	19	" "	33/4	" " "
10 Dec.	41	wheat	32/6	Bought from a man of Leiston, Norfolk.
16 "	80	"	34/0	Bought in Normandy.
1600–01				
10 Jan.	100	"	33/0	Bought at Rochelle.
June	5	Sussex wheat [meal]	29/0	Sold on markets.
July	13	Sussex "	28/0	" " "
"	3½	[Norfolk] "	24/0	" " "
Aug.	25	Sussex "	27/0	" " "
"	1	[Norfolk] "	32/0	" privately.
Sept.	12	Sussex "	27/0	" on markets.
"	0½	best Fr. wht.	30/0	" privately.
1601–02				
30 Sept.	0¾	wheat meal	26/8	" on markets.
2 Nov.	100	Sussex wheat	26/4	" to a baker.
2 "	2	[Norfolk] "	30/0	" privately.
2 "	4	Sussex "	26/8	" to a baker.
2 Dec.	4	[Norfolk] "	29/0	" " "
2 "	1	" "	30/0	" privately.
7 "	6	Sussex wheat meal	26/0	" on markets.
7 "	2	best wheat	30/0	" privately.
27 Feb.	46⅛	wheat	20/0	Bought from Kent.
20 Apr.	5	[Norfolk] wht.	26/0	Sold to a baker.
20 "	2⅛	wheat	[27/11]	" privately.
Aug.	1	best wht. meal	[42/0?]	"
"	8⅜	wheat meal	23/0	" on markets.
"	16	" "	24/0	" " "
Sept.	6	" "	24/0	" " "
1602–03				
Mich.–Feb.	15	Kentish wheat meal	24/0	" " "

(qr. = 8 bu., 6 lbs.).

[1] Gave him 6 d. per qr. extra.

Prices of Corn, 1580–1643 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1602–03		s. d.	
12 Feb.	10 wheat meal	29/4	Sold on markets (qr. = 7 bus., 3 pks., 12 lbs.).
19 "	8 Fr. " "	30/0	Sold on markets.
26 "	11 wheat	29/4–30/8	" " "
5 Mar.	11 " meal	30/8	" " "
12 "	8 " "	30/8	" " "
19 "	8 " "	30/8	" " "
25 "	8 " "	30/8	" " "
2 Apr.	7½ " "	32/0	" " "
9 "	8 " "	32/0	" " "
1603–04			
18 Dec.	104⅜ wheat	26/0	Sold to East India Co.
	0¼ "	24/0	Sold privately.
	0½ "	26/0	" "
	1½ "	26/0	" to granary keeper.
1604–05	90 "	20/0	" privately.
	6⅝ "	22/6	" "
	2 "	20/0	" "
	0½ "	24/0	" "
	0⅛ "	24/0	" to J. Langley.
	0⅛ "	24/0	Sold to J. Langley.
	337 "	26/4	Sold to Wm. Garway.
	0⅛ "	24/0	Sold to granary keeper.
	50 "	24/0	Bought from P. Riley.
	70 "	20/0	Bought.
	30 "	23/6	"
	16 "	23/0	"
	39½ "	23/0	"
	244½ wheat [1]	22/8	Bought in the country.
	39 "	22/0	Bought.
	5 "	21/0	"
1616–17			
20 Dec.	17¾ "	34/0	" from a Faversham man.
21 Jan.	21¾ "	37/0	Bought.
11 Feb.	20 Kentish wht.	35/0	"
17 and 24 Feb.	11½ wht. [meal]	40/0	Sold on markets.
3 Mar.	34 Kentish wht.	34/0	Bought.
3, 10 and 17 Mar.	18 wheat [meal]	40/0	Sold on markets.
19 "	27¾ Kentish wht.	35/6	Bought.
24 and 31 Mar.	14 wheat [meal]	37/4	Sold on markets.
1616–17		s. d.	
14 Apr.	7½ wheat [meal]	37/4	Sold on markets
28 "	10 " "	37/4	" " "
12 and 19 May	8 " "	37/4	" " "
26 May and 2 June	13½ " "	37/4	" " "
16 and 23 June	12 " "	37/4	" " "
30 June and 14 July	13 " "	37/4	" " "
21 and 28 July	8 " "	37/4	" " "
1 Aug.	20 Danish wht.	40/0	Bought.
4 and 11 Aug.	10 wheat [meal]	37/4	Sold on markets.
13 and 18 Aug.	7½ " "	37/4	" " "
19 "	10 Kentish wht.	40/4	Bought.
20 "	10 Scotch "	38/0	"
20 and 25 Aug.	9 wheat [meal]	37/4	Sold on markets.
1 and 8 Sept.	13 " "	34/8	" " "
9 "	20 Danish wht.	35/0	Bought.
15 "	10 wheat [meal]	34/8	Sold on markets.
29 Sept. and 1 Oct.	10 " "	34/8	" " "
1617–18			Bought from:
17 Jan.	50 East Country wheat	28/0	A London merchant, Danzig measure.
7 May	50 Ditto	28/0	Ditto.
24 and 31 Aug.	6¾ wheat [meal]	31/6	Sold on markets.
	11½ " "	29/8 / 32/0	" " "
1618–19			Bought from:
16 Mar.	180 E. Country wheat	27/0	A London merchant.
28 Aug.	100 wheat	26/8	Sold privately, Danzig measure.
	18 meal	[21/0⅔]	Sold on markets.
1619–20	128⅜ wheat	18/6	Bought.
Nov. 6	" [meal]	18/8	Sold on markets.
13 Aug.	2 " meal	29/4	" " "
20 "	3 " "	26/8	" " "
27 " and 10 Sept.	7 " "	24/0	" " "
1621–22			
1, 9 Oct.	12 " "	26/8	" " "
16 "	3 " "	26/8	" " "
23 "	3 " "	32/0	" " "
17 Nov.	6 " "	34/8	" " "

[1] Twenty-one to the score.

PRICES OF CORN, 1580–1643 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1621–22		s. d.	
Dec.	11¼ wheat [meal]	34/8	Sold on markets.
			Bought from:
7 Feb.	30⅞ "	35/0	A Milton man.
	30 Sussex wht.	37/0	A London baker
	5 wheat	36/0	Bought.
19 and			
26 Aug.	11 wheat meal	38/8	Sold on markets.
2 Sept.	8 " "	42/8	" " "
9 "	6 " "	42/8	" " "
16 and			
23 Sept.	10 " "	45/4	" " "
30 Sept. and			
7 Oct.	8 " "	45/4	" " "
1622–23			
2 Nov.	6 " "	36/0	" " "
16 "	6 " "	37/4	" " "
28 "	12 E.Count. wht.	47/0	Bought.
Dec.	11¼ wheat meal	45/4	Sold on markets.
Dec. and			
Jan.	33 East Country wheat meal (3 lots)	45/4	Sold on markets.
23 Jan.	50 East Country wheat	50/0	Bought.
4 Feb.	160 French wheat	46/0	"
6 "	44½ East Country wheat meal	50/8	Sold on markets.
	2½ Ditto	48/0	" " "
6 Feb.	4 Ditto	48/0	" " "
	6 Ditto	48/0	" " "
2	East Country wheat	45/0	" to a baker.
20 "	" "	42/0	" privately.
16½ "	" "	41/6	" to bakers and loaders.
0½ "	" "	46/0	Sold to Lady B.
Feb. and			
Mar.	45 wheat meal (6 lots)	48/0	" on markets.
Mar.	28 Ditto (3 lots)	44/0	" " "
	12 wheat meal	48/0	" " "
	18 " " (2 lots)	44/0	" " "
16 and			
23 June	12 wheat meal	48/0	" " "
26 "	20 East Country wheat	40/0	Bought.
30 June and			
7 July	6 East Country wheat meal	44/8	Sold on markets.
	4 Ditto	44/0	" " "
	7½ Ditto	44/0	" " "
	2¼ Ditto	45/4	" " "
14 and			
21 July	4 wheat meal	44/0	" " "
	7½ " "	48/0	" " "

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1622–23		s. d.	
	4 wheat meal	37/4	Sold on markets.
	2 "	[38/6]	" to a baker.
	15 "	46/0	" to Lady B.
1631–32			
1 Feb.	105 Sussex wht.	38/0	Bought.
24 "	45 Kentish "	38/6	"
	108 " "	36/0	"
28 Mar.	39 " "	37/6	"
	64½ East Country rye	27/0	Sold to a merchant
28 July	3 wheat meal	36/0	" on markets.
	20 " "	36/0	" " "
	10 " "	36/0	" " "
	10 " "	42/8	" " "
	5 "	56/0	" to a baker.
	10 " meal	42/8	" on markets.
	20 "	53/0	" to a baker.
	5 "	53/0	" privately.
8 Dec.	16 " meal	42/8	" on markets.
1632–33			
17 Jan.	40 Kentish wht.	40/0	Bought.
6 Feb.	64 " "	41/9	"
11 Apr.	7 Sussex "	—	" from Alderman G.
	132¾ " "	—	Ditto.
	77 " "	—	Ditto.
Apr.	17 wheat meal	40/0	Sold on markets.
8 May	8 " "	40/0	" " "
22 "	37 "	37/0	Bought.
22 "	26 "	38/6	"
22 "	14 "	37/6	"
May	27 " meal	40/0	Sold on markets.
17 June	100 Hamburg wht.	32/0	Bought from Lucas Jacobs.
June	21 wheat meal (3 lots)	40/0	Sold on markets.
July	15 " "	40/0	" " "
"	16 " " (2 lots)	36/0	" " "
Aug.	30 Ditto	36/0	" " "
Sept.	47 wheat meal	36/0	" " "
28 Nov.	100 Sussex wht.	45/0	" to a baker.
	25 wheat	44/0	"
1633–34			Bought from:
	152½ Sussex wht.	40/0	Alderman G.
20 June	150 French "	40/8	Mr. B.
20 Nov.–			
17 Oct.	345 wheat meal	[36/8⅛]	Sold on markets.
(sic)	5 "	40/0	" " "
1639–40			
28 Jan.	111⅞ "	28/0	Bought.
14 Feb.	102 "	—	"
13 June	50 "	—	"
17 May	27¼ "	28/0	"

Prices of Corn, 1580–1643 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1639–40	106 wheat	—	Sold to a baker.
1640–41	0¼ " meal	40/0	"
	0⅜ " "	40/0	"
[July]	100 "	36/0	" to a baker.
1641–42	104¾ "	32/0	Bought.
	90 "	31/0	"
	93¾ "	32/0	"
	96⅞ "	32/0	"
	92½ "	32/0	"
1641–42	21 wheat	31/0	Bought
	39¾ "	29/0	"
	10⅝ "	32/0	"
1643–44			Bought from:
30 Mar.	23 "	34/0	A Stroud man.
May	— "	37/0	" " "
	— "	32/0	" " "
	— dry corn	33/6	A "Clayes"man.

Prices of Corn, 1581–1663

Bought and sold by the Ironmongers' Company.

The year seems to be from July to July.

The sources of these statistics are found in the Ironmongers' Hall, "Companys Register, 1541–1592," and succeeding volumes.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1581–82	2¼ wheat	26/0	Sold.
			Bought from:
	18 "	21/0	Jno. Bennet of Henley.
	47 "	21/0	Ditto.
1582–83	15 "	20/0	Thos. Wheler.
1583–84			
19 Nov.	9⅛ "	18/0	A. Phillips.
19 "	47 "	18/0	Thos. Wheler.
19 "	27⅞ "	16/6	And. Strike.
20 "	7 "	18/0	T. Bolte.
20 "	10¼ "	16/6	Jno. Bridges.
4 Dec.	12¼ "	[17/4]	Rich. Craye.
4 "	23 "	17/0	And. Strike.
4 "	14 "	17/0	Jas. Pocock.
3 Jan.	9⅛ "	17/6	A. Phillipps.
1 Feb.	30 "	17/0	A. Phillipps.
6 Apr.	29⅞ "	17/0	A. Phillipps.
16 "	10⅛ "	16/6	A. Phillipps.
	40 Essex wheat	20/0	Mr. Butler.
	29 " "	20/0	Mr. Sames.
	20 " "	20/0	Goodman Tenter.
1584–85			
18 Mar.	75 wheat	19/0	Rich. Hutchin of Faversham.
14 Apr.	99½ "	17/6	Mr. Cletherowe.
1585–86	84 wheat [meal]	24/0	Sold at Leadenhall.
	3 "	28/0	Sold to a baker.
	82 " (10 lots)	26/0	" " member of the Co.
1586–87	191 rye	—	Sold with a gain of £ 8 18s. 6d.
1587–88			Bought from:
29 Jan.	60 wheat	19/0	A. Phillips of Bassingstoke.
1 Feb.	64¾ "	18/0	Wm. Warner of Henley.
13 "	50 "	18/0	And. Streete of Reading.
24 "	50⅝ "	17/8	O. Fowler of Middleton, Kent.
22 Mar.	24 "	17/6	Ed. Nicholson of Reading.
18 Apr.	38¾ "	17/2	O. Fowler of Middleton, Kent.
25 "	38⅞ "	16/8	Ed. Nicholson of Reading.
4 May	60 "	15/8	Jno. Farmer of Henley.
1588–89	10 wheat [meal]	19/0	Sold on markets.
	317 wheat	20/0	"
1589–90	5 wheat meal	22/8	" on markets.
	5½ "	20/0	" to Thos. Cambell.
	42⅞ "	22/0	Sold to members of Co. by order of court.
	70 rye	20/0	Bought from H. Offeley.
	66¾ "	18/0	Sold to members of Co. by order of court.

Prices of Corn, 1581–1663 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price s. d.	Particulars of sale and purchase
1589–90	1⅜ rye	18/0	Sold.
	0½ "	18/0	"
1590–91	1⅛ "	18/0	"
1591–92	None bought or sold.		
1592–93	1 skryvinges	20/0	Sold.
1593–94	12 wheat	21/4	" on markets.
1594–95	177 "	[31/11½]	" with gain of £ 114 7s. 4½d.
1595–96	None bought nor sold.		
1596–97	8⅜ rye	[37/10⅜]	Sold to members of the Co.
	57 "	[38/0⅜]	Sold to Mr. Storer and Mr. Gravenor.
	110⅛ "	[33/3]	Sold.
	15 wheat	[44/8⅛]	"
20 Jan.	180 Danzig rye	35/0	Bought under compulsion.
	44 rye	32/0	Bought from Thos. Smithe.
	15 wheat	46/0	Ditto.
1597–98	200 rye	—	Sold on markets.
1598–99	52 "	38/0	" " "
1599–1600			Bought from:
	56 wheat	25/0	And. Browne.
	42⅜ "	24/9	And. Browne.
	33 "	24/10	And. Browne.
	80 "	26/8	Wm. Gravenor.
	77 wheat meal	[33/8½]	Sold on markets.
	1 wheat	[24/9]	" to And. Browne.
	2 "	[34/8]	Sold to steward of the hospital.
1600–01	16⅞ rye [meal]	26/8	Sold in Southwark market.
	16⅝ " "	[26/8]	Ditto.
	65 wheat meal	34/8	Ditto.
	15 " "	34/8	Ditto.
			Sold to:
	5 "	27/0	Sheriff.
	3½ "	27/0	And. Browne.
	11½ "	29/6	Several of the Co.
	5 "	29/0	Mr. Gravenor.
1601–02			Bought from:
	40 "	22/0	Hy. Pettitt.
1603–04	52⅞ "	24/6	Jas. Worseter.
	10 "	24/6	Jno. Parks.
	60 "	24/0	Hy. Parmore.
	40 "	22/0	Wm. Weyman.
	10 "	22/0	Bought.
	1 "	24/0	Sold.
1603–04			Sold.
	65 wheat	28/0	" to Mr. Lynge.
	20 "	28/0	" Mr. Lynge.
1604–05			Bought from:
	140⅞ "	27/0	Sir Thos. Cambell and Peeter Beavoir.
	57½ "	27/0	Peeter Beavoir.
			Sold to:
	180⅝ "	26/0	Mr. Daves.
1605–06	188⅝ "	26/0	Mr. Seracole.
	6 "	23/0	Sold.
			Bought from:
	198½ "	27/0	Mr. Leate and Mr. Caninge.
	139¼ "	23/0	Several.
	151 "	22/0	Several.
1606–07	100 "	28/0	Sold to Harvie, the baker.
	4 "	[31/2⅜]	Sold on markets.
	2 "	28/0	" to a miller.
1607–08	50 rye	29/0	Bought from Mr. Shute.
1608–09	41⅜ + 1 pk. rye meal	[27/0¼]	Sold.
			Bought from:
	100 wheat	47/0	Jno. Langham, London merchant.
	5 "	50/0	Mr. Cletherowe.
1609–10	41¼ "	31/0	Sold.
1610–11	None bought or sold.		
1611–12	55 wheat	—	Sold at loss of £16 2s. 11d.
1612–13			Sold to:
	5 "	32/0	St. Thos. Hos.
1613–14	76⅝ "	[34/1]	Smith, white baker.
	17 " }	Sold on market for	
	1 rye }	£29 14s. 1½d.	
1 Aug.	5 wheat	[35/0½]	Sold on markets.
1614–15			Sold to:
	1 [wheat] meal	[31/5]	Oliver Gildner.
	37⅜ "	34/0	Cooper, baker.
	8 rye	24/0	Bought from the Chamberlain of London.
1615–16	13 corn	—	Sold.
1616–17	53⅜ Danzig wheat [1]	[39/4½]	Sold.
	10 " [meal]	[36/1½]	Sold on markets.
1617–18	23 "	—	Bought from Mr. Hayward.
1618–19	None bought or sold (?).		

[1] The rate is 42 s. per Danzig measure, 50 of which are equivalent to 53⅜ qrs.

Prices of Corn, 1581–1663 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1619–20	97¾ wheat	18/0	Sold on markets.
	98½ "	21/6	Bought.
1620–22	None bought or sold.		
1622–23			
3 Jan.–			
28 Feb.	40 [wheat meal]	[44/3]	Sold on markets.
28 Feb.–			
5 July	70 " "	[45/1]	" " "
			Bought from:
	40 wheat	52/0	Thos. Marshall.
	70 "	46/4	Chamberlain of London.
1623–24	8 wheat meal	[27/6]	Sold on markets.
	10¾ [wheat] "	48/0	Bought from Rich. Wilcocks.
	72 wheat	32/0	Bought at Bridewell.
1624–25			
16 July	5⅛ [wheat] meal	34/8	Sold [on markets].
30 "	6 " "	34/8	" "
11 Aug.	6 " "	34/8	" "
18 "	6 " "	34/8	" "
25 "	6 " "	34/8	" "
1 Sept.	6 " "	34/8	" "
20 "	6 " "	34/8	" "
29 "	6 " "	34/8	" "
8 June	2¾ " "	34/8	" "
	5 " "	34/0	" "
	6 " "	34/8	" "
	40 wheat	41/6	Bought.
	50 "	40/0	"
1625–26			
5 July	6 [wheat] meal	40/0	Sold [on markets].
22 "	4⅛ " "	40/0	" "
1 Aug.	4 " "	40/0	" "
4 "	6 " "	40/0	" "
15 "	7 " "	40/0	" "
22 "	8 " "	40/0	" "
29 "	8 " "	40/0	" "
5 Sept.	8 " "	40/0	" "
12 "	4 " "	40/0	" "
19 "	4 " "	40/0	" "
30 "	6 " "	40/0	" "
17 Oct.	6 " "	40/0	" "
26 "	4 " "	40/0	" "
3 Nov.	3 " "	40/0	" "
24 "	3 " "	40/0	" "
1626–27			
31 July	3½ " "	40/0	" "
	32½ wheat	30/0	Bought.
	54⅞ "	[30/7½]	"
	44⅞ "	[28/0]	"
1627–28	8 "	26/8	Sold.
1628–29	None bought or sold.		

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1629–30	6 [wheat] meal	48/0	Sold.
	6 " "	48/0	"
	12 " "	48/0	"
	12 " "	48/0 45/0	"
	12 " "	42/8	"
	12 " "	42/8	"
	15 " "	42/8	"
	17⅛ " "	42/8	"
1630–31			Bought from:
	20 wheat	[58/0]	Rob. Rye.
	20 "	[56/2½]	Hy. Goodwyn.
	2⅛ barley	[25/9½]	Rich. Kestian.
	5 rye	[20/0]	Mr. Ashwell.
	50 Irish wheat	44/0	The City.
15 Nov.–			
6 Dec.	66 [wheat meal]	52/0	Sold on markets.
29 Nov.–			
18 Mar.	211 " "	48/0	" " "
23 Mar.–			
22 July	69 " "	48/0	"Sold to the wardes."
1631–32			Bought from:
	69⅜ "corne" [wheat]	36/0	Rob. Greenstreete.
	19½ " "	35/0	Jno. Trout.
	6 " "	35/6	Jno. Trout.
	20 " "	35/6	Jno. Trout.
	14⅝ " "	37/0	Jno. Trout.
	15 " "	36/6	Mark Pierce.
	15 " "	35/0	Abr. Rye.
	25 " "	32/0	Jno. Barker.
25 July	3 [wheat meal]	40/0	Sold to Baynards Castle Ward.
27 "	7 " "	36/0	Sold on markets.
1 Aug.	5 " "	34/8	" " "
3 "	5 " "	33/4	" " "
5 Aug.–			
17 Aug.	25 " "	32/0	" " "
22 Aug.–			
12 Sept.	16¾ " "	26/8	" " "
1632–33			Bought from:
	37½ wheat	41/6	Jno. Trout.
	32½ "	41/0	Rob. Rye.
23 July–			
27 Aug.	31 "corne" [wheat meal]	36/0	Sold on markets.
3 Sept.–			
5 Jan.	43½ Ditto	42/8	" " "
5 Apr.–			
5 July	59 Ditto	40/0	" " "
12 July	6 Ditto	37/4	" " "
22 "	5 Ditto	36/0	" " "
1633–34			Bought from:
	50 wheat	38/0	Norst.

Prices of Corn, 1581–1663 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1633–34	40 wheat	39/0	Bought from: Mr. Fortree.
	50 "	37/0	Job. Harby.
	40 "	38/0	Rob. Gravenor.
29 July–			
25 Nov.	46 " corne " [wheat meal]	36/0	Sold on markets.
10 Jan.–			
6 June	95 Ditto	40/0	" " "
13 June	5 Ditto	37/4	" " "
21–28 July	11 Ditto	40/0	" " "
1634–35			Bought from:
	87¼ " corne " [wheat]	38/3	Rob. Rye.
	29⅜ " "	42/0	Rob. Rye.
1 Aug.–			
22 Sept.	50 " corne " [wheat meal]	40/0	Sold on markets.
26 Sept.–			
31 Oct.	20 Ditto	37/4	" " "
1635–36			Bought from:
	68⅛ wheat	37/0	John Trowth.
	50 "	39/0	Rob. Rye.
15 July–			
24 May	90 " [meal] [1]	40/0	Sold on markets.
1636–37	None bought or sold.		
1637–38			
31 Jan.–			
14 Mar.	36½ " corne " [wheat meal]	40/0	Sold on markets.
21 Mar.–			
4 May	37 Ditto	45/4	" " "
9–16 "	9 Ditto	42/8	" " "
23 May–			
27 June	24 Ditto	40/0	" " "
4–18 July	17 Ditto	36/0	Sold on markets.
	49 Ditto	40/0	" to Mr. Poole.
1638–39	60 wheat	33/0	Bought.
	144⅜ "	36/0	"
30 July–			
7 Sept.	20¼ " corne " [wheat meal]	36/0	Sold on markets.
1639–41	No corn bought or sold.		
1641–42	28¼ wheat	37/0	Bought.
1642–43	30 "	33/0	"
	50 "	32/0	"
	10 [wheat] meal	[35/8½]	Sold.
	6 " "	32/0	"
1643–46	None bought or sold.		
1646–47	54 wheat	38/0	Sold.
1647–48			Sold to:
	82½ " corne " [wheat]	39/0	Arthur Slipp.
	80 Ditto	48/0	Wm. Antrolus.
1648–49	57 wheat	48/0	Sold.
1649–50	12 "	[56/8]	" at loss of £113 7s. 11d.
1650–53	None bought or sold.		
1653–54	None bought or sold (?).		
1654–55	70⅜ wheat	[21/7½]	Bought.
	16⅛ "	[16/5½]	"
1655–57	None bought or sold.		
1657–58	100 " corne " [wheat]	40/0	Sold.
1658–59	13 wheat	42/8	Sold.
1659–60	Amt. sold not found.		
1560–61	None bought or sold.		
1661–62	Particulars of sale not found.		
1662–63	1⅞ " corne " [wheat] [2]	[39/8¾].	
1663–70	None bought or sold.		

Prices of Corn, 1582–1631

Bought by the bakers of London.

Unless otherwise stated the entries are for wheat.

The following abbreviations have been used:

L — some official connection with the City.

P — date of payment.

D — date of purchase, exact as to time.

R — rye.

The source is Wheat Book, No. 63, Bakers' Hall.

[1] Five qrs. every week.

[2] Probably the last of the corn, much having been lost.

PRICES OF CORN, 1582–1631 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of purchase
1582		s. d.	
			Bought from a
10 Apr.	127	21/6	Yarmouth man.
10 "	500	24/0	Gentleman of Faversham.
18 "	120	21/0	Yarmouth man.
21 "	76¾	21/0	Hemsby (Norf.) man.
7 May	68	20/6	Norfolk man.
8 "	111	20/0	" "
25 "	163	20/4	Hemsby (Norf.) man.
25 "	136	20/8	Norfolk man.
26 "	22½	20/0	Yarmouth man.
29 "	81	22/0	Faversham man.
8 June	115	20/8	Hickling (Norf.) man.
25 "	118	20/8	Norfolk man.
13 July	60	21/6	" "
7 Aug.	113	21/0	" "
17 "	93	22/6	Bought by a servant of the Co. of Grocers.
			Bought from a
17 "	120½	20/4	Norfolk man.
7 Dec.	36	20/4	Faversham man.
1582–83			
6 Mar.	102	20/0	Norfolk yeoman.
1583			
26 Mar.	205	20/0	Bought in the "west."
			Bought from a
16 Apr.	102	20/0	Norfolk yeoman.
1583–84			
17 Mar.	21	18/0	Colchester man.
1586			
9 Apr. and afterwards	878	28/0	Hamburg wheat.
22 Apr.	240	28/0	" " bought from a London skinner.
24 "	240	28/0	Ditto.
28 May	107	30/0	Danzig wheat bought at the Steelyard.
23 Aug.	308	27/0	Ditto.
12 Oct.	97R	20/0	From Danzig.
8 Nov.	—[1]	35/0	Danzig wheat bought from a London skinner.
19 "	—[1]	33/6	Ditto.
1586–87			Bought from a
17 Jan.	144⅞	41/0	Sandwich man.
4 Mar.	66½R	32/0	From Danzig.
4 "	105R	32/0	" "
4 "	61	42/0	" "
4 "	247½R	32/0	" "
4 "	72R	32/0	" "
10 "	216	44/6	" "
1587			Bought from a
7 Apr.	159½R	34/8	London clothworker.
14 "	97½	41/4	" merchant.
Apr.	39¼R	33/8	" "
1587		s. d.	
8 May	320	45/4	From Danzig.
20 "	93	45/0	Danzig wheat bought from a London fisherman.
24 "	500	37/0	" vintner.
27 "	101	38/0	" haberdasher.
31 "	82	45/4	Stranger.
1588–89			
9 Jan.	130	20/0	London draper.
21 "	60	16/0	" fishmonger.
7 Feb.	102	20/0	Gentleman of Kent.
14 "	98	19/6	London draper.
14 "	94	18/4	Yeoman of Kent.
15 "	63	17/8	" " Norfolk.
24 "	255	30/6	(sic) Paid to a London girdler, P.
1589			
5 June	67	18/0	From Kent.
9 "	90	18/0	" "
15 "	105¾	17/0	" "
6 Aug.	200	20/0	Bought from a London man.
1589–90			
29 Jan.	77	26/0	From Lewes, Sussex.
29 "	60	26/0	Bought from a yeoman of Ipswich.
3 Feb.	84	26/0	From Faversham, Kent.
10 "	130	24/2	Bought from a merchant stranger of London.
			Norfolk wheat from a
16 "	400	25/6	London haberdasher.
17 "	130	24/2	" merchant stranger.
17 "	41	27/2	Kentish wheat from a Whitstable mariner.
27 "	215	26/0	Norfolk wheat from a London haberdasher.
20 Mar.	92	25/0	Ditto.
20 "	60	26/8	Kentish wheat from a yeoman of Faversham.
1590			
27 Mar.	56	25/0	Norfolk wheat from a yeoman of Foxley.
27 "	160	25/6	Norfolk wheat from a London merchant tailor.
15 Apr.	114	26/0	Ditto.
17 "	179	25/6	Norfolk wheat bought from a London haberdasher.
23 "	50R	20/0	Bought from a London Alderman, L.
21 May	157⅞	23/6	Norfolk wheat bought from a London merchant tailor.
27 "	184	24/4	Bought from a merchant stranger.
18 June	54	24/0	Cornish wheat bought from a Falmouth merchant.

[1] The total cost of wheat in these two entries is £1984 12 s. 3 d.

Prices of Corn, 1582–1631 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of purchase
1590		s. d.	
14 July	54¾	23/0	Norfolk wheat bought from a London fishmonger.
July	800R	20/0	Bought from a London Alderman, L.
			Bought from a
1 Aug.	122	24/6	Lynn merchant.
14 Oct.	70	26/0	Sandwich "
27 "	84	26/8	" "
6 Nov.	81	26/0	Bought from an Edinburgh merchant.
14 "	49	25/0	Norfolk wheat bought from a London merchant tailor.
			Bought from a
27 "	110	24/8	Sandwich merchant.
3 Dec.	192	24/0	London draper.
18 "	46¾	27/0	Bought from an Essex "corneman."
1590–91			
15 Jan.	90¾	26/8	Kentish wheat bought from a Sandwich merchant.
20 "	49	26/0	Bought from a mariner of Middlesex.
22 "	64	26/0	Kentish wheat bought from a merchant of Faversham.
22 "	150	23/8	Norfolk wheat bought from a merchant of Haverland.
22 "	139	26/0	Norfolk wheat bought from a London merchant.
11 Feb.	64¾	26/0	Kentish wheat bought from a Margate merchant.
11 "	103	24/6	Norfolk wheat bought from a London draper.
14 "	147	25/4	Norfolk wheat bought from a London merchant.
1 Mar.	48	26/0	Kentish wheat bought from a London merchant tailor.
2 "	245	26/8	Emden wheat bought from a merchant stranger.
2 "	156	26/0	Norfolk wheat bought from a merchant tailor.
10 "	20	28/4	Bought in Flanders.
13 "	45⅝	26/0	Suffolk wheat bought from a skinner of London.
20 "	75	23/6	Norfolk wheat bought from a merchant of Haverland.
1591			
7 Apr.	165	25/0	Bought from a merchant tailor of London.
20 "	121	25/0	Norfolk wheat bought from a merchant tailor of London.
24 "	40	25/0	Bought from a Norwich merchant.
15 May	121¾	26/8	Middlesex wheat bought from a London merchant.
1591		s. d.	
			Bought from
15 May	400R	20/0	Suffolk merchants.
19 "	147	24/0	A merchant tailor of London.
25 "	30	26/0	A merchant of London.
31 "	88	21/4	Norfolk wheat bought from merchant tailor of London.
			Bought from a
28 June	139	25/0	Lynn man.
5 July	57	25/0	Merchant tailor of London
10 "	57	25/0	—.
20 "	161	25/0	Norfolk wheat bought from a London haberdasher.
30 "	70	26/8	Ditto.
4 Aug.	45	27/0	Bought from a merchant tailor of London.
25 "	159¼	24/0	Bought from an alderman of London.
Dec.	128½	19/1	Kentish wheat bought from a London merchant.
11 Dec.	99½	18/0	Kentish wheat bought from a merchant of Dover.
1591–92			
26 Feb.	120	18/4	Bought from a gentleman of Faversham.
22 Mar.	110	18/5	Ditto.
1592			
30 June	41	16/0	Kentish wheat bought from a yeoman of Isle of Thanet.
1593			Bought from
12 Nov.	400	23/6	A merchant stranger of London.
1594			
15 Aug.	1068	30/0	Merchants, L.
14 Nov.	328	39/0	Three merchants.
16 "	155	39/0	A London merchant.
16 "	76R	23/0	" " "
7 Dec.	386½	38/0	——.
			Bought from a
13 "	196⅞	38/4	Merchant stranger of London.
1594–95			
20 Feb.	200	38/0	Merchant of London.
13 Mar.	4–500	37/0	" stranger.
1595			
7 Apr.	—	37/6	London alderman.
May	200	39/0	Bridgemaster.
12 Nov.	600	40/0	From Hamburg.
1596			
4 June	71⅝	32/0	Norfolk wheat bought from a husbandman of Fleg.
1598			Paid to
27 Mar.	125	42/6	A merchant, P.

Prices of Corn, 1582–1631 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of purchase
1598		s. d.	
			Paid to
30 May	100	46/0	An alderman of London.
1600–01			
20 Jan.	150	35/0	A London draper, P.
1601			
21 Apr.	50	31/0	A London merchant, P.
5 Sept.	131	28/0	The Lord Mayor, P.
1606–07			
10 Mar.	197⅛	29/0	A gentleman of Walsingham, Norfolk, P.
1607			
26 Aug.	21¾	25/6	A yeoman of Sandwich, P.
1608			
28 May	73	31/0	A London alderman, P.
30 "	315	44/0	A London merchant, P.
31 "	173	45/0	A Hull mariner, P.
1 June	201⅝	35/0	Paid, P.
1 "	—	44/0	" P.
			Paid to a
13 "	—	53/0	Merchant, P.
14 "	245	53/4	Dover baker, P.
27 "	111	43/4	Corcaby gentleman of Yorkshire, P.
20 July	98	46/8	Colchester mariner, P.
20 "	31	50/0	" " P.
13 Aug.	50	44/0	Merchant, P.
19 Dec.	589¼	47/0	Paid, P.
1608–09			Paid to a
1 Feb.	130	40/6	Gentleman of Walsingham, Norfolk.
20 "	215	45/0	London alderman.
1609			
2 May	66	41/6	Hull merchant.
2 "	99	42/0	" "
29 "	704	40/0	Merchant.
10 July	223⅛	36/0	" P.
31 "	477	40/0	" P.
31 "	1048¼	48/0	" P.
7 Sept.	112	36/0	London alderman, P.
8 "	337½	36/0	Merchant, P.
16 Oct.	125⅝	36/0	" P.
4 Dec.	337½	36/0	" P.
1609–10			
2 Jan.	26	30/0	Paid, P.
10 Sept.	248¾	30/0	A merchant, P.
1611			
30 Aug.	32	30/0	Co. of Merchant Tailors.
30 "	371	32/0	" " " "
4 Nov.	420	31/0	Grocers Co.
1611–12			
7 Jan.	655	36/0	Merchants.
1612			
15 June	536	36/0	"
1613			
3 May	293	33/0	From France, D.
31 "	270¾	31/0	" " D.
31 "	564	32/0	Paid to a merchant, P.
2 June	105	28/0	From France, D.
21 July	302	31/0	" Danzig, D.
31 "	314	34/0	" France, D.
[July or Aug.]	162½	35/0	From France, D.
6, 7, & 11 Oct.			
	264⅛	31/0	Delivered at the Iron Gate Wharf, D.
27 Nov.	252	38/0	From Danzig, D.
			Bought from
15 Dec.	494	38/0	Merchants.
1613–14			
24 Jan.	319½	34/0[1]	John Lucye, a merchant, D.
1614			
27 June	402	44/0	The Lord Mayor, D.
17–22 Aug.	203	36/0	" " " D.
1618			
14 Apr.	425⅞	43/6	Danzig wheat bought from a merchant, D.
8 July	146	39/0	Bought, D.
[July or Aug.]	238	37/0	" D.
1619			
3 May	41	23/0	Bought from a merchant of Longham, Norfolk, L, D.
1626			
24 Apr.	118¼	40/0	——, P.
1631			Bought from
16 July	184	50/0	Two aldermen, D.
July	95R	48/0	Alderman B, D.

Prices of Corn, 1588–1655

Bought and sold by the Wax Chandlers' Company.
The year is 31 Aug. to 31 Aug.
The source is Renter Wardens Accounts, Wax Chandlers' Hall.

Year	Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1588			s. d.	
	1 May	20 "corne"	[19/0]	Bought.
1597–98	20 Mar.	3 [wheat] meal	40/0	Sold.
1622–23	7 Feb.	10 wheat	46/0	Bought at the Bridgehouse.
1624–25	28 "	10 "	[43/3]	Bought.
	[Feb.]	5 "	43/6	"
1630–31		4 "Irishe corne"	[44/0]	"
		3 Danzig rye	[38/0]	"
1631–32			s. d.	
		7 wheat	36/0	Bought.
1633–34		3 "	43/0	"
1641–42	5 Feb.	30 "	33/0	"
1643–44	21 Mar.	3 " corne "	[37/9]	Sold privately.
		11 " (8 lots)	[37/9]	" "
		6 " (6 lots)	37/9	" "
1655	21 June	8 wheat	21/4	Bought.

Prices of Corn, 1593–1618

Bought and sold by the Cutlers' Company.
From the Cutlers Company Accounts, 1586–1621.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1593–94		s. d.	
	20 wheat	26/8	Sold.
1594–95			
3 Feb.	5 rye	[28/4⅜]	" at Queenhithe.
	5 " meal	[30/0½]	" " "
1595			
7 Apr.	5 "	[30/0½]	" " "
2 May	5 "	[26/11⅜]	"
	0½ "	[32/0]	"
21 June	5 wheat	[44/0]	"
	0⅜ "	[40/0]	"
3 July	10 rye	22/8	"
1596			
[July]	5 wheat meal	40/0	"
	4 " "	36/0	"
3¾ + 3½pks.	" "	[34/5]	" to a baker.
7 Sept.	4¾ rye meal	[27/5⅛]	" privately.
	2 " "	34/8	" at Leadenhall.
	1¾ " "	26/8	" to James the weigher.
23 Nov.	20 rye	[33/0]	Bought.
24 "	20 "	34/0	" at Queenhithe.
4 Dec.	14 "	35/0	" from the Chamberlain of London.
1596–97	3 wheat	[53/1⅜]	Sold at Queenhithe.
	3 rye	[38/0]	Ditto.
	2 wheat	[46/0]	Sold privately.
	1 rye	32/0	" "
	34⅜ "	36/0	" at the Hall.
1597–98		s. d.	
	9⅛ wheat meal	46/8	Sold to several of the Co.
	9⅜ rye "	37/4	Ditto.
	0¼ " "	32/0	Ditto.
	5 "	[29/0⅝]	" at Queenhithe.
1599–1600			
13 Dec.	10½ wheat	26/8	" privately.
1601			
16 July	5 wheat meal	[32/4⅝]	" at Queenhithe.
17 "	2 " "	[33/1¼]	" " "
21 "	2 " "	[33/3]	" " "
	0½ wheat	29/4	"
	0½ "	32/8	"
	0½ "	30/0	"
	20 "	[31/0]	Bought.
	1 "	28/0	Sold.
6 Aug.	3 [wheat] meal	[28/4]	"
7 "	1 " "	[29/0]	"
7 "	2 " "	[28/11⅛]	" at Queenhithe.
1606–07			Bought from
11 Feb.	5 wheat	32/0	Thos. Gyrnell of Gypson.
25 "	5⅜ "	[32/0]	Ditto.
16 Mar.	5 "	[32/0]	Ditto.
24 "	5⅜ "	[32/0]	Ditto.
	18⅝ "	25/0	Sold.
1612–13	15 "	[36/2¼]	Bought.
1617–18			Sold at
	28 [wheat] meal	[30/11⅜]	Newgate markets.

Prices of Corn, 1599–1639

Bought and sold by the Clothworkers' Company.

The year generally runs from Midsummer to Midsummer.

Source — "Renter and Quarter Warden," Accounts, vols. 1599–1613, 1613–21, 1621–30, 1630–39, preserved at the Clothworkers' Hall.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1599–1600		s. d.	
	20 wheat meal	33/4½	Sold on markets.
	16¼ " "	[33/5⅝]	" " "
	24 " "	[33/4]	" " "
	20¼ " "	[33/3⅛]	" " "
	10 " "	[33/7½]	" " "
	7¼ " "	[33/3⅛]	" " "
	1 " "	[32/0]	" " "
	1 rye	26/8	" to Mr. M.
	16¾ "	[22/6½]	Sold.
	13 "	24/4	"
	4 " meal[1]	26/4	" on markets.
	0¼ "	[22/8]	
	3⅞ "	[27/1½]	
	101 wheat	[24/0]	Bought.
	40 rye	20/0	"
1600–01			
20 June	5 wheat	30/0	Sold to a baker.
25 "	18 "	30/0	" " "
21 Aug.	8 meal	29/0	" " "
21 "	10 "	28/0	" to Mr. Page.
6 Sept.	62 wheat	27/0	" privately.
29 "	20 " (3 lots)	27/0	" "
29 "	10 meal	26/0	" "
29 "	2 "	26/8	" at Leadenhall.
29 "	0⅛ "	26/8	" to a merchant.
29 "	0⅜ "	26/8	" to a corn-keeper.
16 Jan.	100 wheat	34/0	Bought.
8 Feb.	47 "	33/0	"
1601–02	5 " meal	[22/11⅛]	Sold on markets.
	10 " "	[21/2½]	" " "
	80½ " (4 lots)	25/0	" privately.
			Bought from
20 Jan.	50 "	22/0	A gentleman.
7 Mar.	48¾ "	19/2	" "
1602–03			
11 Mar.	16 "	29/0	Privately.
13 "	16¾ "	28/0	"
15 "	25¼ "	25/0	"
23 "	28¼ "	28/0	"
2 May	1 " meal	29/4	Sold on markets.
2 "	1 " "	26/8	Sold.
1605–06	1 "	25/0	"

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1606–07		s. d.	
10 Jan.	0½ wheat	24/0	Sold.
1607–08			
30 Mar.	0½ "	24/0	"
Sundry times	7 wheat	24/0	"
2 June	1 wheat (2 lots)	24/0	"
	0½ "	24/0	"
16 June	50 rye	29/8	Bought.
	1 wheat meal	42/8	Sold at Queenhithe.
1608–09			
28 June	0½ "	32/0	Sold to a clothworker.
—	0½ "	32/0	Ditto.
	3⅜ "	32/0	Sold privately.
	2 rye (14 lots)	29/4	"
22 Aug.	3 wheat meal	45/4	Sold at Queenhithe.
31 "	1½ " "	45/4	"
—	1 rye "	29/4	"
—	0½ wheat "	32/0	Sold.
16 Sept.	2 " "	45/4	Sold at Queenhithe.
	2 " "	48/0	"
	1 rye "	29/4	"
	2 wheat "	48/0	Bishopsgate.
	1 rye "	32/0	"
3 Oct.	2 wheat "	48/0	Queenhithe.
8 "	1 rye "	32/0	"
12 "	4 wheat "	48/0	"
12 "	1 rye "	32/0	"
16 "	2 wheat "	48/0	"
16 "	1 rye "	32/0	"
19 "	3 wheat "	48/0	"
2 Nov.	7½ " "	48/0	"
2 "	2 rye "	32/0	"
11 "	5 wheat "	48/0	"
18 "	4 " "	48/0	"
2 Dec.	6 " "	48/0	"
9 "	3½ " "	48/0	"
16 "	4½ " "	48/0	"
	1¼ " "	48/0	Sold to a mealman.
	2 " "	48/0	Sold at Queenhithe.
	3 rye "	34/8	"

[1] Each qr. being short 19 lbs.

Prices of Corn, 1599–1639 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1608–09		s. d.	
20 Dec.	2 wheat meal	48/0	Sold at Queenhithe.
20 "	3 rye "	34/8	"
30 "	1 wheat "	48/0	"
30 "	1 " "	42/8	"
30 "	4 rye "	34/8	"
18 Feb.	2 wheat "	45/4	"
10 Mar.–10 Apr.	2 wht. meal	40/0	"
" "	3 rye "	32/0	"
10–14 Apr.	3 wht. "	40/0	"
" "	2 rye "	32/0	"
14–22 Apr.	3 wht. "	40/0	"
" "	3 rye "	32/0	"
28 Apr.–4 May	1 wht. "	42/0	"
" "	1¾ " "	41/4	"
" "	0¼ " "	42/8	"
" "	2 rye "	32/0	"
—	1 wht. "	40/0	Southwark.
—	1 rye "	29/4	"
4–13 May	1⅞ wht. "	40/8	Queenhithe.
" "	0½ rye "	32/0	"
13–27 "	2 wht. "	40/0	"
" "	2 rye "	29/4	"
2 May–1 June	3 wht. "	40/0	"
" "	1 rye "	29/4	"
1–13 June	3 wheat meal	37/4	"
15 July	3 wheat meal	37/0	"
—	3 " "	34/0	"
26 July	0½ " "	32/0	"
11 Aug.	2 " "	33/6	Sold to two mealmen.
23 "	1 " "	30/0	Sold.
	0½ "	32/0	" from the Bridgehouse.
	23 " (49 lots)	32/0	Ditto.
	0⅜ rye meal	29/4	Sold at Queenhithe.
	1 wheat	38/0	Sold privately.
	11½ " (36 lots)	40/0	" "
	1 " (2 lots)	48/0	" "
	2 " (4 lots)	48/0	" "
	2 "	44/0	" "
	3 "	40/0	" "
	20 "	50/0	" to East India Co.
	2 "	38/0	Sold to a miller.
	1 "	37/4	" privately.
	2 "	32/8	" to a man of Clapham.
	3⅜ " (2 lots)	32/8	Ditto.
	1¼ "	32/0	Ditto.
	1 "	33/0	Sold privately.
	2⅛ " (3 lots)	32/0	" "
	21 " (2 lots)	31/0	" "
	5 wheat	30/0	Sold to St. Bartholamew Hospital.
	45 "	30/0	Sold to a baker.
	1½ rye	29/4	" privately.
	0⅜ "	29/4	" "
	7⅞ " (22 lots)	29/4	" "
	3⅛ "	29/4	" to 25 persons of the Co.
	0⅝ "	32/0	Sold privately.
	137⅜ wheat	47/0	Bought.
	59⅜ "	47/0	"
1609–10	3¾ "	32/0	Sold.
	1 "	26/0	"
	10 "	32/0	"
	0½ "	26/8	"
1610–11	98½ "	28/0	"
	46 "	28/0	"
4 Mar.	139½ "	32/0	" privately (an old sale).
4 "	42⅝ + 3pks. wht.	[34/9⅜]	Sold on markets.
1617–18	29½ wheat	39/6	Bought from a merchant.
1618–19	6 wheat meal	32/0	Bought.
1621–22	5 Dec. 20 wheat	36/0	"
5 "	4½ "	35/0	"
15 Jan.	30⅛ "	38/0	"
15 "	10 "	37/0	"
22 May	63 "	42/0	"
	4½ + 6 lbs. meal	[32/1⅝]	" from a baker for market.
1622–23			
19 Aug.	1 meal	40/0	Sold on markets.
21 "	2 "	40/0	" " "
23 "	1 "	40/0	" " "
26 "	4 "	42/8	" " "
3 Sept.	6 "	45/4	" " "
9 "	6 "	45/4	" " "
16 "	6 "	45/4	" " "
23 "	6 "	45/4	" " "
30 "	6 "	45/4	" " "
7 Oct.	5 "	45/4	" " "
14 "	6 "	45/4	" " "
21 Oct.–			
27 Jan.	42 " (9 lots)	45/4	" " "
27 Jan.–			
3 Feb.	9 " (2 lots)	50/8	" " "
10 Feb.–			
21 Mar.	36 " (7 lots)	48/0	" " "
7 Apr.–			
11 Aug.	69 " (15 lots)	44/0	" " "
—	4½ "	45/0	" to men of the Co.

Prices of Corn, 1599–1639 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1622–23		s. d.	
—	5 meal	44/0	Sold to several.
1624–25			
9 Apr.	50 wheat	40/0	Bought.
27 June	100 "	37/6	" from a merchant.
1630–31			
1 Sept.	10 meal	45/0	Sold on markets.
6 "	5 "	45/0	" " "
13 Sept.–			
3 Mar.	111½ " (13 lots)	45/0	" " "
18 Mar.	6½ "	46/0	" " "
18 "	7 "	48/0	" privately.
7 May–			
20 June	42 " (6 lots)	48/0	" "
1631–32			
29 June	4 mistlin [1]	40/0	" on markets.
30 "	7 "	40/0	" " "
8 July	5 "	40/0	" " "
22 "	11 "	40/0	" " "
5 Aug.	15 "	38/0	" " "
—	0¼ wheat meal	44/0	" privately.
—	0⅜ "	44/0	" "
[Autumn]	60 rye	38/0	Bought.
2 Dec.	15¼ wheat	37/6	"
[Dec.]	11 "	38/0	"
8 Dec.	37⅞ "	36/0	"
16 "	132½ "	37/0	"
16 Mar.	12 Irish wheat	44/0	"
28 Mar.–25 Apr. [2]			
1631–32		s. d.	
[Apr.] 7	barley	40/0	Bought.
27 Apr. 15	Irish wheat	44/0	"
14 May 15	wheat	44/0	"
—	1½ "	60/0(?)	"
1 June 15	"	[44/0]	"
3 " 6	"	44/0	"
4 " 20	rye	45/0	"
22 " 75	wheat	44/0	"
29 " 15	"	44/0	"
1632–33			
29 Sept.–			
20 July	96 meal (14 lots)	40/0	Sold on markets.
[20 July]–			
17 Aug.	33 " (5 lots)	36/0	" " "
23 Aug.	97½ " (12 lots)	40/0	" " "
27 Aug.–			
6 Nov.	51 " (6 lots)	36/0	" " "
Jan.	5 "	48/0	" " "
16 "	146 " (16 lots)	40/0	" " "
8 Mar.	50 "	36/6	Bought.
—	146¼ "	[34/0]	"
1635–36	38 "	40/0	"
	32 "	38/0	"
	20 "	41/10	"
	10 "	43/4	"
	20 "	36/0	"
	49 " (2 lots)	35/0	"
1638–39	84 "	32/0	"
	52 "	30/0	"

Prices of Corn, 1599–1675

Bought and sold by the Grocers' Company.

The year runs from July to July.

Source is "The Book of the Corne Accompte," Grocers' Hall, No. 571.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1599–1600		s. d.	
Aug.	3 wheat meal	25/0	Sold to a baker.
1 Feb.	36 "	46/4	Bought.
1 "	10 "	42/0	"
1 "	5 "	[42/0]	" at Dartford, Kent.
13 Dec.	180 "	46/0	
1623–24			
11 May	10 "	36/0	Bought from a Faversham man.
1623–24		s. d.	
11 May	40 wheat	35/0	Bought.
"	32 "	33/0	"
1624–25			
4–11 July	8 wheat meal	40/0	Sold on Newgate mkt.
20 July–12 July	39 wheat	[37/5½]	Sold.
20 " –12 "	50 "	40/0	"
20 " –12 "	7 " (2 lots)	42/0	"
20 " –12 "	18 "	41/6	Bought.
20 " –12 "	50 "	42/0	"
20 " –12 "	50 "	36/0	"

[1] Bought by contract and round measure.

[2] Wheat, rye, and barley.

Prices of Corn, 1599–1675 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.		Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
			s. d.	
1624–25				
20 July–12 July	39½	wheat	[20/0]	Sold [on markets].
" – "	50	"	40/0	Sold to the king.
" – "	9⅛	"	42/0	Ditto.
" – "	8	"	[20/0]	Sold to the poor.
1625–26				
July– July	50	"	40/0	Bought.
1629–30				
21 July– 7 July	23	" meal	[38/8⅛]	Sold on markets.
1630–31				
7 July–14 July	107¼	" "	[48/0⅞]	Ditto.
7 " –14 "	13	"	54/0	Bought.
7 " –14 "	30	"	52/0	"
7 " –14 "	40	"	56/0	"
7 " –14 "	17	" (2 lots)	62/0	"
7 " –14 "	10	"	64/0	"
7 " –14 "	40	"	75/0	"
7 " –14 "	36	barley	42/0	"
7 " –14 "	24⅛	"	44/0	"
7 " –14 "	30	rye	50/0	"
7 " –14 "	234	Irish wht.	[44/0]	"
7 " –14 "	100	rye	38/0	"
1631–32				
14 July–19 July	31⅜	"	24/0	Sold.
14 " –19 "	10	wht. meal	36/0	" on markets.
14 " –19 "	10	"	35/0	Sold.
14 " –19 "	44⅜	barley	18/0	"
14 " –19 "	12	wheat	35/0	Bought.
14 " –19 "	5	"	37/0	"
14 " –19 "	90½	"	35/6	"
14 " –19 "	14	"	37/0	"
14 " –19 "	30½	"	30/0	"
14 " –19 "	19¾	"	37/6	"
July– July	88¾	Irish wht.	[40/0]	Sold.
" – "	54	wht. meal	[32/1⅜]	Sold on markets.
" – "	68	" "	[26/2½]	" "
" – "	21½	" "	[35/9¾]	" "
1632–33				
19 July–16 July	5	wheat	50/0	to a baker.
19 " –16 "	5	"	38/0	" "
19 " –16 "	5	"	44/0	" widow.
19 " –16 "	3	"	50/0	" "
19 " –16 "	2	"	38/0	" "
19 " –16 "	20	"	46/0	Sold.
19 " –16 "	2	"	40/0	"
19 " –16 "	5	"	35/0	"
19 " –16 "	57	"	38/0	Bought.
19 " –16 "	18⅝	"	36/0	"
19 " –16 "	40¼	" (2 lots)	39/0	"

Date	Amt. in qrs.		Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
			s. d.	
1632–33				
19 July–16 July	172	wht. (2 lots)	38/0	Bought.
19 " –16 "	70	"	42/0	"
1633–34				
16 July–17 July	55	wht. (2 lots)	35/0	Sold to a baker.
16 " –17 "	30	"	38/0	Ditto.
16 " –17 "	2	"	40/0	Ditto.
16 " –17 "	1½	"	40/0	Sold.
16 " –17 "	125	wht. meal	36/0	" on markets.
16 " –17 "	40	" "	37/4	Ditto.
16 " –17 "	0¾	wheat	40/0	Sold.
16 " –17 "	180	wht. meal	40/0	Sold on markets.
16 " –17 "	2	wheat	40/0	Sold.
16 " –17 "	3¾	" (2 lots)	36/0	"
16 " –17 "	200	" (2 lots)	42/0	Bought.
16 " –17 "	215	"	36/0	"
1634–35				
17 July–14 July	41	" meal	37/4	Sold on markets.
17 " –14 "	1	"	36/0	Sold.
17 " –14 "	2	"	36/0	"
17 " –14 "	50	" meal	40/0	" on markets.
17 " –14 "	1¾	" (2 lots)	40/0	Sold.
17 " –14 "	100	"	36/0	Bought.
1635–36				
14 July–12 July	20½	wheat meal (2 lots)	40/0	Sold on markets.
14 " –12 "	0½	wheat	[36/0]	Sold.
14 " –12 "	75	"	39/2	Bought.
14 " –12 "	30	"	40/0	"
14 " –12 "	44	"	37/6	"
14 " –12 "	30	"	35/0	"
14 " –12 "	30	"	38/0	"
14 " –12 "	105	" (2 lots)	[20/0]	"
14 " –12 "	44¾	"	[19/9⅝]	"
14 " –12 "	90	" (2 lots)	[20/0]	"
1636–37				
12 July–14 July	0			
1636–37				
14 July–18 July	60	wht. meal	40/0	Sold on markets.
14 " –18 "	60	" "	45/4	Ditto.
14 " –18 "	6	" "	36/0	Ditto.
14 " –18 "	3	wheat	48/2	Sold.
14 " –18 "	40⅜	"	[48/1½]	Bought.
14 " –18 "	142¾	"	48/0	"
14 " –18 "	91	"	33/6	"
14 " –18 "	61	"	27/0	" from a "Corn merchant."
1640–41				
16 July– 8 July	0			

Prices of Corn, 1599–1675 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1641–42		s. d.	
8 July–12 July	58 wheat	23/6	Sold.
8 " –12 "	42 "	27/0	"
8 " –12 "	38 "	32/0	Bought.
8 " –12 "	10 "	30/0	"
8 " –12 "	55 "	26/6	"
8 " –12 "	96½ "	32/0	" from [a corn merchant].
8 " –12 "	18½ "	30/0	Bought.
1642–43			
12 July–12 July	0		
1643–44			
12 July–18 July	93¾ wheat	30/0 31/0 32/0	Bought from one man.
1644–46			
18 July–15 July	0		
1646–47			
15 July–16 July	1 wheat	[20/0]	Sold.
1647–48			
16 July–19 July	20 " meal	48/0	" on mkts.
16 " –19 "	310 wheat [meal] (2 lots)	48/0	Sold [on markets].
16 " –19 "	17 "	48/0	Sold to officials and servants of Co.
16 " –19 "	50 "	52/6	Sold.
16 " –19 "	2 "	[48/0]	"to Warden West.
1648–49			
19 July–19 July	5 "	[48/0]	Sold.
1649–50		s. d.	
19 July–17 July	50 wheat meal	56/0	Sold on mkts.
19 " –17 "	3½ "	48/0	"
1650–51			
17 July–11 July	50 " meal	48/0	" on mkts.
	79 " "	(2 lots) 40/0	Sold on markets.
	16 wheat [meal]	40/0	Sold [on markets].
1651–54			
11 July–20 July	0		
1654–55			
20 July–18 July	49½ wheat	16/0	Bought.
1655–58			
18 July–22 July	0		
1658–59			
22 July–15 July	12 wht. [meal]	44/0	Sold on markets.
	32 wheat	—	Ditto.
	0⅝ wht. meal	40/0	Ditto.
	0⅝ light corn	[24/9⅜]	Sold.
1659–60			
15 July–21 July[1]	[40⅜] wheat	33/0	"
1660–61			
21 July–18 July	0		
1661–62			
18 July– July	27 wht. meal	76/0	Sold on markets.
18 " – "	9 " "	[71/9⅜]	Ditto.
18 " – "	9 " "	[71/1⅜]	Ditto.
1662–75			
July– July	0		

Prices of Corn, 1602–09

Bought and sold by the Carpenters' Company.

Source — the Wardens Account Book, 1593–1613, at the Carpenters' Hall.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1602–03	3 wheat	28/0	Bought.
	3 "	[27/8]	Sold to John Windett.
	1 "	[28/0]	Sold to the master of the Co.
	1 " meal	[29/0]	Sold on markets.
24 Mar.	15 wheat	31/0	Bought from Jno. Lawrence.
1603–04	8½ "	21/6	Sold to a baker.
1608–09	13 " (unground)	[42/4½]	" " 31 members of Co. at Bridgehouse.
	16½ wheat meal	[32/5]	Sold on markets.

[1] Co. unprepared, no corn for markets.

Prices of Corn, 1617–74

Bought and sold by the Mercers' Company.

Abbreviations: CD — "charges deducted." In 1647–48, the charges on 250½ qrs. of wheat meal sold on the market were £20 14 s. 9½ d., or about 1 s. 8 d. per qr.

Source — Second Wardens Accounts, vols. 1617–1629, 1630–1639, 1648–1658, 1671–1676, preserved in the Mercers' Hall.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1617–18	26 wheat	[27/2⅔]	Sold on markets.
			Bought from
27 Jan.	45 Danzig wht.	40/0	Rob. Greenewell.
	98 wheat	38/0	Mr. Venne and Hy. Perry.
	6 "	[15/2⅔]	Sold on markets, CD.
			Bought from
1619–20	51¼ "	[19/10¾]	Nich. Nenison.
	60 Sussex wht.	18/6	Repentance Avis.
	58⅜ wheat	18/11¼	Bought.
1620–21	107 "	15/0	Sold.[1]
	8⅞ rye	11/8	"
	12 wheat meal	[14/0]	Sold on mkts. CD.
1621–22			
Early in yr.	1 "Corne"	20/0	Sold.
28 Aug.	10 "Corne"	[30/9½]	" CD.
14 Sept.	12 "	[37/1]	" CD.
	22 "wheete"	[35/4]	" CD.
	18 "	[36/6⅔]	" CD.
1622–23	204¼ wheat	[37/3½]	Sold at Queenhithe market.[2]
8 Jan.	60 East Country wheat	52/0	Bought from Roger Henning, a mercer.
11 Feb.	120 wheat	46/0	Bought.
1623–24	8½ "	[25/9½]	Sold on mkts., CD.
3 Apr.	100 "	[38/0]	Bought from Mr. Cox.
1624–25	60 "corne"	[40/0]	Sold for king's use.
	43 "	37/0	" on markets.
	50 wheat	[40/0]	Bought from Chamberlain of City.
1625–26	103 "	[34/4½]	Sold at Queenhithe, CD.
1626–27	3 "	[29/4]	Sold.
			Bought from
	92⅝ "	30/0	Francis Bridges.[3]
	3 "	33/0	Mr. Cradock.
	19 "	33/0	Jno. South.
	95⅝ "	31/0	Jno. Haine.
1627–28	207 "	[25/7⅛]	John Carre.
1628–29	3 wheat	[24/0]	Sold at Queenhithe.
1629–30	100 " (2 lots)	[37/1]	Sold on mkts., CD.
	45 "	[37/1⅓]	" " " CD.
	20 "	[42/3⅓]	" " " CD.
	1 "	48/0	"
	50 "	[37/1]	" on mkts., CD.
1630–31	411½ wht. & rye	[41/7½]	" " " at several prices.
			Bought from
	100 rye	50/0	Marcus Brands.
	190 Irish wht.	44/0	Ald. Freeman.
	53 rye	38/0	Dan Garnish.
1631–32	40 wht. & rye	[27/4]	Sold on markets.[4]
	20 wheat	[48/0]	" " " "
	100 "	[38/9]	" " " "
			Bought from
	75 "	36/0	Rob. Rye [5 s. ex.].
	40 "	36/10	Marke Pearce [10 s. extra].
	60 "	38/7	Ed. Hales.
	19 "	38/3	Jno. Saffull.
	10⅓ "	38/0	Jno. Saffull.
	47 "	38/0	Abr. Rye.
	40 "	36/0	Abr. Rye. [5 s. ex.]
	31 "	36/0	Wm. Bladwell, a merchant.
1632–33	235½ "	[36/7¾]	Sold on markets.[4]
	15 "	36/0	" " "
	168¾ "	41/7	Bought.
1633–34	180½ "	[37/11]	Sold [on markets].[4]
			Bought from
	43 "	43/0	Wm. Austin.
	100 "	42/0	Rob. Bell.
	50 "	43/0	Sir Geo. Sands.
	6⅛ "	40/0	Warden Chapman.
	100 "	41/0	John Goger.
1634–35	272½ "	[37/11]	Sold on markets.[4]
	70 "	[37/4½]	" " " "

[1] "being much troubled with the weavle."

[2] Costs and losses deducted.

[3] 10 s. less on the whole.

[4] "all charges deducted except for grinding."

Prices of Corn, 1617–74 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	Bought from
1634–35	100 wheat	38/0	Sir Geo. Sands.
	150 "	39/6	Mr. Johnston.
	77½ "	38/0	Mr. Bell.
	49¾ "	38/0	Sir Geo. Sands.
	1 "	36/0	Mr. Greeneway.
1635–36	230 "	[33/11]	Sold on markets.[1]
	300¼ "	[38/9¾]	" " " 1
1636–37	None sold or bought.		
1637–38	100 wheat	42/0	Sold for king's use.
	110 "	[39/1½]	" on mkts., CD.
	150 Fr. wheat	39/0	Bought from Jno. Batty.
1638–39	None sold or bought.		
1639–40	135 wheat	28/0	Bought from John Orwell.
1640–41	None sold or bought.		
1641–42	248½ wheat	28/0	Sold to Francis Smith.
			Bought from
	52½ "	32/0	John Gogar.
	28 "	32/0	Francis Smith.[2]
	100 " Corne "	32/6	" "
	49¾ wheat	32/6	" "
	20 "	31/0	" "
	100¾ "	33/6	" "
	155 "	34/0	" "
1642–44	None sold or bought.		
1644–45	43¼ wheat	32/6	Bought.
1645–47	None sold or bought.		
1647–48	250 wht. meal	48/0	"Sold to the poor."
1648–49	7 wheat	48/0	Sold.
			Sold to
1649–50	251 "	60/0	Mich. Dawes & Gilb. Maddock.
	100 "	60/0	Thos. Floud.
	20 "	60/6	" "
	42 "	48/0	Sold weekly to the poor of the Co.
1650–51	None bought or sold.		
1651–52	2 wheat	44/0	Sold to "under-officers" of the Co.
			Bought from
1652–53	108 "	34/0	Rich. Backensall.
	23 "	32/0	" "
	77¼ "	32/6	Wm. Allen.
	49½ "	26/8	" "
1653–54	None bought or sold.		
1654–55	300 wheat	22/6	Bought from Jno. Loveday.
1655–56	None bought or sold.		
1657–58	261 wheat	36/0	Sold to two bakers out of the Bridgehouse.
1666–73	None bought or sold.		
1673–74			
8 Jan.	60 wheat	40/0	Sold to Thos. Spurling.
1674–90	No corn accounts.		

Prices of Corn, 1634–58

Bought and sold by the Haberdashers' Company.

These prices are taken from the General Account Books, vols. 1634–1653, 1653–1668, Haberdashers' Hall.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1634	100 Fr. wheat	42/0	Bought.
	40 Hamburg "	36/6	"
	161½ " "	38/0	"
	90 Fr. "	40/0	"
1635	80 wheat	38/0	"
	91 "	39/0	"
	100 Fr. wheat	35/0	"
	370 wheat	[37/3¾]	Sold on markets.
	85 "	34/0	" privately.
1636	90 "	37/0	" on markets.
	89 "	38/0	Bought.
	40 "	35/0	"
	40¼ "	32/0	"
1636	132¾ wheat	38/0	Bought.
1638	200 "	42/0	Sold.
	135¾ "	[39/0]	" on markets.
	16 "	44/6	Bought.
	14 "	41/6	"
	60 "	44/0	"
	[44] "	44/0	" from Lucas Lucy.
	10 "	42/0	Bought.
	248⅝ "	36/0	" from Ald. Andrews.
1639	188½ "	[29/0]	Sold privately.
	28 "	35/0	Bought.

[1] "all charges deducted except for grinding."

[2] His reward is 1 s. per qr. — gratuity.

Prices of Corn, 1634–58 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1639	6¾ wheat	33/0	Bought.
	112¼ "	35/0	"
	100 "	31/0	"
1642	100 decayed wht.	28/0	Sold.
	306⅛ wheat	[30/7½]	Bought.
1643	145 "	40/0	"
	9 "	38/0	"
	57 "	37/0	"
	32 "	35/0	"
	40 "	33/0	"
1644	46 "	28/0	Sold.
1644	3 Kentish wheat	40/0	Bought.
1646	151 wheat	38/0	Sold to several bakers.
	20 "	37/0	Sold to several.
1647	51 "	48/0	" on markets.
	41 "	56/0	" to bakers and mealmen.
1648	199½ "	48/0	Sold " to the use of the poore."
1653	20 "	30/0	Bought.
1658	20½ "	[42/0]	Sold.

Prices of Corn, 1636–65

Bought and sold by the Fishmongers' Company.

The year runs from Midsummer to Midsummer.

Source — Wardens Accounts, vols. 1636–58, 1658–82, Fishmongers' Hall.

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1636–37		s. d.	
2 Mar.	23½ wheat	[37/0]	
14 "	94¾ "	[33/5½]	
20 "	90 "	36/0	Paid to Wm. Locke baker for provision for Co.'s use.
30 "	99¼ "	36/3	
1641–42			
14 May	200 "	30/0	
20 June	50 "	31/0	
1642–48	None sold or bought ?		
1653–54		s. d.	Paid to Wm. Locke baker for provision for Co.'s use.
14 Mar.	200 wheat	34/0	
14 "	120 "	33/0	
1654–58	None bought or sold.		
1658–60	48 wheat	42/8	Sold.
1660–64	None bought or sold.		
1664–65	141 "corne"	42/0	Bought.

APPENDIX F

STATISTICS OF CORN PRICES, GENERAL, 1208–1669

Particulars concerning the bulk and distribution of the prices of wheat sold on the manors of the bishopric of Winchester, 1208–1299.

TOTAL NUMBER OF ENTRIES[1] AND LOCALITIES, 1208–1299

Year	Entries	Localities	Year	Entries	Localities
1208–09	38	34	1258–59	127	40
1210–11	50	32	1262–63	188	44
1211–12	39	34	1264–65	133	43
1213–14	42	34	1265–66	159	43
1215–16	34	25	1266–67	118	37
1217–18	31	25	1267–68	88	33
1218–19	30	27	1277–78	156	41
1219–20	31	24	1278–79	126	40
1220–21	47	35	1282–83	107	43
1223–24	49	33	1283–84	115	39
1224–25	35	31	1285–86	110	43
1225–26	38	27	1286–87	87	36
1226–27	30	28	1287–88	81	38
1231–32	59	29	1288–89	112	41
1232–33	74	40	1289–90	122	43
1235–36	69	34	1290–91	91	41
1236–37	47	36	1291–92	96	41
1244–45	62	36	1292–93	96	48
1245–46	148	41	1293–94	67	39
1246–47	180	40	1297–98	81	41
1248–49	169	44	1298–99	90	45
1253–54	161	41	1299–1300	123	44
1254–55	64	29			
1257–58	128	47	Total	4138	1709

[1] During the first few years the "entry" is generally the total amount sold; later the amount sold at a particular price.

The order of entries followed below is not that of the manuscript but the order of rising prices, which is, however, often the one also followed in the original account rolls.

Prices of Wheat

Sold on the manors of the bishopric of Winchester, 1208–1299.

1208–09[1]

Adderbury

qrs.	s. d.
34	2/2

Alresford

41	[2/8]
12	[3/0]

Ashmansworth

16	[2/10⅜]

Barton

23⅛ (mill)	[2/6½]

Beauworth

4	[2/1]
8	[3/0]

Brightwell

202⅜	[2/7]

Cheriton

35½	[3/0]

Clere

74	[2/8]

Crawley

61½	[2/6¼]

Downton

110⅜	[2/10½]

Fareham

55¼	[2/6¾]

Farnham

10	2/0
75½	3/0

Flodstoc

1 (mill)	[2/10]

Hambledon

9	[2/6¾]

Harwell

76	[2/9⅛]

Itchingswell

35	[2/8]

Knoyle

13	3/0

Mardon

28½	[2/7⅜]

Meon

qrs.	s. d.
100¾	[2/10½]

Meon, Church

207	[2/9]

Overton

17⅝	[2/11½]

Privet

2½	[2/8]

Rimpton

7¼	[2/7⅛]

Sparkford

12 (mill)	[2/8½]

Sutton

42	[2/6¾]

Taunton

190	[3/3½]

Twyford

39	[2/10½]

Waltham

20½	[2/2⅝]

Wargrave

10	[2/7⅜]

Wield

13	[3/2]

Winchester

28⅜ (mill)	[2/7⅜]

Witney

50	[2/3⅜]

Woodhay

44⅓	[2/9⅝]

Wycombe

36	2/4
80	2/6

1210–11

Adderbury

21 (new)	[2/11⅞]
24 (old)	[3/0]

Alresford

17½	[3/4¾]

Ashmansworth

qrs.	s. d.
3	[3/10⅝]

Beauworth

28½	[3/1⅝]

Bentley

2½	[3/0⅜]
32	[4/0]

Bitterne

9	[3/6]

Cheriton

29½	[3/3]

Clere

65	[3/11]

Crawley

22	5/5¾

Downton

142	[3/7½]

Fareham

8¼	[3/0]

Farnham

46	[4/0⅜]

Hambledon

9	[3/3½]

Insula

39⅛	[3/11½]

Itchingswell

1 (old)	[3/0]
52	[3/5½]

Knoyle

22½	[4/0]

Mardon

44¾	[3/10½]

Meon

34½	[3/10]

Meon, Church

204½ + 2 hops.	[3/0⅜]

Overton

9	[3/6]

Rimpton

qrs.	s. d.
8 (old)	[2/6]
23 (new)	[2/7½]

Southwark

32	[3/3]
20	[3/6½]
100	[3/8]
62	[3/10]
36	[3/10]
79	[3/10¾]
55	[3/11]
78	[3/11]
50	[4/0]
100	[4/0]
129	[4/0]
44	[4/6]

Stoke

11 (old)	[2/10½]

Sutton

5½	[4/0]

Taunton

265½	[3/4¾]

Twyford

10 (old)	[2/11]
33 (new)	[3/11¾]

Waltham

3½	[3/5⅜]
110	[4/0]

Waltham, North

31½	[3/11]

Wield

28⅜	[2/0¾]

Witney

83 (old)	[2/10¾]
75 (new)	[2/11⅜]

Woodhay

7½	[4/0]

Wycombe

163	[4/2]

1211–12

Adderbury

85¼	[2/1⅜]

[1] The manuscript is dated "1207," but the correct year 1208–09 has been assigned by the editor of this the only printed roll. Hall, Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, p. viii.

The figures in brackets are averages deduced from the amount sold and the total price received. The figures without brackets are found in the manuscripts.

Prices of Wheat, 1211–12 (*continued*)

Alresford
qrs. s. d.
15½ ..... [3/0]

Ashmansworth
36½ ..... [2/6½]

Beauworth
23½ ..... [3/0]

Bentley
10 ..... [2/6]
15 ..... [3/0]

Brightwell
47 ..... [2/11⅜]

Calbourne
82¾ ..... [2/10¼]

Cheriton
34½ ..... [3/0]

Clere
115 + 1 strike. [2/9]

Crawley
51 ..... [2/6]

Downton
19½ (mill) .. [2/3]
142½ ..... [2/9]

Ebbesborne
70 ..... [2/5]

Fareham
8 ..... [3/0]

Farnham
16 ..... [2/0]
8 ..... [2/2]

Hambledon
14½ ..... [3/0]

Harwell
8 ..... [2/8]

Itchingswell
55½ ..... [3/1½]

Knoyle
5½ ..... [3/0]

Mardon
66½ ..... [2/9]

Meon
15 ..... [3/0]

Meon, Church
Overton
5½ ..... [2/4]

Rimpton
26⅔ ..... [1/11⅙]

Southwark
qrs. s. d.
168 ..... [2/7]

Stoke
19 ..... [2/3½]

Sutton
33 ..... [3/0]

Taunton
6 (old) .... [2/4]
314½ + 3 hops
(new) ..... [2/5¼]

Twyford
20½ ..... [2/8¾]

Waltham
36½ ..... [2/6]

Waltham, N.
33½ ..... [2/6½]

Wargrave
13 ..... [2/7]

Wield
2½ ..... [2/6¾]
39½ ..... [3/0]

Witney
57 ..... [3/0]

Woodhay
50⅛ ..... [2/9]

Wycombe
3 ..... [2/7]

1213–14
Adderbury
83 ..... [1/9⅜]

Alresford
14 ..... [2/0]

Ashmansworth
5 + 1 hop .... [1/10¾]

Beauworth
38¾ ..... [2/8¾]

Bentley
51 ..... [2/4]

Bitterne
4 ..... [2/0]

Brightwell
13 ..... [2/8]

Cheriton
49 ..... [2/6½]

Clere
105 ..... [2/2¾]

Crawley
qrs. s. d.
3 ..... [3/0]

Downton
15 (mill) ... [2/0]
215½ ..... [2/3]

Ebbesborne
103½ ..... [2/6½]

Fareham
8½ ..... [2/11]

Farnham
31¾ ..... [2/4]

Harwell
11 ..... [2/0½]

Insula
123½ ..... [2/7⅛]

Itchingswell
30 (new) ... [2/3]
15 (old) .... [2/8]

Knoyle
14 ..... [2/2]

Mardon
29 ..... [2/2]

Meon
80 ..... 2/8

Meon, Church
167½ ..... [2/5½]

Rimpton
59 ..... [2/1⅜]

Southwark
34 ..... [2/0]
74 ..... [2/1⅛]
60 (mill) ... [2/8]
132 ..... [2/8]
46 (mill) ... [3/0]
36 ..... [3/6]

Stoke
32½ ..... [2/10]

Sutton
46½ ..... [2/2¾]

Taunton
110 (old) .... [2/2]
581 (new) ... [2/5⅛]

Twyford
289½ (mill) .. [2/2⅛]

Waltham
141½ ..... [1/1]

Waltham, North
qrs. s. d.
31 + 1 strike.. [2/3½]

Wargrave
65 + 1 strike.. [2/4½]

Wield
51½ 2/0

Witney
130 ..... [1/9⅜]

Woodhay
36 ..... [2/1]

Wycombe
14 ..... [2/9]

1215–16
Adderbury
106¾ ..... [2/6⅜]

Alresford
4 ..... [3/0]

Beauworth
21 ..... [3/4]

Bitterne
7½ ..... [2/8]

Brightwell
16 ..... 2/6
4 ..... 3/0

Cheriton
64⅜ ..... [2/8]

Crawley
40½ ..... [3/2]

Downton
190 ..... [3/3½]
8¾ (mill) .. [3/5]

Ebbesborne
92 ..... [3/2]

Hambledon
2½ ..... [2/8]

Insula
37½ + 1 strike. [2/11½]

Knoyle
36 ..... [2/8]

Mardon
48½ ..... [2/7]

Meon
12½ ..... [2/0½]

Meon, Church
58 ..... [3/4]

Prices of Wheat, 1215–16 (*continued*)

Morton
qrs. s. d.
50 ..... [2/5½]

Rimpton
43½ (old) ... [2/7½]
34½ (new) .. [2/7⅜]

Sutton
10½ ..... [3/0]

Taunton
2 .....(mill) [2/8]
10 + 2 hops " [3/3⅜]
50 + 2 " " [3/4½]
21 ..... " [3/4½]
210½ ..... [3/6]
12½+3 hops (mill) [3/7]
4 + 3 hops (mill) [3/8¾]

Ticheburn
28 ..... [2/9½]

Waltham
69 ..... [3/0]

Wargrave
7½ ..... [3/0⅛]

Wield
24 ..... [2/0]

Witney
120 ..... [2/0]

Wycombe
89 ..... [2/10⅛]

1217–18
Ashmansworth
15 ..... [5/4⅜]

Beauworth
3 ..... [4/6⅞]

Bitterne
17¼ ..... [4/4⅛]

Brightwell
134 ..... [4/11⅜]

Burghclere
87⅛ ..... [5/11]

Calbourne
41 ..... [4/10¼]

Clere, High
6 ..... [4/7]

Crawley
24½ ..... [5/1⅓]

Downton
11 (mill) ... [4/7¾]
25 ..... [5/0]

Ebbesborne
qrs. s. d.
8 + 1 strike .. [5/1]

Farnham
8 (bot.) .. [5/10⅞]

Harwell
40¾ ..... [4/10]

Itchingswell
9½ ..... [5/0]
2 ..... [5/2]

Ivinghoe
39 ..... [5/7⅜]

Meon
23 ..... [4/10]

Meon, Church
29 ..... [5/7⅓]

Rimpton
25 ..... [4/2⅜]

Southwark
95⅓ ..... [5/0]
18⅞ ..... [5/0]

Stoke
3 ..... [5/0]

Taunton
23+3 hops (mill) [5/0½]
10+3 " ..... [5/2½]
53 ..... [5/4½]
1½+3 hops .... [6/3]

Ticheburn
2 ..... [4/5]

Twyford
42 ..... [4/9⅞]

Waltham
40 ..... [3/5½]

Woodhay
60 ..... [5/3⅜]

Wycombe
52 ..... [5/0]

1218–19
Adderbury
6 ..... [5/0]

Ashmansworth
15¾ ..... [5/3⅞]

Beauworth
57 ..... [4/6]

Brightwell
295 ..... [5/5½]

Burghclere
qrs. s. d.
118 ..... [5/3½]

Calbourne
30 ..... [5/7⅛]

Cheriton
46 ..... [4/10⅛]

Clere, High
0½ ..... [5/0]

Crawley
1 ..... [6/0]

Downton
6+1 strike + 1 bush. [5/5⅛]
81+1 strike ... [6/0⅛]

Ebbesborne
17½ ..... [5/2]

Fareham
30 ..... [4/0]
50 ..... [4/6]
32 ..... [5/0]

Freefolk
108 ..... [3/11⅛]

Hambledon
15 ..... [4/2½]

Harwell
124 ..... [5/5⅛]

Itchingswell
1 (in gross) .. [5/4]

Ivinghoe
87¼ ..... [5/6½]

Mardon
24 ..... [5/1]

Meon
141 ..... [4/10]

Morton
44½ ..... [5/0]

Rimpton
26 ..... [6/0]

Southwark
99 (mill) ... [5/0]

Stoke
40½ ..... [5/9½]

Sutton
35 ..... [4/6]

Waltham
66½ ..... [3/8]

Witney
qrs. s. d.
170⅝ ..... [5/2]

Wycombe
50 ..... [5/1⅜]

1219–20
Adderbury
83¼ ..... [3/7½]

Bentley
47⅜ 4/4

Bitterne
31¼ ..... [3/7]

Brightwell
69½ ..... [3/2⅜]
19½ (mill) .. [4/0]

Cheriton
48½ ..... [3/3⅜]

Crawley
47¾ ..... [2/10]

Downton
392 ..... [3/1⅜]

Ebbesborne
62½ (best) .. [3/0]

Fareham
25½ ..... [2/4]
68 ..... [3/8]
35½ ..... [4/0]

Farnham
75 ..... [4/4⅛]

Harwell
43 ..... [3/8]

Insula
91 ..... [3/8⅜]

Ivinghoe
102 ..... [3/2]
20½ ..... [3/11]

Knoyle
10 ..... [3/9⅜]

Mardon
250 ..... [3/5⅜]

Meon, Church
23⅜ ..... [4/0]

Morton
55 ..... [3/8⅞]

Overton
1¼ ..... [3/9⅜]

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1219–20 (*continued*)

RIMPTON
qrs. s. d.
4 ..... [3/4]

SUTTON
8 ..... [2/4]
25 ..... [3/0]
39 ..... [3/4]
13 ..... [3/8]

TAUNTON
248½ + 3 hops. [4/2¾]

TWYFORD
173½ ..... [2/10]

WALTHAM, NORTH
47⅝ ..... [5/6½]

WYCOMBE, CHURCH
104⅝ ..... [3/10⅛]

1220–21
ADDERBURY
50¼ ..... [4/4]

ALRESFORD
28 ..... [4/0]

BEAUWORTH
28½ ..... [4/2½]

BENTLEY
92⅜ ..... [6/0]

BITTERNE
15½ ..... [3/9⅛]

BURGHCLERE
45½ ..... [5/6¾]

CALBOURNE
84 ..... [5/8¼]

CHERITON
60 ..... [4/11]

CHERITON, CHURCH
72½ ..... [4/5½]

CLERE, HIGH
4⅜ (bought) [4/4]
6¾ ..... [5/9]

CRAWLEY
20¾ ..... [4/7½]

DOWNTON
166½ (old)... [3/0]
303 (new) . [5/5½]

EBBESBORNE
56⅞ ..... [4/10⅛]

FAREHAM
qrs. s. d.
8 ..... [4/4]
12 ..... [5/0]
11 ..... [5/0]
12 ..... [6/0]

FARNHAM
111⅛ ..... [5/5½]

FREEFOLK
36 ..... [5/7½]

HAMBLEDON
2¾ ..... [5/5¾]

ITCHINGSWELL
77⅝ ..... [5/1]

IVINGHOE
231½ ..... [5/4½]

KNOYLE
61 ..... [4/7⅛]

MARDON
162¼ ..... [5/3⅜]

MEON
1 ..... [6/9]

MORTON
43⅛ ..... [5/1½]

RIMPTON
25 (old).... [4/5⅜]
20⅜ (new)... [4/7½]

SOUTHWARK
43 ..... [5/2½]

STOKE
65 ..... [5/3⅜]

SUTTON
42½ ..... [3/6½]

TAUNTON
7 (mill) .... [4/10¾]
3+3 hops (mill) [5/2⅜]
12½+1 hop (mill) [5/4½]
203 (old)..... [5/5½]
6+1 hop (mill) [5/7⅜]
40+1 " " [5/10]
393+1hop (new) [6/1⅜]

TICHEBURN
13½ ..... [2/3]

TWYFORD
124⅛ ..... [5/5½]

WALTHAM
290⅜ ..... [5/6]

WALTHAM, NORTH
qrs. s. d.
30½+ 1 hop .. [6/2]

WIELD
24 ..... [6/0]

WITNEY
138½ ..... [5/0½]

WYCOMBE
253⅜ ..... [5/6½]

1223–24
ADDERBURY
111½ (new).. [1/11]
5⅞ (old)... [2/0]

ALRESFORD
51½ ..... [2/2¾]

ASHMANSWORTH
118 ..... [2/7½]

BEAUWORTH
80⅝ ..... [2/1½]

BITTERNE
43⅜ ..... [3/1]

BRIGHTWELL
499½ ..... [2/6½]
19½ (mill) .. [3/5½]

BURGHCLERE
257⅞ ..... [2/7]

CALBOURNE
36 ..... [2/1⅜]

CHERITON
138 ..... [2/8]

CLERE, HIGH
13½ ..... [2/2]

CRAWLEY
58½ ..... [2/10½]

DOWNTON
375½ ..... [2/1¾]
1888 ..... [3/0½]

FAREHAM
90 ..... [2/10]
6½ ..... [3/0]
31¾ ..... [3/4]

HAMBLEDON
59 ..... [2/10]
129¼ ..... [2/3⅜]

ITCHINGSWELL
241¼ ..... [2/6¾]

IVINGHOE
qrs. s. d.
53½ (old)... [2/4⅜]
187½ (new) . [2/5½]

KNOYLE
9 (old).... [2/0]
130 (new) .. [2/6¾]

MARDON
62 (old).... [3/0]
274 (new)... [3/2⅜]

MEON
307½ ..... [2/10½]

MEON, CHURCH
261¾ ..... [2/7⅜]

MORTON
68 ..... [2/6½]

OVERTON
36½ ..... [2/4]
1⅛ (mill) .. [2/4]

RIMPTON
97½ (new) } [2/9⅜]
1¾ old }

STOKE
110½ ..... [2/9⅜]
106 (old).... [2/10]

SUTTON
69½ ..... [2/7½]

TAUNTON
137½ (old)... [3/1⅜]
362½+3 hops (new) [3/5]

TWYFORD
232½ (new) . [2/8⅜]
76 (old)... [3/2⅜]

WALTHAM
108 ..... [3/0]

WALTHAM, NORTH
66¾ ..... [2/5⅜]

WIELD
96½ ..... [2/3⅜]

WITNEY
145⅜ (old)... [1/11½]
184½ (new) . [2/3]

WOODHAY
87 ..... [2/1½]

WOODHAY TOTNES
115½ ..... [2/9]

Prices of Wheat, 1223–24 (*continued*)

Wycombe
qrs. s. d.
188⅝ (new).. [2/11½]
206¾ (old)... [3/6½]

1224–25

Alresford
54½..... [5/10½]

Beauworth
44..... [5/5½]

Bentley
28½..... [5/0]

Bitterne
30½..... [7/1⅜]

Brightwell
90..... [5/10⅜]

Burghclere
⅛ (mill) ... [6/0]
195..... [5/3½]

Cheriton
94½..... [5/4½]

Clere, High
38..... [5/9]

Crawley
46..... [6/7½]

Downton
256⅞..... [5/9½]
13⅜ (mill) .. [6/0½]

Ebbesborne
52..... [6/0½]

Fareham
29..... [5/6]
36¾..... 7/0

Harwell
110½..... [5/1½]

Itchingswell
55½..... [6/1⅛]

Ivinghoe
95⅞..... [5/8⅝]

Mardon
201..... [4/11⅜]

Meon
251⅜..... [6/3½]

Meon, Church
181⅝..... [6/5½]

Morton
29½ (bought) [4/4½]

Overton
qrs. s. d.
26..... [3/7]

Scaldefleet
38½..... [5/8]

Stoke
83½..... [5/0]

Sutton
38..... [5/6½]

Taunton
229½ (old)... [6/0⅜]
236½ (new) .. [6/2⅛]

Twyford
174..... [5/9]

Waltham
77⅛..... [7/9½]

Waltham, North
87..... [5/5½]

Wargrave
33..... [6/4½]

Wield
46½..... [6/3½]

Witney
205¾..... [4/9½]

Wycombe
161..... [5/3⅝]

1225–26

Adderbury
64⅞..... [3/9]

Alresford
2½..... [4/4½]

Bitterne
48⅛..... [5/1⅜]

Brightwell
308½..... [4/5½]
14 (mill) ... [5/0½]

Burghclere
1 (mill) ... [4/4]
280..... [5/1]

Calbourne
116½..... [5/1]

Cheriton
0⅞..... [4/7]

Downton
296¾..... [4/11]
14¾ (mill) .. [5/1]

Ebbesborne
qrs. s. d.
108¾..... [5/2]

Hambledon
72½..... [4/8]

Ivinghoe
43⅜ (old)... [4/0]

Itchingswell
105¼..... [5/0¾]

Knoyle
140..... [4/7]

Mardon
230..... [5/1½]

Meon
349⅞..... [5/2½]

Meon, Church
95..... [5/2⅜]

Morton
87..... [4/1⅞]

Overton
0⅜ (mill) .. [4/6⅜]
52..... [5/4⅜]

Rimpton
114½..... [4/4½]

Scaldefleet
44..... [6/10½]

Stoke
72⅝..... [5/0]

Taunton
51 .....(mill) [5/0⅜]
23+1 hop " [5/0½]
7+6 hops " [5/0⅜]
460+3 " " [5/1]
15+6 " " [5/1⅜]
2+6 " " [5/10]

Twyford
214..... [5/1½]

Waltham
5 (mill) ... [5/0]
209 (new) ... [5/0⅜]
47½ (old)... [5/2]
Waltham, North
8 (bought) . [4/1⅞]

Witney
205½..... [3/9⅝]

Wycombe
218¾..... [4/4⅞]

1226–27

Adderbury
qrs. s. d.
29½ (bought) . [4 3½]
51⅜..... [5/2]

Alresford
95⅝..... [5/3½]

Bitterne
23..... [6/1½]

Burghclere
106½..... [6/5]

Calbourne
33+2 hops .. [5/5½]
117+2 " .. [5/6½]

Cheriton
121⅜..... [5/0]

Clere, High
14..... [6/0]

Crawley
37..... [5/0½]

Downton
188⅛..... [5/8⅛]

Ebbesborne
48..... [4/8⅛]

Fareham
124½..... [5/4]

Harwell
64½..... [6/0½]

Itchingswell
61½..... [5/9]

Ivinghoe
207⅝..... [5/3⅝]

Knoyle
90..... [5/8½]

Mardon
210½..... [4/11]

Meon
502..... [5/8½]

Morton
90..... [5/3]

Overton
21⅝..... [5/6½]

Southwark
192 (mill) ... [5/1]

Stoke
63..... [5/0]

Prices of Wheat, 1226–27 (*continued*)

Sutton

qrs.	s. d.
25	[5/1¾]

Taunton

121⅜	[5/0]

Twyford

150	[5/2½]

Waltham

158¾	[5/5⅜]

Warenne

137⅜	[5/9½]

Wield

112	[5/8½]

Wycombe

150¾	[5/5½]

1231–32

Adderbury

81¼	[3/8½]

Alresford

57⅜	[4/1]

Bentley

184⅞	[4/5¾]

Bitterne

47⅓	[4/0½]

Brightwell

170½	[3/11]
20¾ (mill)	[4/1½]

Burghclere

210	[3/10]

Calbourne

65½	[3/6⅝]
99¾	[5/2⅛]

Cheriton

98¾	[3/11¾]

Clere, High

20	[4/6]

Crawley

90¾	[4/0¾]

Downton

14	[4/2½]
375	[4/4⅜]

Hambledon

8	[3/3½]
25⅝	[3/9]
43	[4/0]

Harwell

79½	[4/1½]

Ivinghoe

qrs.	s. d.
176¼	[3/8⅛]

Mardon

216	[3/11⅜]
108	[4/2]
52	[5/0¾]

Meon

38	[3/4]
16¾	[3/6]
138½	[3/8]
168	[4/0]
20	[4/1]
70¾	[4/2]

Meon, Church

12⅛	[3/8]
52	[3/10]
7½	[4/0]
28½	[4/2]
15⅝	[4/4]
90⅞	[4/6]
9	[4/7]
21⅜	[4/8]

Overton

0¾	[3/6¾]

Rimpton

110	[5/0¾]

Southwark

60	(mill)	[2/2]
6	"	[3/4]
12	"	[3/6]
24	"	[4/0]
12	"	[4/0]
12	"	[4/5]
20	"	[5/0]

Stoke

105	[4/0½]

Sutton

69⅛	[4/0⅜]

Taunton

567	[5/6½]

Tisted

45¾	[3/10½]

Twyford

268	[3/9½]

Waltham

104¾		[4/0]
3½	(mill)	[4/0]
1⅝	"	[4/0]
4½	"	[4/3½]
165½		[4/4]
3	(mill)	[4/4]

Wield

qrs.	s. d.
99¼	[3/8⅛]

Witney

250½	[4/3½]

Wycombe

222⅜	[4/0]

1232–33

Adderbury

48¼	[2/7]
7⅜	[3/0]

Alresford

3½	(mill)	3/0
2	"	3/4
133¾		[3/10⅞]
1½	(mill)	4/0

Ashmansworth

25¾	[3/8½]

Beauworth

64	[3/6¾]

Bentley

139⅜	[3/9½]

Bitterne

4½	3/4
10	3/8

Brightwell

215⅞	[3/7]

Burghclere

182⅜	[4/0½]

Calbourne

126½	[3/8½]
60⅜	[3/9½]

Calbourne, Church

44⅞	[3/10⅞]

Cheriton

152½	[3/8½]

Clere, High

19	[3/2½]

Corhampton

133⅞	[3/10]

Crawley

98¾	[3/10]

Downton

361⅜	[3/7]

Ebbesborne

137½	[3/7½]

Fareham

qrs.	s. d.
107¼	[4/3]

Hambledon

5½	3/4
48½	3/6
5½	3/7
12	3/8
69	4/0
14	4/4
10½	4/5
15½	4/6

Harwell

99½	[3/8½]

Hiwechurch

12	[4/5½]

Itchingswell

141½	[3/7½]

Ivinghoe

280½	[3/3⅝]

Knoyle

20¼	(old)	[3/6]
135	(new)	[3/8½]

Mardon

383	[3/7½]
46¾	[3/10½]

Meon

481½	[3/9½]

Meon, Church

12⅞	3/1
12½	3/2
15	3/3
61½	3/4
16⅞	3/5
25½	3/6
53	3/8
19⅛	4/0

Overton

1	(mill)	[3/4]
95¾		[3/8]

Rimpton

108	[4/2½]

Southwark

20	(mill)	3/6
20	"	3/6
20	"	3/8
20	"	3/8
20	"	3/10
20	"	3/10
40	"	4/0
40	"	5/6

Prices of Wheat, 1232–33 (*continued*)

Stoke

qrs.	s. d.
120½	[3/9¼]

Sutton

61	[4/0½]

Taunton

680+1 hop	[2/3]

Tisted

63½	[4/1]

Twyford

364¾	[3/11¾]

Waltham

34½	3/4
46½	3/6
120	3/8
98½	4/0
6½	5/0

Waltham, North

52¼	[4/1⅜]

Wield

142½	[3/8⅜]

Witney

150⅜	[3/3½]

Woodhay

89⅞	[3/8⅝]

Wycombe

251⅝	[3/7⅜]

1235–36

Adderbury

55⅜	[3/1]

Alresford

50⅞	[4/0]

Ashmansworth

24	[3/6]

Bentley

62⅛	[3/9]

Bitterne

27½	[4/2]

Brightwell

163⅜	[3/1]
30¾ (mill)	[3/2½]

Burghclere

0⅜ (mill)	[3/4]
98	[3/7½]

Calbourne

37	[3/8⅜]
59	[3/9½]

Cheriton

qrs.	s. d.
123½	[3/9]

Crawley

51⅛	[3/10⅜]

Downton

10	[3/3]
2 (mill)	[3/6]
38⅝	[4/0]
10 (mill)	[4/0]

Ebbesborne

27	[3/6]
29	[3/8]
20½	[3/10]

Fareham

74⅝	[3/9⅜]

Farnham

7	[3/4]
17½	[3/8]
8	[3/10]
12¾	[4/0]

Hambledon

5	[3/6]
2	[3/8]
2	[3/9]
39	[4/0]
20½	[4/1]
7	[4/2]

Itchingswell

121½	[3/5⅜]

Ivinghoe

221⅜	[3/0⅛]

Knoyle

41¾	[3/0¾]

Mardon

234	[3/10⅛]

Meon

231⅝	[3/6]

Meon, Church

31½	[3/4⅛]
160⅛	[3/4⅜]

Overton

0⅜ (mill)	[2/8]
65½	[3/10½]

Rimpton

16	[3/4]
17	[3/4]
17	[3/8]
16	[3/8]
4	[3/10]

Southwark

qrs.	s. d.
40 (mill)	[3/0]
20 "	[3/4]
20 "	[3/4]
20 "	[3/8]
20 "	[3/8]
20 "	[4/0]

Stoke

79⅜	[4/2]

Taunton

494⅜+3 hops	[4/3⅜]

Twyford

177½	[3/10]

Waltham

33	[3/8½]
52	[4/0]
24⅞	[4/2]
10	[4/4]

Waltham, North

65	[3/6]

Wargrave

3	[3/0]
13⅜	[3/9½]

Wield

66	[2/10]
21	[3/6]
18¾	[3/8]
14	[4/0]
10¾	[4/0]

Witney

209⅞	[3/1½]

Woodhay

102¾	[3/7½]

Wycombe

169¼	[3/1⅜]

1236–37

Adderbury

72⅜	[4/4]

Alresford

90¾	[4/0½]

Bamelduna

92	[3/10½]

Beauworth

63	[4/0½]

Bitterne

21½	[3/8]

Brightwell

qrs.	s. d.
24½ (mill)	[3/7]
274½	[3/10]

Burghclere

32 (old)	[3/4½]
0½ (mill)	[3/6]

Clere, High

58	[3/10⅜]

Cheriton

140⅞	[4/1]

Crawley

102	[4/3½]

Downton

180⅜	3/7½

Eseberes'

41½	[4/0]

Esford

10⅛	[3/4]

Esford, Church

249½	[3/8½]

Fareham

3¾ (mill)	[3/10½]
138¼	[4/3]

Farnham

12¾ (old)	[4/0]
18¼ (new)	[4/4½]

Fonthill

56¼	[3/8½]

Itchingswell

29½ (old)	[3/9⅜]

Ivinghoe

202¾	[3/6¾]

Knoyle

136⅜	[3/10]

Mardon

246½	[4/0½]

Meon

58⅜	[3/9⅛]

Morton

128½	[3/5½]

Overton

63⅛	[3/10⅓]

Rimpton

140½	[5/1]

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1236–37 (*continued*)

SUTTON

qrs.	s. d.
70½	[4/6½]

TAUNTON

509½+3 hops	[5/7¾]

TWYFORD

33½	[4/1]

WALTHAM

23	[3/6]
6½	[3/6]
85	[3/8]
116½	[3/11¾]
6⅛ (mill)	[4/1]
6⅛ "	[4/2]
50⅜	[4/6]
9¼	[5/0]

WALTHAM, NORTH

91	[3/11]

WARGRAVE

17¼	[4/5½]

WELEWE

24½	[4/3½]

WIELD

129	[4/0]

WITNEY

270¾	[3/9½]

WOODHAY

136⅝	[4/1⅛]

WYCOMBE

212	[4/3½]

1244–45

ADDERBURY

110⅛ (mixed)	[1/8]

ALRESFORD

55½ (mill)	[2/8]

ASHMANSWORTH

5½	2/3

BEAUWORTH

11	2/5
20	2/6
9	2/6½
15	2/8½
15	2/9
10	2/10

BENTLEY

36	2/2
41	2/4
27	2/6
20	2/8

BITTERNE

qrs.	s. d.
11½	2/8
21	[3/0]

BRIGHTWELL

97	[2/3½]

CALBOURNE

88	[2/10⅜]

CLERE, HIGH

19	[2/7]

CRAWLEY

88¼	[2/6½]

DOWNTON

85⅜	[2/1½]
13⅛ (tolcorn)	[3/2⅝]

EBBESBORNE

96½	[2/1⅝]

FAREHAM

0½	[3/0]

FARNHAM

0½	2/2
21	2/2
8	2/4
11	2/6
6	3/0

FONTHILL

54⅜	[1/11½]

HAMBLEDON

29¼	[1/8]

HARWELL

133¾	[1/6½]

ITCHINGSWELL

120¾	[2/10½]

IVINGHOE

310¾	[2/3½]

KNOYLE

69⅜	[1/10⅞]

MARDON

318½	[2/5½]

MEON

210	[1/8]

MEON, CHURCH

77⅜	[1/10½]
39¼	[2/6]

MORTON

89½	[2/1]

OVERTON

qrs.	s. d.
1½	[2/8]
37⅞ (mill)	[2/11]

RIMPTON

117½	[3/4]

SUTTON

11⅜	2/4½
11	2/6
14	2/8
9	2/9

TAUNTON

809¾	[3/10⅜]

TWYFORD

24½	2/5
58	2/6
15	2/7
26	2/8
16½	2/9
42	2/10

WALTHAM

0½ (mill)	[2/8]
166¾	[2/9]
7⅞ (mill)	[2/10]

WALTHAM, NORTH

38½	[2/1½]

WARGRAVE

10⅝	[1/0½]

WIELD

92	[2/8]

WITNEY

141¾	[1/3½]

WOODHAY

62	[2/4]

WYCOMBE

59	[2/0]

1245–46

ADDERBURY

7	2/6
30½	2/8
9½	3/0

ALRESFORD

7	3/0
4	3/1
0½ (mill)	3/2
1½ "	3/3
6	3/4
6	3/6
1 (mill)	3/8
7	4/0

ASHMANSWORTH

qrs.	s. d.
18	2/10
13	3/0
26¾	3/2
16	3/4
24½	4/0

BEAUWORTH

21½	2/10
6½	3/0
3	4/0

BENTLEY

16	2/8
10	3/4
27	4/0

BITTERNE

16	3/6
3½	4/0

BRIGHTWELL

171⅛	[2/11⅛]
23 (mill)	[3/2½]

BURGHCLERE

0⅜	[2/8]
55⅜	3/0
27½	3/4
66½	3/8
36	4/6

CALBOURNE

38	[4/1]

CHERITON

14	2/11
20	3/0
20	3/1
9	3/4
2½	3/8
7	4/0

CLERE, HIGH

20	3/2
9½	3/6

CRAWLEY

51½	[3/10⅜]

DOWNTON

13⅜ (mill)	[3/2]
118½	[3/7]

EBBESBORNE

9	[2/8]
8½	[3/0]

ESSERE

0½	[4/0]

Prices of Wheat, 1245–46 (*continued*)

Fareham

qrs.	s. d.
27½	3/4
29¾	4/0

Farnham

26¾	3/0
17⅛	4/0

Fonthill

34⅞	[3/1]

Hambledon

15	2/8
11½	3/2

Harwell

129½	[3/4]

Itchingswell

44½	3/6
20	4/0
20	4/6

Ivinghoe

16	2/2
30	2/4
20	2/8
16	3/0
9⅝	3/3
20	3/4
4	3/4½
26	3/6
21¾	4/0

Knoyle

40½	[3/1½]

Mardon

22½ (old)	2/10
40½	3/8
41	4/0
18¾	4/6

Meon

86 (new)	2/2
153 "	2/4
42⅜ (old)	2/9½
42½ "	3/0
4 "	3/6
74⅞ (new)	3/6

Morton

16	2/7
20	2/8
3	3/0
12	3/2
2½	3/2
8	3/4
7	3/6
6	3/6½
6	3/8

Munes Aysford

qrs.	s. d.
15¾	3/3

Munes, Church

57	2/6½
21½	3/0

Overton

12	3/0
14	3/6
75½	4/0

Southwark

9	3/1
6	3/4
7	3/6
16	3/8
12⅛	4/0
15	4/2

Stoke

16	3/6
15	3/8
7	3/10
26¾	4/0
4	4/1

Sutton

2	2/9
9	2/9
9¼	2/11
11¾	3/0
7	3/0
4	3/2
9½	4/0

Taunton

480⅜	[4/8¾]

Twyford

11	3/2
16	3/3½
7⅞	3/4
20	3/6½
28¼	4/0

Waltham

1½ (mill)	[2/8¾]
6½ "	[3/2]
12⅜	3/4
24¾	3/4
36	4/0
41⅝	5/0

Waltham, North

10	3/0
15	3/6
15½	4/0

Wargrave

qrs.	s. d.
17	3/0
10½	3/4
4½	3/6
4	4/0

Wield

22	2/10
15	3/0
7	4/0

Witney

42½	2/0
29⅛	2/4
55½	2/6
145⅛	[3/3½]
18	3/4

Woodhay

16	2/8
10½	2/10

Wycombe

2½	2/2
22¾	2/6
4	2/8½
6	2/9½
15⅝	2/10
1	3/0
16⅝	3/4
19½	3/9
23⅜	3/10

1246–47

Adderbury

4	3/10
11	5/0
1½	5/3
7	6/0
4	7/0
5½	8/0
1	[8/8]

Alresford

10½	4/2
2½	5/0
5	6/6
6¼	8/0

Ashmansworth

2⅛+½ bush	5/0

Asseford

7¼ (bought)	[4/0]

Bentley

20½	4/4
21	6/6
22	9/0

Bitterne

qrs.	s. d.
11½	4/6
12	5/0
5½	6/0

Brightwell

5 (mill)	4/0
14½	4/4
5 (mill)	4/6
4 "	5/0
12	5/0
13	6/0
5 (mill)	6/6
24	7/0
5 (mill)	8/0
46⅞	8/0

Burghclere

0¾ (mill)	4/0
25¾	5/0
30	6/0
41¾	7/0
11½	9/6

Calbourne

37¼	[5/7]

Cheriton

4	4/3
5	4/5
8	5/1
8	5/4
12	5/10
6	6/7
4	7/0
8	8/8

Clere, High

3	5/0
4⅜	8/0

Crawley

35	[7/4]

Downton

60	5/6
21¼	8/0
21	10/0

Ebbesborne

19	5/0
3½	6/0
5	9/0

Fareham

12	4/6
3½	[4/10⅝]
12	5/0
11	5/8
4½ (mill)	[8/0]
23	9/0

Prices of Wheat, 1246–47 (*continued*)

Farnham

qrs.	s. d.
14	4/8
13¼	6/8
24	9/0

Fonthill

6	4/8
3	5/0
3	6/8

Hambledon

11½	3/4
10	5/0
8¾	8/0

Harwell

27	4/6
19	5/0
16	6/0
11½	7/0
11	8/5

Itchingswell

40½	5/6
19½	7/0
2	8/0
13	9/6

Ivinghoe

4	4/0
8½	4/7½
17½	5/0
14½	5/4
1	5/5
16⅝	8/0

Knoyle

6½	4/8
3¾	5/0
3¾	6/0
5	6/8
10⅜	11/0

Mardon

25½	5/0
20⅜	5/6
10	6/0
48	7/0
27	8/0

Meon

231⅜	[6/3½]

Meon, Church

30⅜	5/0
16½	6/6
47	8/0

Morton

qrs.	s. d.
12	5/0
5½	5/6
8	6/0
2	7/0
5	8/0

Overton

2	5/0
0¾ (mill)	[5/4]
2	6/8
3½	8/0

Rimpton

4	5/4
6	6/0
28	6/4½
1½	6/6
4	6/8
4	7/0
5½	8/0
10⅛	9/0
6½	10/0
16¼	12/0
2	13/4

Southwark

2	(mill)	4/6
3	"	5/3
2	"	5/4
4	"	5/4
1	"	[5/5]
3	"	5/6
3	"	5/10
3	"	5/10
5	"	5/10
5	"	6/8
17	"	6/10
4	"	7/0
3	"	8/0
4	"	8/0

Stoke

16	5/1½
16	5/7½
16½	6/2
13½	7/0
10¼	7/5½

Sutton

6	4/8
3	4/11
6	6/6
5	8/0
5	8/6

Taunton

422⅜	[10/0½]

Twyford

qrs.	s. d.
21	4/11½
20	6/5
16½	6/6
12	7/8
9½	8/0
12	8/5

Waltham

72¼	4/4
68	5/0
5 (mill)	[5/8⅓]
2 "	[6/0]
70¼	8/0

Waltham, North

8	5/0
8	6/8
9¼	8/0

Wargrave

20	4/8
1	5/0
2	5/3
2½	5/6
11⅜	6/8

Wield

7½	4/6
6½	7/0

Witney

41	4/0
21	4/6
14½	5/0
8	6/8
13¼	8/0

Woodhay

12	5/2½
6	6/0
6½	7/6
4	8/0

Wycombe

20⅛	5/0
27⅞	5/2
6⅜	5/3
10⅛	6/0
13	6/8
1½	6/10
4½	7/0
14	8/0
7½	8/2

1248–49

Adderbury

49¼	2/8
30	3/4
2½	[3/4]

Alresford

qrs.	s. d.
9¾	2/6
9	2/7½
12	2/9
2½ (mill)	2/10
15¾	3/0
5½	3/2

Alresford, Church

3⅝	2/10
19¾	2/10
7	3/0

Ashmansworth

66	3/0
9¾	4/0

Asseford

9	3/0
12	3/4

Beauworth

8	2/7
2½	2/10
17	3/0
15	3/0
9¾	3/4

Bentley

15⅜	2/6
15	2/8
18	3/0
6	3/2
23¾	3/4
16	3/6

Bitterne

4½	3/0
3 (mill)	3/0
2	3/2
15	3/4
4½ (mill)	3/4
10 "	4/0
50⅞ "	4/0

Brightwell

33	3/0
41½	3/4
51½	3/6
46½	3/8
14⅜	4/0

Burghclere

140	3/1
54½	4/0

Calbourne

3	2/9
20	3/0
4	3/3

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1248–49 (*continued*)

CALBOURNE (*cont.*)

qrs.	s. d.
4	3/5
9½	3/8
6½	3/10
17	4/0
3⅜	4/4

CHERITON

20	2/8
19	2/10

CLERE, HIGH

24	3/2
20	3/4

CRAWLEY

16	3/4
2	3/5
12⅜	3/6
2	3/8
3	3/9
5	3/10

DOWNTON

53	3/0
48	3/4
14¼	4/0

EBBESBORNE

30	3/0
8	3/2
7	3/5

ESSERE

3½	2/8

FAREHAM

20	3/0
2½ (mill)	[3/1]
24¼	3/4
1½+½ bush (mill)	[3/4]
15¾	4/0
0¾ (mill)	[4/2]

FARNHAM

11½	3/6

FONTHILL

2⅜	2/8
6	2/10
6	3/0
4	3/4

HAMBLEDON

44¼	3/4

HARWELL

12½	2/10
5¼	3/0
45½	3/2
34⅜	3/4

ITCHINGSWELL

qrs.	s. d.
60½	3/5
23¾	4/0

IVINGHOE

36	2/10
57½	3/0
40	3/2
41⅛	3/4
19¾	3/6
6	4/0

KNOYLE

9	2/4
15½	2/8
7	2/10
10	[3/0]
2¼	3/4

MANNECBRIG

18¼ (bought)	3/8
2 "	[3/9½]
2 "	3/10

MARDON

20	3/0
20	3/4
10	3/6
9½	3/8
62	3/10
35	4/0

MEON

161¼	2/10
201	2/11
245⅜	3/0

MEON, CHURCH

80⅝	3/0
34½	3/4

MORTON

24	2/8
15	3/0
6½	3/2

OVERTON

2¼	[2/4½]
22½	[2/9]
1½ (mill)	[3/0]

RIMPTON

9⅜	3/2
2	3/5
5	3/8
61	4/0
5	4/4

SOUTHWARK

82	[3/7]

STOKE

qrs.	s. d.
4	3/0
11	3/2
44	3/4
9	3/6
5	3/8
5½	3/9

SUTTON

30⅞	3/0
6	3/2

TAUNTON

86⅜	3/8
200⅝	4/0
157½	4/2
35½	4/4
18⅜	4/4
37¼	4/8

TWYFORD

4	3/0
8	3/2
4	3/3
46½	3/4
6	3/5
51¾	3/6
6	3/7
10½	[3/8]
56⅜	3/8
2½	3/10

WALTHAM

23	3/0
46⅞	3/4
42½	4/0

WALTHAM, NORTH

20	2/8
23	3/0

WARGRAVE

15½	3/4
24½	3/8

WIELD

6	2/8
18	2/9
16	2/10
21	3/0

WITNEY

76½	2/8
22⅝	3/0
84⅜	3/4
8¾	3/8

WOODHAY

40	3/0
7	3/6

WYCOMBE

qrs.	s. d.
29½	3/0
15	3/2
56½	3/4
22	3/6
16½	3/8
12	4/0
1	4/0

1253–54

ADDERBURY

20 (new)	3/8
9½ "	4/0
18⅝ (old)	4/4
19 "	4/6
19 (new)	5/0
10 (old)	5/0
7¼ (new)	6/2
6 (old)	6/2

ALRESFORD

28	4/0
23	4/7
18	5/0
2⅞ (mill)	5/0
16	6/8

ASHMANSWORTH

13	4/2
2	4/3

BEAUWORTH

32	4/6

BENTLEY

23½	4/6
29⅜	5/0
77⅞	[5/11]
4⅝	6/0
20⅜	6/2

BITTERNE

10 (mill)	3/4
9½ "	4/0
6¾	4/0
8⅞	4/4
8 (mill)	4/8
2½	5/0
4 (mill)	5/6
3	5/6
5 (mill)	6/8

BRIGHTWELL

5 (mill)	4/4
7 "	4/4
4⅓ "	4/6
2 "	4/6
14	4/8

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1253–54 (*continued*)

qrs.		s. d.
7½	(mill) ...	5/4
4	" ...	5/4
30	.....	5/6
81½	.....	6/0
2½	(mill) ...	6/0

BUDESTUN

4	(old)	4/0
15	(new) ...	4/2
14½	old ...	4/4
11	(new) ...	4/4
16¾	" ...	5/0

BURGHCLERE

0⅝	(mill) ..	4/8
20	.....	4/9
44⅝	.....	5/0
10	.....	5/6

CALBOURNE

17½	.....	4/0
3½	.....	[4/1⅜]
7	.....	4/4

CHERITON

23½	.....	4/0
30	.....	4/6
32	(bought)	4/6
29	.....	5/0
21	.....	6/8

CLERE, HIGH

2½	.....	5/0
15½	.....	6/6

CRAWLEY

20½	.....	5/0
15	.....	6/0
8	.....	7/0

DOWNTON

2¼	(mill) ...	3/0
3	" ...	3/4
2	" ...	5/0
76⅛	(old)	5/0
20	"	6/0
18	(mill) ...	6/8

EBBESBORNE

56½	.....	5/0
17½	.....	6/0

FAREHAM

19	.....	5/0
2	(mill) ...	5/0
32	.....	7/0
1¼+½	bush (mill)	7/0

FONTHILL

2	.....	[4/7½]
7⅜	.....	4/8
5	.....	5/0
1	.....	6/0
26½	.....	7/0

HAMBLEDON

10	.....	5/0
25½	.....	7/0

HARWELL

16	.....	4/8
15½	.....	5/0
17	.....	5/6
20⅜	.....	6/0

ITCHINGSWELL

3	.....	4/8
43½	.....	5/0

IVINGHOE

67½	(new) ..	4/0
17	(old) ...	4/6
20	(new) ..	5/0
40	" ...	5/6

KNOYLE

5⅜	.....	4/10
3½	.....	5/2
28½	.....	5/4
17½	(old) ...	6/8
41⅜	.....	7/0

MARDON

68	.....	5/0
92½	.....	5/6
30	.....	6/0
38	.....	6/8

MEON

24	(old)	4/0
36½	"	4/4
67½	"	5/6

MEON, CHURCH

68¾	.....	4/8
30½	.....	5/0
18½	.....	5/8
57⅝	.....	7/0

MORTON

8¼	.....	2/10
5	.....	2/11
9	.....	4/0
11	.....	5/0

OVERTON

17	.....	5/0
15	.....	5/6
4½	.....	6/8
6½	.....	7/0

RIMPTON

qrs.		s. d.
0⅜	(mill) ..	[3/4]
80	.....	6/0
15	.....	6/8
0⅝	(mill) ..	[6/8]
13⅜	.....	7/4

SOUTHWARK

13	(mill) ...	3/8
16½	" ...	3/10
28	" ...	4/0
6	" ...	4/4
8	" ...	4/8
7	" ...	4/10
14	" ...	5/0
5	" ...	5/4
9	" ...	5/6

STOKE

5	.....	5/0
9½	.....	6/8
42	.....	7/0
12	.....	7/4

SUTTON

9⅓	.....	4/4

TAUNTON

78¼	.....	5/4
84⅛	.....	5/8
130½	.....	6/0
4½	.....	6/4
75⅝	.....	6/8
5⅛	.....	7/0

TWYFORD

23½	.....	5/0
61¾	.....	6/8
41¼	.....	7/2

WALTHAM

37⅞	.....	3/4
54	.....	5/0
50⅜	.....	7/0

WALTHAM, NORTH

2½	.....	5/0
16½	.....	5/4
12½	.....	5/6
12½	.....	6/0
8¼	.....	7/0

WARGRAVE

8¼	.....	5/6
12½	.....	6/0

WIELD

22	.....	4/0
23	.....	4/6
19	.....	5/0
6¾	.....	6/8

WIELD, EAST

qrs.		s. d.
44⅜	.....	4/8

WITNEY

42	.....	4/8
41	.....	5/8

WOODHAY

9	(old)	4/2

WYCOMBE

10	.....	3/8
22	.....	4/0
13	.....	5/0
18	.....	6/0

1254–55

BEAUWORTH

6½	.....	3/0

BENTLEY

9⅝	.....	3/4

BITTERNE

3¼	(mill) ...	2/6
8	" ...	2/8
6	" ...	2/9
7	" ...	3/0
5	" ...	3/4

BRIGHTWELL

11	.....	3/0

BRITTESTUN

9½	.....	3/0

BURGHCLERE

36½	.....	2/10

CHERITON

4½	.....	3/4

CRAWLEY

4⅜	.....	3/4
11	.....	3/8

DOWNTON

5	.....	2/8
6¾	.....	3/0
3	.....	3/4

EBBESBORNE

63	.....	3/0

FAREHAM

1½	.....	3/4

FONTHILL

1	.....	[2/4]
5½	.....	2/8
8½	.....	[3/4]

Prices of Wheat, 1254–55 (*continued*)

Hambledon

qrs.		s. d.
6		3/4

Harwell

25⅞		3/0

Itchingswell

8⅝		2/10

Knoyle

3⅝		3/0
20¼		3/4

Mardon

24		3/2
28		3/4
61		3/8

Overton

44⅜		3/8

Rimpton

1		2/8
2		3/0

Southwark

4	(mill) ...	2/8
8	" ...	2/8
7	" ...	2/8
11	" ...	2/10
6	" ...	2/10
5	" ...	2/10
6	" ...	2/10
5	" ...	2/10
6	" ...	3/0
4	" ...	3/0
5	" ...	3/0
6	" ...	3/0
7	" ...	3/0
4	" ...	3/2
5+1 strike	(mill)	3/2

Sweyneston

24		3/0

Taunton

100⅝		3/0
62¾		3/4
159½		3/6

Twyford

0½	(mill) ..	[3/4]
13⅜		3/8
0⅜	(mill) ..	[4/5⅓]

Waltham

1½	(mill) ..	2/8
6	" ..	3/4

Waltham, North

12¾		3/4
6		3/8
5½		4/0

Wargrave

qrs.		s. d.
10		3/4
12		3/4

Wield

5⅝		3/0

Wield, East

24⅜		3/0

Witney

41⅝		3/0

1257–58

Alresford

10		6/8
23⅜		8/0

Ashmansworth

3½		8/0

Beauworth

6		5/0
12		6/8
15		8/0

Bentley

23		6/8
40		8/0

Bitterne

8½		7/0
16		8/0

Brighstone

8		7/0
22½		8/0

Brightwell

6½	(mill) ..	5/0
5	" ..	6/0
3½	" ..	6/0
7	" ..	6/6
6	" ..	7/0
58¾		7/0
69¼		7/8

Burghclere

54		7/0
8		7/6
39		8/0

Calbourne

12		7/0
31¼		8/0

Cheriton

8¼		6/8
43¾		8/0

Clere, High

16		8/0

Crawley

qrs.		s. d.
11		6/8
5		7/6
22⅜		8/0

Downton

5½	(mill) ..	5/0
20	(old) ...	5/6
4		5/6
10½		6/0
2¼		6/8

Ebbesborne

10		5/0
15⅝		6/0

Fareham

64⅛		8/0

Farnham

10		7/0
59		8/0

Fonthill

7		6/0
7⅛		6/8

Hambledon

30¾		8/0

Harwell

16½		6/8
22½		7/0
30½		7/6

Helewell

8¼		5/0

Itchel

13	(bought)	6/8

Itchingswell

37		7/0
34½		8/0

Ivinghoe

4⅝		6/0
2⅜		6/6
8		6/8
8		7/4
50⅜		8/0

Kelmeston

14		8/0

Killa

5½		7/4

Knoyle

50		5/0
28½		6/0
32⅜		6/8

Mardon

qrs.		s. d.
63		6/8
40		7/0
44		7/6
64		8/0

Meceol (cf. Metehol and Meteholle)

16		[8/0]

Meon

16	(old)	5/6
59⅜	"	6/0
76½		6/0
140⅜	(old)	7/6
91½		7/6
10		[8/0]

Meon, Church

32		5/6
36⅛		7/6

Morton

4½		6/8
30⅛		7/8

Overton

42¾		8/0

Padington, Church

53⅜	(old) ...	5/0
40	(new) ...	5/6
10	(new) ...	5/7
9⅝	"	6/0

Portland

60¾		7/0

Rimpton

8⅜	(old) ...	5/0
15⅞	" ...	5/0
15⅛	(new) ..	5/2
0½	(old) ...	[5/4]
14⅝	" ...	5/4
16¾	(new) ..	5/6
7⅜	(old) ...	5/8
2¼	(new) ..	5/8
1		[5/10]
43½	(old) ...	6/0
15⅞	(new) ..	6/0
1⅛	(old) ...	6/4
1	(new) ..	6/4
34¼	" ...	6/8
9⅞	(old) ...	6/8

Stoke

9		7/0
7½		7/8
12¼		8/0

Prices of Wheat, 1257–58 (*continued*)

Sutton

qrs.	s. d.
16	6/8
22¼	8/o

Taunton

22¾	3/4
3	3/8
43	4/o
34⅜	4/4
60⅜	5/o

Twyford

6	(old)	5/o
4	"	6/o
o¼	(mill)	6/4
o½	"	6/8
24⅛	(old)	6/8
55⅜		7/o

Waltham

18¼	7/4
53¼	8/o

Waltham, North

6	7/o
30¼	8/o

Wargrave

18¼	7/4

Wick

45⅜	6/o

Wield

10½	6/8
20	8/o

Witney

26	6/o
58¼	6/8

Woodhay

31	7/o
19	7/6
12¼	8/o

Wycombe

25⅞	4/8
18	7/o
40¾	8/o

1258–59

Adderbury

27⅝	6/o
13⅜	7/6
10	9/o
30	10/o

Alresford

1	(mill)	[6/o]
6⅛		8/o

Ashmansworth

qrs.	s. d.
21½	7/4
24	8/o
17	9/o

Bentley

2⅜	(mill)	5/4
o¾	"	[6/8]
45½		8/o

Bitterne

5½	(mill)	5/o
4¼	"	6/o
5	"	6/8
6½	"	7/o
20		9/o

Brighstone

5½	6/o
16¼	7/o

Brightwell

1	5/o
6	6/6
5½	7/o
6½	8/6
1	9/o

Burghclere

46		7/6
56		8/o
o⅜	(mill)	[8/o]
31		9/o
8		10/o
10		10/6

Calbourne

7	6/o
21¾	7/o

Cheriton

14	6/8
18½	8/o

Clere, High

12	7/6
8	9/o

Crawley

5	6/8
2	7/6
14	8/o
20¼	9/o
4	9/6

Downton

6⅜	6/o
3	6/8
50	7/o
62¼	7/6
2	7/6

Fareham

qrs.	s. d.
57	[9/o]

Farnham

8	8/o

Fonthill

23⅞	7/o
26½	9/o

Hambledon

35	8/o

Harwell

14½	8/o
17½	9/o
13½	10/6

Itchel

3¼	6/2
25	8/o

Itchingswell

25½	8/o
51½	9/o

Ivinghoe

23⅜	8/o
22	9/o
13	10/o
20	11/o

Knoyle

10⅜	6/8
18	7/o
57⅜	9/o

Mardon

26	7/o
28	7/6
28	8/o
44⅛	9/o
14	10/o

Meon

97½	6/8
78¼	7/6
75	8/o

Meon, Church

43	6/8
9⅛	7/6

Metehol (cf. Metehollе and Meceol)

4	(9/o]

Morton

2	[8/o]
13	10/o

Overton

qrs.	s. d.
12	7/6
12	8/o
15¼	9/o
1	10/o

Rimpton

5	5/8
7	6/8
11⅝	7/o
3½	7/2
12⅝	7/4
1⅝	7/6
3½	7/8
10⅞	8/o
13	9/o

Stoke

4	8/o
24⅞	9/o

Sutton

10		6/8
23⅜		8/o
o⅛	(mill)	[8/o]
20		9/o

Taunton

92⅛	(new)	5/o
244⅞	"	6/8
155	(old)	7/4
7⅝		7/8
19⅝		8/o
24		8/8
163½		8/10

Twyford

11½	7/6
15½	8/o
60⅜	[8/6]

Waltham

o¼	(mill)	[4/8]
67⅞		8/o
1⅛	(mill)	9/o

Waltham, North

7¾	7/6
7½	8/o
20	9/o
2	10/o

Wargrave

7⅞	9/o
10	9/4

Wield

6½	7/o
20	8/o

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1258–59 (*continued*)

WITNEY

qrs.	s. d.
53	6/8
54½	7/6
44½	9/0

WOODHAY

22	7/6
20½	7/8
27⅓	9/0

WYCOMBE

18¼	6/8
17½	8/0
21	9/0

1262–63

ADDERBURY

50⅜	2/8
31½	3/0
21⅛	3/8

ALRESFORD

16½	3/9
9	4/0
10¾	4/6
12½	5/0

ASHMANSWORTH

5	4/0
2	4/6
3	5/0

BEAUWORTH

6	3/6
24½	4/0
10	4/4
11	5/0

BENTLEY

14	3/0
10	3/8
20½	4/2
54½	4/6

BITTERNE

6	3/9
23⅝	4/0
16	4/6

BRIGHSTONE

14½	4/0
15	4/4
14	4/6

BRIGHTWELL

2	3/0
2 (mill)	3/0
3	3/2
3 (mill)	3/2
1½ "	3/9
1¼ "	4/0
1½ "	4/0
1 "	4/1
1 (mill)	4/1
1 "	4/3
1	4/3
2¼ (mill)	4/4

BURGHCLERE

49½	4/0
15½	4/2
19	4/4
22	4/6½
10½	5/0

CALBOURNE

17⅜	3/4
25	4/2
21	4/6

CHERITON

10½	3/6
38½	4/0
15	4/6
26½	4/8
6½	5/0

CLERE, HIGH

6	4/0
5	4/4
4½	4/6

CRAWLEY

15½	4/0
34	4/10
12	5/0

DOWNTON

36	3/0
42	3/2
26½	3/4
4½ (mill)	3/4
22	3/6
4¼ (mill)	3/6
8¼	3/8
20	4/0
2 (mill)	[4/0]

EBBESBORNE

5	3/2
8	3/6
7	3/8
18⅝	4/0
15⅞	4/4

ESSERE

3	4/2

FAREHAM

49	3/6
6	3/8
60⅛	4/0
7	4/2
14	4/4
12	4/8
15	4/10
10	5/0

FARNHAM

30	4/0
15¾	4/6

FONTHILL

10⅛	4/4
26¾	4/0
13	3/6
11	3/0

HAMBLEDON

29½	4/0
28⅝	4/4

HAMBLEDON, CHURCH

19	4/0
9⅝	4/6
7⅝	5/0

HARWELL

16½	3/8
25½	4/0
22½	4/2
7¾	4/4

ITCHINGSWELL

27	4/3
21½	4/6
14⅝	4/8
7½	5/0

IVINGHOE

22¼	3/8
82	3/10
110	4/0

KNOYLE

10⅛	3/0
64	3/6
31⅝	3/8
38⅛	4/0

MARDON

65⅜	4/0
72	4/6
100	4/8
100	5/0

MARWELL (SEE TWYFORD)

MEON

92½	4/0
55¾	4/0
63½	4/2
31⅛	4/6
44	5/0

MEON, CHURCH

36¼	4/0
22⅛	5/0
28	3/7

METEHOLLE (cf. METEHOL and MECEOL)

30¼	[4/0]

MORTON

18	3/8
22	3/10
24	4/0

OVERTON

22¼	4/0
15½	4/6
15	5/0

RIMPTON

31⅛	3/4
19¼	4/4

SOUTHWARK

7½	4/0
8½	4/2
14	4/4
13	4/6
3	5/0

STOKE

6	4/2
9	4/4
26	4/6
3	4/8
3	4/9
4	4/10
14	5/0
4½	5/1
15	5/2

TAUNTON

23½	3/4
16⅞	3/8
92⅜	4/0
233⅛	4/4
106⅛	4/8
161½	4/10

TWYFORD & MARWELL

6	3/6
27	4/0
21¼	4/2
10½	4/3
32⅜	4/4
12	4/5

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1262–63 (*continued*)

qrs.	s. d.
28½	4/6
17	4/8
25⅛	4/9
11½	4/10
6	4/11
35¾	5/0

WALTHAM

2¼	2/6
3⅝ (mill)	4/0
1 "	[4/4]
2	4/4
8½	4/6
66¾	4/6
0⅝ (mill)	[4/6]
47⅞	5/0

WALTHAM, NORTH

25½	4/0
15	4/6
15¾	5/0

WARGRAVE

9	4/0
10½	4/0
4	4/0
12	4/4
8	4/4

WIELD

7½	3/8
22	4/0
6	4/6
6¾	5/0

WITNEY

32¾	3/0
49⅞	3/4
52	3/8
17½	3/10
5	4/0

WOODHAY

25½	4/0
27½	4/4
10	4/6
8	5/0

WYCOMBE, WEST

9½	3/10
76¼	4/0

1264–65

ADDERBURY

33¾	2/8
39¾	3/0

ALRESFORD

0½ (mill)	[4/0]
1¾ "	5/0
16½	5/0

ASHMANSWORTH

qrs.	s. d.
4	4/0
4	5/0
6	5/6

BEAUWORTH

2	4/8
2	5/0
17⅛	5/6

BENTLEY

148⅜	5/0

BITTERNE

0¾ (mill)	3/8
1 "	4/0
0¾ "	4/2
5 "	4/4
16 "	5/0
3 "	6/0

BRIGHSTONE

1⅜	5/0
21	5/4

BRIGHTWELL

49¼	3/4
25⅛	3/8
6	4/0

BURGHCLERE

28¾	4/6
30⅛	5/0
10½	5/6
14½	6/0

CALBOURNE

10	4/8
5½	5/0
29	5/4
3¾	5/6

CHERITON

3½	4/8
10	5/0
30⅞	5/6
7½	6/0

CLERE, HIGH

8½	4/0
6	5/0
4	5/6

CRAWLEY

10⅜	5/0
21½	6/0

DOWNTON

8½	4/0
10⅜	4/4
18¾	5/0

ESSERE

qrs.	s. d.
3¼	3/6

EBBESBORNE

18¼	3/8
12⅜	5/0

FAREHAM

9	3/8
10	4/0
5	4/6
15	5/11

FARNHAM

4½	3/8
8	5/0

FONTHILL

10⅜	4/0
11	4/4
20	5/0

HAMBLEDON

22⅜	5/6

HARWELL

31	3/4
35	3/8
7½	4/0

ITCHINGSWELL

35½	5/0
22½	5/6
15⅜	6/0

IVINGHOE

26	3/4
20	3/8
26	4/0

KNOYLE

10⅜	4/0
10	4/6
20⅜	5/0
120 (in tasso)	[5/0]

MARDON

31	4/8
25	5/0
33¼	6/0

MARWELL
(SEE TWYFORD)

MEON

20	4/0
25	5/0
80	6/0

MEON, CHURCH

20	4/6
60½	6/0

OVERTON

qrs.	s. d.
10	4/0
1 (mill)	4/6
16½	4/6
1 (mill)	5/0
10	5/0
17½	5/6

MORTON

27⅜	3/0
8	3/2
20	3/4
14⅜	3/8
9¼	4/0

RIMPTON

3⅝ (mill)	4/0
40	4/0
59⅛	4/4
13½	4/6
13⅜	4/8
5⅝	5/0

STOKE

4	4/6
7	5/2
30⅛	5/4

SUTTON

2½	4/0
33⅜	5/6

TAUNTON

37½	3/8
109¾	4/0
481⅓	4/4
7½	4/8
162⅜	4/10

TWYFORD & MARWELL

4	4/11
23	5/0
4	5/0
10½	5/2
56½	5/4

WALTHAM

68½	5/0

WALTHAM, NORTH

10	4/0
12½	4/6
13½	5/0
16¼	5/6

WARGRAVE

3½	3/4
6	3/8
22½	4/0
6	4/0

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1264–65 (*continued*)

WIELD

qrs.	s. d.
4	4/8
7¾	5/0
20	5/6

WITNEY

64¾	3/0
54¾	3/4

WOODHAY

8	4/6
16¼	5/0
10½	5/6

WOLVESEY

21¼	4/10
7⅝	5/0
18	5/4

WYCOMBE

6¾	3/0
13	3/4
8½	3/6
24¼	4/0

1265–66

ADDERBURY

38¾	2/6
16¾	3/0
11¼	3/4

ALRESFORD

15¾	4/0
4	5/0
1½ (mill)	5/0

ASHMANSWORTH

11	4/6
4	5/1

BEAUWORTH

31	4/6
24	5/0

BENTLEY

54	4/0
41⅛	4/6
36⅛	4/8

BITTERNE

7½	4/0
5	4/6
4⅜	5/0

BRIGHSTONE

4½	4/6
2	4/8
6⅛	5/0

BRIGHTWELL

4 (mill)	3/6
26½	3/8
2½ (mill)	4/0
24½	4/0
2¼ (mill)	4/2
27	4/2
22⅜	4/4
2½ (mill)	5/0
4	5/0

BURGHCLERE

44⅝	4/0
32	4/6
18⅛	5/0
10	5/6

CALBOURNE

4¾	4/8
14	4/10
12½	5/0

CHERITON

18	4/6
22¾	5/0
15½	5/6

CLERE, HIGH

6⅛	4/0

CRAWLEY

15	4/8
5	4/10
1	5/0

DOWNTON

54	3/4
16½	3/6
8 (mill)	4/0
3 "	4/10
4½	5/0
1⅛ (mill)	5/0

EBBESBORNE

12	3/0
21	3/4
16½	3/8
4½	5/0

ESSERE

9	3/0

FAREHAM

10⅝	3/4
46	4/0

FARNHAM

4	4/6
42¾	4/8

FONTHILL

29	3/8
25	4/0
7½	5/4

HAMBLEDON

qrs.	s. d.
15	3/4
1	3/10
8	4/0
43	4/6

HAMBLEDON, CHURCH

46¾	4/6
10	5/0

HARWELL

29	3/8
20½	4/0
23½	4/2
6½	5/0

ITCHINGSWELL

20½	4/6
19½	5/0
16	5/4
5	5/6

IVINGHOE

12	3/6
50	3/8
110	4/0
32½	5/0

KNOYLE

6¼	3/8
21⅞	4/0
60	5/4

MARDON

12½	3/8
90½	5/0
4	5/4

MARWELL (SEE TWYFORD)

MEON, CHURCH

17	3/4
5½	3/6
5½	3/8
1	4/0

MORTON

16	3/6
21¼	3/8
22	4/0

OVERTON

24	4/0
2 (mill)	4/0
2 "	4/5
8	4/6
10½	5/0

RIMPTON

1 (in tasso)	3/0
16	4/10
22⅝	5/0
11⅞	5/2
21	5/4
2	6/0

STOKE

3¾	4/0
5½	4/6
9	4/8
3	4/9
1	[4/10]
26	5/0
2	5/4
3⅞	5/6
10	5/6

SUTTON

26	4/6
12	4/8
18	5/0

TAUNTON

13½	4/8
219⅝	5/0
134⅛	5/4
6⅝	5/8
14⅝	6/0
23⅝	6/4
48½	6/8
163½	6/10

TWYFORD AND MARWELL

8¾	4/8
11½	4/10
4½	4/11
35	5/0
13¾	5/1
15½	5/2
2½	5/4
2½	5/5
10½	5/6
6½	5/7

WALTHAM

6⅛	4/6
114½	4/8

WALTHAM, NORTH

18	4/6
15	4/10
9⅛	5/0

WARGRAVE

8½	3/8
12¼	4/8
10	5/0
8	5/0

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1265–66 (*continued*)

WIELD

qrs.		s. d.
9⅜	.....	4/0
32½	.....	5/0
14⅝	.....	5/4
5⅜	.....	5/8

WITNEY

28	.....	2/10
56½	.....	3/0

WOLVESEY

1⅛	.....	[4/0]
2½	.....	4/10
15½	.....	5/0
3	.....	5/4

WOODHAY

11½	.....	4/0
22½	.....	4/6
12½	.....	4/8
10½	.....	5/0

WYCOMBE

15	.....	3/4
24	.....	3/6
18	.....	3/8
10½	.....	4/0

1266–67

ADDERBURY

8½	.....	3/0

ALRESFORD

1	(mill) ...	[2/6]
3½	" ...	2/10
21	(old)....	3/0
59½	(new) ...	3/0

ASHMANSWORTH

5	.....	3/0
0⅜	.....	[3/0]

BEAUWORTH

18	(old)....	2/4
18⅝	"	3/0
32⅜	(new)...	3/0

BITTERNE

1½	.....	3/4

BRIGHSTONE

9	.....	3/4
3½	.....	3/8

BRIGHTWELL

47½	.....	3/0

BURGHCLERE

18	(old)....	2/2
8⅜	(new)...	2/6
19	(old)....	2/8
5½	(old)....	3/0
18	(new)...	3/0
13⅞	" ...	3/4

CALBOURNE

29	.....	4/0

CHERITON

22	(old)....	2/4
18½	"	3/0
25	(new) ...	3/0

CRAWLEY

18½	(old)....	2/8
22	"	2/10
17½	(new)...	3/0
5½	" ...	3/4

DOWNTON

52	.....	2/8
8	(mill) ...	2/8
80½	.....	3/0
7	(mill) ...	3/0

EBBESBORNE

25	(old)....	3/0
30⅞	.....	3/0

ESSERE

3½	.....	3/0

FARNHAM

41⅜	.....	3/8

FONTHILL

8½	.....	2/0
13	.....	2/2
7½	.....	2/2
15⅞	.....	2/8
8⅝	.....	3/0

HAMBLEDON

68¾	.....	[3/2½]

HARWELL

14	.....	2/8
13½	.....	3/6

IVINGHOE

12	(new) ...	2/6
26½	" ...	3/0
24	(old)....	3/0
30½	"	3/2

KILMESTON

2½	(bought)	2/4

KNOYLE

24½	(old)....	2/0
22⅝	"	2/2
24	"	2/6
61	(new) ...	3/0

MARDON

qrs.		s. d.
46	.....	2/8
23½	.....	3/0
22	.....	3/8

MEON

82	(old)....	2/2
25	"	2/4
41	"	2/8
74⅞	(new)...	2/8
48½	" ...	3/0

MEON, CHURCH

29⅞	(old)....	2/4
34½	"	2/5
30	(new) ...	2/6
26¼	(old)....	2/6
6	"	2/7
35	(new)...	2/8
30	(old)....	2/10
3½	"	3/0
21	(new)...	3/0

METEHOL (cf. METEHOLLE and MECEOL)

11½	.....	3/8

MORTON

30	(old)....	2/8
7	"	3/0

OVERTON

19	(old)....	3/0
1½	(mill) ...	3/0
37⅛	(new) ...	3/4

RIMPTON

0½	(new) ...	[2/2]
13	(old)....	2/8
43½	.....	3/0
11½	(new)...	3/0
8¼	.....	3/4

STOKE

12	(old)....	2/8
8	"	2/10
22	"	3/0
4	"	3/6
4⅛	"	3/8

SUTTON

40⅞	(old)....	3/0
6⅛	(new)...	3/0

TAUNTON

42½	(old)....	3/0
155	(new) ...	3/0
68	" ...	3/0
11⅜	(old)....	3/4
11¼	(new) ...	3/4

TWYFORD

qrs.		s. d.
31⅛	(old)....	2/9
9½	"	3/0
6½	"	3/2
19⅜	"	3/6
45	"	4/0

WALTHAM

3	(mill) ...	2/8
45	(old)....	3/0
4¾	(mill) ...	3/4

WALTHAM, NORTH

15	.....	3/0
13	(new)...	3/2
28½	.....	3/4

WARGRAVE

27	(old)....	3/4
12	(new) ...	3/4
1½	.....	3/4
6½	.....	3/4

WIELD

30	(old)....	2/4
20	.....	2/6
34⅜	.....	3/0
22½	(old)....	3/0

WITNEY

78	(old)....	2/6
89	.....	2/8

WYCOMBE

24	(old)....	2/2
22	"	2/4
26	"	2/8
21½	"	3/4

1267–68

ADDERBURY

21	.....	2/10
24	(in gross).	2/10
21½	.....	3/0

ALRESFORD

8½	.....	3/8
1½	.....	4/0
0⅜	.....	[4/0]

ASHMANSWORTH

7	.....	4/0

BEAUWORTH

30	(in gross).	4/0

BENTLEY

18½	.....	3/4

Prices of Wheat, 1267–68 (*continued*)

Bitterne

qrs.	s. d.
3⅜	3/0
15	3/6
3¼ (mill)	3/6
3½ "	3/8
8 "	4/0

Burghclere

0¾ (mill)	[3/4]
32½	4/0
80	[4/0]
10	4/6
15	5/0

Cheriton

22 (in tasso)	4/0
4½	4/6

Clere, High

1½	4/0
16 (in gross)	[4/0]

Crawley

5	4/4
16½	4/6
6	4/8

Downton

12½ (mill)	3/8
13½	4/0

Ebbesborne

10	4/0

Fareham

0¾ (mill)	[3/1½]
53½	3/6
2⅞	4/0
2⅞ (mill)	4/0
2⅛ "	4/0

Farnham

2½	3/6

Harwell

60	3/6
4	3/0

Itchingswell

45 (in gross)	4/0
16⅛	4/0
10	4/4

Ivinghoe

76 (in tasso)	3/0
113	[3/1½]
27	3/4

Knoyle

4⅞	3/0
3½	3/4

Meon

qrs.	s. d.
250 (in gross)	4/0
3	[4/0]

Meon, Church

149⅜ (in gross)	4/0

Overton

1⅞ (mill)	3/4
10	4/0

Stoke

14	4/4

Sutton

30	[4/0]
0⅛ (mill)	[4/0]
8¼	4/4

Taunton

4 (old)	4/0
106¾ (new)	4/0

Twyford

0⅜	[3/10⅔]
0½ (mill)	[4/3⅝]
14⅓	4/4
12½	4/6
13½	5/0

Waltham

2 (mill)	3/6
119⅝ (wheat & curall)	3/6
1 (mill)	4/0
2 "	4/6

Waltham, North

10	4/0
40 (in tasso)	[4/0]

Wargrave

20	3/0
18 (in gross)	3/0
2	3/0
12	3/2
6	3/2

Wield

30 (in gross)	4/0

Witney

8	2/8
70 (in gross)	2/8
9⅞	3/0

Wolvesey

25	4/0
16	4/6
14	4/6

Woodhay

qrs.	s. d.
31¼	4/0
12 (in gross)	4/0

Wycombe

4½	3/0
52 (in gross)	3/0
4½ (mill)	3/0
2⅛ "	3/4
3¾ "	3/6
14	4/0
3	4/0

1277–78

Adderbury

15⅞	5/0
17	6/0
12	6/8

Alresford

68⅜	9/0

Ashmansworth

15	8/4

Beauworth

35½	9/0

Bentley

18½	6/8
44¾	8/8

Bitterne

4½	6/8
1⅝ (mill)	6/8
0⅝ "	[8/0]
0½ "	8/0
7½	9/0

Brighstone

5	7/0
12	7/6
17	8/0

Brightwell

4 (mill)	5/0
3 "	6/0
32	6/0
23	6/8
23½	7/0
33¾	7/4
12	8/0
4⅛ (mill)	8/0

Burghclere

10	8/0
128⅞	9/0

Calbourne

23⅞	6/8
20	6/9

qrs.	s. d.
2½	7/0
53	8/0
1½	8/4

Cheriton

0⅝	[6/8]
59⅜	9/0
0⅜ (mill)	[9/0]

Clere, High

17⅜	8/0

Crawley

12	7/0
6	7/4
29½	8/0
3½	9/0

Downton

3⅞	5/6
23	7/0
30⅝	8/0
1½	[8/0]

Ebbesborne

3½	6/4
29	8/0

Fareham

3	6/0
7	6/8
3	8/0
62½	8/4
2⅞	8/4
3½	8/4
1	[8/4]

Farnham

14½	8/0
5½	8/0

Fonthill

12	6/0
8	6/8
12½	8/0

Hambledon

4⅛	5/6
3½	7/0
31⅜	8/0
3⅝	8/10

Harwell

21½	6/0
22	7/0
18	8/0

Itchingswell

3½	5/0
91⅜	9/0
9	9/4

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1277–78 (*continued*)

IVINGHOE

qrs.	s. d.
8¾	5/6
75	6/0
12⅞	6/6
9¾	7/0
37½	7/6

KNOYLE

30½	6/0
13½	6/8
27	8/0

MARDON

20⅜	7/0
150¼	9/0

MEON

102½	7/0
78	8/0

MEON, CHURCH

30	6/8
40⅜	8/4
17½	9/0

MORTON

26⅛	5/6
14⅛	6/0
17⅞	7/6

OVERTON

1¼ (mill)	5/4
1¼ "	6/0
1¼ "	6/8
3¾	6/8
25⅝	7/0
1¼	7/4
3½	8/0
8 (mill)	8/8
8⅛	8/8
12½	10/0
1 (mill)	10/0

RINGWOOD

2⅜	5/0
3	5/4
3	8/0

SOUTHWARK

6 (mill)	5/6
7 "	6/0
2⅜ "	6/0
8 "	6/10
10 "	7/0
8 "	7/4
6 "	8/0

STOKE

48¼	9/0
2	9/2
3	9/6
4¼	9/7

SUTTON

33½	9/0

TAUNTON

10⅝ (old)	6/0
9¾ (new)	6/0
4⅝ "	6/8
113⅜ (old)	7/4
40¼ "	7/8
54⅝ (new)	8/0
8 (old)	8/4
151⅜	8/8
29¾	9/0
69½	9/4
55¾	10/0
35⅞	10/8
9	11/0
22⅜	11/0
14⅜	12/0
158⅜	12/2

TWYFORD

25	8/0
9	8/1
70⅜	8/8
0½ (mill)	[8/8]
0½ "	[8/8]
0⅜ "	[8/8]

WALTHAM

19⅜	6/8
2¼ (mill)	6/8
6¾	7/0
3 (mill)	8/0
9	8/0
14	8/4
102⅜	8/8
10	9/0

WALTHAM, NORTH

27	7/0
20½	10/0

WARGRAVE

3¼	6/8
3	8/0

WITNEY

41½	7/0
30	7/6
26⅜	8/0

WOLVESEY

9½	6/8
27⅜	7/0
20⅝	9/0

WOODHAY

qrs.	s. d.
26¾	9/0
3	9/4

WYCOMBE

27¼	5/4
20¼	5/8
13¾	6/0

1278–79

ADDERBURY

20¾	3/4
30	4/0

ALRESFORD

10	6/0
0½ (mill)	[6/0]

BEAUWORTH

28½	5/0
40	6/0

BENTLEY

2⅜	5/0
10½	5/4
70⅞	5/8

BITTERNE

2¼	3/10
4⅞ (mill)	5/0
11½	6/0

BRIGHSTONE

3½	5/0
2	5/4
12½	6/0

BRIGHTWELL

38	4/0
52	4/8
5 (mill)	4/8
6 "	5/0
24	5/6

BURGHCLERE

15½	4/9
20	5/0
87½	6/0
5	6/4

CALBOURNE

25½	5/0
4	5/2
7½	5/6
51	6/0

CHERITON

20	4/8
6	5/0
52½	6/0
0½ (mill)	[6/0]

CLERE

qrs.	s. d.
5⅝	4/10
4⅜	5/6

CLERE, HIGH

13⅝	5/8

CRAWLEY

35	4/6
19½	5/6
17½	6/0

DOWNTON

2½ (mill)	3/8
3½ "	4/0
45½	4/4
35⅛	5/0
2 (mill)	5/0

EBBESBORNE

7½	4/6
34¾	5/4

FAREHAM

2 (mill)	4/0
2 "	6/0
4 "	6/0
63⅜	6/0

FARNHAM

28¾	5/4

FINTWODE

2⅝	4/6
4	5/0
3	5/4

FONTHILL

13⅞	4/0
40	5/0

HARWELL

82½	4/0
12	5/0

ITCHINGSWELL

12½	4/4
64¼	6/0

IVINGHOE

20½	5/0
32½	5/4
117⅜	5/6

KNOYLE

3	4/5
78⅞	5/0
21¼	5/1

MARDON

48	5/10
145⅝	6/0

Prices of Wheat, 1278–79 (*continued*)

Marwell (See Twyford)

Meon

qrs.	s. d.
45⅛	4/6
40	5/0
85	6/0

Meon, Church

9⅛	4/4
40 (tithe)	4/6
10	5/0
10½ (tithe)	5/4
6	6/0
29⅛ (tithe)	6/0

Morton

7⅜	4/6
26⅝	4/8
15⅛	5/0

Overton

55⅜	5/0
13½	5/2

Stoke

25	5/4
35½	5/5
9¾	5/6
22½	6/0

Sutton

12	5/6
56½	6/0

Taunton

8¼	4/0
8⅛	4/4
3⅛	5/0
7¼	5/4
16⅜	6/0
6¾	6/4

Twyford & Marwell

11⅜	4/4
30	4/6
18	5/0
7	5/2
7	5/6
20	5/8
41	6/0

Waltham

4	4/6
15¾	5/0
60¼	6/0

Waltham, North

1½	4/8
2½	5/0
2½	5/2
20⅞	5/4
4	5/6

Wargrave

2½	4/6
7⅜	4/8
3¼	5/0
9	5/0
2⅛	5/0
5	5/4

Witney

34	4/0
53	4/6
54	5/0

Wolvesey

28⅜	5/0
5	5/4
30⅛	6/0

Woodhay

7½	4/1
2⅜	4/8
22⅝	5/8

Wycombe

8¼	4/0
26⅜	4/8
20½	5/0

1282–83

Adderbury

48½	6/0

Alresford

0½ (mill)	[6/0]
24¾	8/0

Ashmansworth

0⅛	[6/8]
17	8/0

Beauworth

2	7/8
17⅞	8/0

Bentley

92⅜	9/0

Bitterne

0¾ (mill)	6/0
11½	6/8
3⅞	7/4
15⅜	8/0

Brighstone

24⅞	8/0

Brightwell

qrs.	s. d.
18	6/8
40	7/0
25	7/4
0⅜	[8/0]
10	8/6
10	8/8

Burghclere

12½	6/8
62¾	7/6
54½	9/0

Calbourne

18½	6/8
12	7/0
7	7/6
15¾	8/0

Cheriton

1	7/8
42	8/0
0¼ (mill)	[9/9⅓]

Clere, High

7⅞	4/6
11⅛	8/0

Crawley

34⅛	8/0

Downton

4⅛ (mill)	6/0
35	7/4
1⅛ (mill)	[8/0]
30	8/4

Ebbesborne

2⅝ [curall ?]	3/0
23	6/4
22⅛	8/0

Essere

0½	[6/8]

Fareham

4½	6/8
3	7/0
47¾	8/0

Farnham

20½	9/0
4¾	9/0

Fonthill

17½	7/4
17⅜	8/8

Hambledon

4½	6/8
38	8/0

Harwell

qrs.	s. d.
3	6/8
62⅛	7/0
4	8/0

Itchingswell

1⅝	6/8
40	7/6
2	8/8
58⅛	9/0
1	9/6

Ivinghoe

40⅞	6/8
54⅛	7/4

Knoyle

33½	7/4
32⅜	8/8

Mardon

50	6/8
16⅞	6/8
80½	8/0

Marwell (See Twyford)

Meon

110	7/0
48⅛	8/0

Morton

26	6/8
16¾	7/4

Overton

0¼ (mill)	6/0
1⅝ "	6/0
0¼ "	6/0
0⅜ "	6/8
2 "	6/8
0½ "	6/8
32⅜	8/0

Rimpton

43⅝	6/8
29⅞	9/4

Stoke

50½	8/0

Sutton

26⅞	8/0

Taunton: Kingston and Nailesbourne

42⅛	7/4
21⅛	10/2

Prices of Wheat, 1282–83 (*continued*)

Otterford

qrs.	s. d.
16⅜	6/8
6	10/2

Poundisford

15½	7/0
20	7/4
38	10/2

Twyford & Marwell

28¾	8/0

Waltham

1¼ (mill)	[5/4]
0½ "	[5/4]
20	7/0
59½	7/8
83⅞	8/0

Waltham, North

32⅛	9/0

Wargrave

15⅜	8/0
10⅜	8/0
3⅜	8/0

Wield

3½	7/4
29¾	8/0

Witney

4	5/0
18½	6/0
141½	6/8

Wolvesey

1¾	6/8
41⅛	7/0
1	7/4
2½	7/6

Wycombe

33⅜	7/0
30¼	8/0

1283–84 (?)

Adderbury

13½	6/0
15⅛	[4/0]

Alresford

3	7/0
6⅛	8/0

Bentley

63	8/0

Bitterne

9½	6/0

Brighstone

1	6/0

Brightwell

qrs.	s. d.
2¼	6/0
3¼	6/8
3	7/0

Burghclere

0¾ (mill)	6/8
2⅜	7/0
4½	7/4
15½	8/0
6¾	8/5
12⅝	8/6
21⅛	8/8

Calbourne

19½	6/8
6	7/0

Cheriton

50¾	8/0
7	8/6

Clere, High

7⅛	7/8

Crawley

13¼	8/0

Downton

5⅛ (mill)	4/0
0⅜ "	[4/0]
1½ "	[6/0]
2½	6/8
0¾ (mill)	6/8
1½ "	7/4
0½ "	8/0

Ebbesborne

3	5/4
3½	6/8

Fareham

0½ (mill)	[5/4]
4	6/0
4	6/8
2½	7/0
1½ (mill)	7/0
0⅛ "	7/4

Farnham

13¾	8/0
3½	8/0

Fonthill

16½	6/0
15⅛	6/8

Hambledon

17⅞	5/0
4¼	7/0

Harwell

qrs.	s. d.
10	6/8
16½	7/0
22	7/6

Havant

1 (mill)	[4/8]
0½ "	[4/8]
1	[6/0]

Itchingswell

10½	6/0
4½	7/4
8½	7/8
17½	8/0
7	8/1

Ivinghoe

28½	6/0
13½	6/8
46¼	7/6

Knoyle

10⅜	6/8

Mardon

8¼	6/0
6	6/6
8	7/0
25½	8/0
32½	8/0
0½	[8/0]

Marwell
(See Twyford)

Meon

15½	5/6
26½	6/0
19½	7/0
40	8/0

Meon, Church

10 (tithes)	6/6
10 "	6/8
8 "	7/0
9½	7/0
6¾	8/0
5⅛ (tithes)	8/0

Morton

10½	5/0
14⅝	6/0
6	6/6
12	6/8

Overton

0½ (mill)	[6/8]
10⅜	7/0
18⅛	8/0

Rimpton

qrs.	s. d.
3½	5/4
34¾	6/8

Stoke

4⅜	6/0
6	6/8
6	7/0

Sutton

4	6/8
2	7/0
31⅛	8/0

Taunton

25⅜	6/8
11⅜	7/0
28⅞	7/0
19⅝	7/6
51¼	8/0
99	8/2

Twyford & Marwell

21⅛	6/8
9	7/2
5⅜	8/0

Waltham

1⅛ (mill)	6/0
60	6/8
6	7/6

Waltham, North

6	7/4
14	8/0

Wargrave

2¾	4/8
3⅜	6/8
19	8/0
10⅜	8/0
5	8/0

Wield

15	7/6
16	8/0

Witney

15	4/6
37⅛	5/6
34	6/0

Wycombe

44⅝	6/8

1285–86

Adderbury

31¾	4/0

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1285–86 (*continued*)

ALRESFORD

qrs.	s. d.
8⅝	5/0
12	5/4
10	5/6

ASHMANSWORTH

6⅛	4/3
6	4/5
17½	5/0

BEAUWORTH

21¾	5/0

BENTLEY

28¼	5/0
27⅝	6/0

BITTERNE

10	3/0
2⅝ (mill)	[4/0]
7¼	4/0

BRIGHTWELL

6 (mill)	3/0
6½ "	4/8
128⅛	5/0
16	5/6

CHERITON

0¼ (mill)	[4/0]
25¾	4/6
20	5/0

CLERE, HIGH

21⅛	5/0

CRAWLEY

12	4/4
10½	4/6

DOWNTON

42⅞	4/4
2½ (mill)	4/6
0⅛ "	4/8
1 "	4/8
1 "	4/10
1⅛	5/0
2½ (mill)	5/0

DROXFORD

0⅞ (mill)	[4/8]

EBBESBORNE

6	4/4
20	4/4
5⅞	5/0

ESSERE

7⅛	5/0
2¼	5/8

FAREHAM

qrs.	s. d.
5	4/4
3¾	5/0

FARNHAM

13½	5/0

FONTHILL

6⅜	4/0
20⅜	4/0

HAMBLEDON

14½	4/6
11	5/0

HARWELL

5	4/8
62⅜	5/0

HAVANT

3¼ (mill)	4/8
4 "	5/0
6⅜	5/0

ITCHINGSWELL

22⅛	5/0
1½	5/4
15⅛	5/6
21⅜	6/0

IVINGHOE

129¼	4/4

KNOYLE

32¼	3/0
22	5/0

KNOYLE, UPTON

13	4/0
4⅞	4/6
6¾	4/8

MARDON

9	4/0
25¾	4/2
32¼	4/4

MARWELL
(SEE TWYFORD)

MEON

7	3/6
113	4/0
20½	4/2
16	4/3
21⅛	5/0

MEON, CHURCH

16½	4/0
56⅞ (tithes)	4/0
4½	5/0
2⅞ (tithes)	5/0

MORTON

qrs.	s. d.
34⅛	4/0

OVERTON

5	5/4
6	6/2
17	6/0

RIMPTON

2¾ (mill)	4/8
41⅜	5/4

STOKE

3	4/4
3	4/6
16⅛	4/8

SUTTON

6½	4/4
20	5/0
10	5/2

TAUNTON

15¾	5/8
232	6/0
17½	6/4
97¼	6/6

TWYFORD & MARWELL

9¾	4/4
20	4/8
8	5/0

WALTHAM

45⅜	4/4
1⅜ (mill)	4/4
3	4/9½
13⅞	4/8
38¼	5/4

WALTHAM, NORTH

21⅜	5/0
14⅝	6/0

WARGRAVE

16½	5/0
2¼	6/0

WIELD

33	4/0

WITNEY

22½	3/4
13	3/6
26⅞	4/0

WOLVESEY

13¼	5/0
52¼	6/0

WOODHAY

qrs.	s. d.
29½	5/0
2⅝	5/1
12⅛	5/2
16⅞	5/8

WYCOMBE

65	4/0
25⅜	4/8

1286–87

ADDERBURY

22⅞	6/0

ALRESFORD

7	6/0
25½	6/8

BEAUWORTH

8¼	6/8

BENTLEY

72¼	6/8

BITTERNE

20	6/0

BRIGHTWELL

4¾ (mill)	4/6
10¾ "	6/0

CHERITON

0¼ (mill)	4/8
25½	6/0
30½	6/8

CRAWLEY

22⅝	4/6

DOWNTON

16	4/4
13½	4/8
2 (mill)	5/0
40	6/0
3¼ (mill)	6/4
2 (mill)	6/6

DROXFORD

31½	6/6

EBBESBORNE

5⅜	4/2
4¼	4/4
20	4/8
10	5/0
20	6/0

FAREHAM

1⅝	5/1
19½	6/0

FARNHAM

2	[5/0]

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1286–87 (*continued*)

FONTHILL

qrs.	s. d.
21½	5/4
21⅛	6/0
12½	6/1

HAMBLEDON

13½	5/4
22½	6/0

HARWELL

9	6/8
42½	7/0

HAVANT

4½	6/0

IVINGHOE

64⅜	7/0

KNOYLE

6	3/4
1	3/8
6	4/0
1½	4/4
2	4/8
9½	6/0
20	6/1

KNOYLE, UPTON

4⅞	3/4
6.	4/0
2½	4/4
0⅜	4/8
40⅝	6/0

MARDON

71½	4/4
100	4/8

MARWELL (SEE TWYFORD)

MEON

21½	5/0
37⅞	6/8

MEON, CHURCH

3⅜ (tithes)	4/0
5	4/4
6 (tithes)	4/4
32⅜	6/0
16¾	6/8

MORTON

3	5/0
8¾	6/8

OVERTON

4¾ (mill)	6/0
0½ "	6/0
46⅛	6/8

RIMPTON

qrs.	s. d.
3½	6/0
10	6/8
15⅛	7/8

STOKE

9	4/6
28½	6/0

SUTTON

8	5/0
4	6/0
65	6/8

TAUNTON

6	6/0
13½	6/8
67⅞	7/4
44⅞	7/6
109	8/0
98½	8/2

TWYFORD & HARWELL

17	4/6
53	5/0

WALTHAM

104¾	6/4

WALTHAM, NORTH

35½	6/8

WARGRAVE

24⅝	7/0

WOLVESEY

13½	5/0
1½	5/4
4	5/10
14½	6/2
2	6/4

WYCOMBE

15⅜	6/8

1287–88

ADDERBURY

27½	4/4

ALRESFORD

37⅞ (mill)	5/0

ASHMANSWORTH

4¾	5/0

BEAUWORTH

5	4/0
35	5/0

BENTLEY

51⅞	5/0

BITTERNE

qrs.	s. d.
0⅝ (mill)	3/4
0½	3/4
1½ (mill)	4/8
9⅝	5/0

BRIGHTWELL

7½ (mill)	4/0
122⅜	5/0

BURGHCLERE

0½ (mill)	4/0
62½	5/0

CHERITON

60	5/0
2½ (mill)	[6/8]

CLERE, HIGH

14½	5/0

CRAWLEY

31⅜	4/8

DOWNTON

2 (mill)	3/8
4⅞ "	4/0
36½	4/0

DROXFORD

0⅜ (mill)	[4/0]
30	[5/0]

EBBESBORNE

43⅞	4/0

FAREHAM

0¾ mill	[4/2]
1	[4/2½]
32⅜	4/8

FARNHAM

0¼	3/0
0⅝ (mill)	3/0
29⅜	5/0
3½ (mill)	5/0
0¼	5/0

FONTHILL

16⅝	4/0
14½	4/4

HAMBLEDON

44½	4/8

HARWELL

50	5/0

HAVANT

2½ (mill)	3/2
4½ "	4/4
13⅜	4/8

ITCHINGSWELL

qrs.	s. d.
60⅜	5/0

IVINGHOE

106¾	4/8

KNOYLE

3	4/0
32¼	4/4
18½	4/5

KNOYLE, UPTON

2⅜	3/8
15⅝	4/4

MARDON

155	4/8

MARWELL (SEE TWYFORD)

MEON

28¾	4/6
112⅝	5/0

MEON, CHURCH

6⅞ (tithes)	4/4
34⅜ "	5/0
19	5/0
21⅜	5/0

MORTON

20⅝	4/0

OVERTON

38½	5/0
0½ (mill)	5/0

RIMPTON

2¼ (mill)	3/0
4	3/0
32½	4/4

STOKE

27	5/0

SUTTON

25⅝	5/0

TAUNTON

9½	4/0
33¾	4/4
37½	5/0

TWYFORD & MARWELL

83¾	5/0

WALTHAM

1⅛ (mill)	4/0
108⅞	5/0

WALTHAM, NORTH

37⅞	5/0

Prices of Wheat, 1287–88 (*continued*)

Wargrave

qrs.	s. d.
12	4/4
$0\frac{1}{4}$ (mill)	4/10
$12\frac{5}{8}$	4/10
$29\frac{3}{4}$	4/10
5	4/10

Witney

$154\frac{1}{8}$	4/8

Wolvesey

$11\frac{1}{8}$	4/6
12	4/8
$9\frac{7}{8}$	5/0
$6\frac{1}{8}$	5/4

Woodhay

$0\frac{1}{4}$	[4/0]
$41\frac{5}{8}$	5/0

Wycombe

$58\frac{5}{8}$	4/8

1288–89

Adderbury

$27\frac{1}{2}$	1/4
$8\frac{5}{8}$	1/8

Alresford

30	3/4

Ashmansworth

3	3/0
$16\frac{1}{2}$	3/4

Beauworth

5	3
$25\frac{5}{8}$	3/4

Bitterne

2 (mill)	2/8
25	3/4

Brightwell

—	2/6
— (mill)	2/6
28	2/8

Burghclere

41	3/0
$0\frac{7}{8}$ (mill)	3/0
$39\frac{3}{8}$	3/4

Cheriton

$17\frac{5}{8}$	3/0
$53\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
$0\frac{3}{8}$ (mill)	[3/6⅜]

Clere, High

$9\frac{5}{8}$	3/0
$17\frac{1}{8}$	3/4

Crawley

qrs.	s. d.
20	2/6
28	2/9
32	3/4

Downton

8	2/8
70	3/4

Droxford

$0\frac{3}{4}$ (mill)	2/8
$53\frac{7}{8}$	3/4

Ebbesborne

$13\frac{5}{8}$	2/8
20	3/4

Fareham

$0\frac{3}{4}$ (mill)	2/6
$0\frac{3}{8}$ "	2/8
$0\frac{1}{2}$ "	[2/8]
$0\frac{3}{8}$ "	[3/0]
$44\frac{1}{4}$	3/4

Farnham

$17\frac{7}{8}$	3/8
$3\frac{7}{8}$	3/8

Fonthill

$3\frac{1}{2}$	2/2
$35\frac{3}{4}$	2/8
$12\frac{1}{2}$	2/9

Hambledon

$41\frac{1}{2}$	3/4

Harwell

$14\frac{1}{2}$	2/6
$25\frac{1}{2}$	2/8
$7\frac{1}{2}$	3/0

Itchingswell

$24\frac{1}{2}$	3/0
$34\frac{1}{2}$	3/4

Ivinghoe

$5\frac{1}{8}$ (mill)	1/4
8 "	1/6
9 "	1/8
$52\frac{1}{4}$	2/0
$18\frac{1}{4}$	2/2
21	2/4
$16\frac{5}{8}$	2/6
$70\frac{1}{2}$	2/8

Knoyle

$5\frac{5}{8}$	2/0
$59\frac{3}{8}$	2/8
$21\frac{1}{2}$	2/9

Knoyle, Upton

qrs.	s. d.
15	2/0
$10\frac{3}{4}$	2/4
$3\frac{1}{2}$	2/8

Mardon

$41\frac{1}{2}$	2/6
$97\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
20	3/6

Marwell

(See Twyford)

Meon

$103\frac{1}{2}$	3/4

Meon, Church

$6\frac{3}{4}$	2/8
$82\frac{1}{8}$	3/4
$6\frac{1}{2}$ (tithes)	3/4

Morton

3	1/8
11	1/10
$16\frac{1}{2}$	2/0
20	2/4
$24\frac{5}{8}$	2/8

Overton

$1\frac{5}{8}$ (mill)	2/8
$0\frac{3}{8}$ "	2/8
1 "	3/0
14	3/0
$0\frac{1}{4}$ (mill)	3/4
2 "	3/4
$33\frac{1}{8}$	3/4

Rimpton

$2\frac{3}{4}$ (mill)	1/8
$0\frac{3}{4}$	2/4
$29\frac{3}{4}$	2/6
$22\frac{1}{2}$	2/8

Stoke

$23\frac{1}{4}$	3/4

Sutton

5	3/0
80	3/4

Taunton

$25\frac{1}{2}$ (old)	2/4
$36\frac{1}{2}$ (new)	2/4
80 (old)	2/8
9 "	3/0
$99\frac{1}{2}$ (new)	3/2

Twyford & Marwell

$80\frac{1}{8}$	3/4

Waltham

$178\frac{3}{8}$	3/4

Waltham, North

qrs.	s. d.
$8\frac{1}{2}$	3/0
$44\frac{1}{8}$	3/4

Wargrave

$16\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
$5\frac{3}{8}$	3/6
$7\frac{7}{8}$	3/6
$0\frac{3}{8}$ (mill)	3/10

Wield

$0\frac{1}{2}$	3/0
$22\frac{1}{2}$	3/4

Witney

76	2/0
66	2/4
$85\frac{7}{8}$	2/8

Wolvesey

$2\frac{3}{4}$	3/0
$54\frac{1}{4}$	3/4
2	3/6

Woodhay

21	3/0
$24\frac{1}{2}$	3/4

Wycombe

26	2/0
9	2/2
$28\frac{1}{2}$	2/4
$55\frac{1}{4}$	2/8

1289–90

Adderbury

$11\frac{1}{2}$	1/8
$24\frac{1}{2}$	2/0

Alresford

$0\frac{1}{4}$	3/4
$1\frac{1}{8}$	4/0
32	4/0

Ashmansworth

$16\frac{7}{8}$ (new)	4/0
$18\frac{5}{8}$ (old)	4/0

Beauworth

$19\frac{1}{8}$	4/0

Bentley

$24\frac{5}{8}$	3/4
$85\frac{1}{8}$	4/4

Bitterne

$1\frac{3}{4}$ (mill)	3/0
12	4/0
$0\frac{3}{4}$ (mill)	4/5⅛

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1289–90 (*continued*)

BRIGHTWELL

qrs.		s. d.
4⅛	(mill)	2/8
9½	(old)	2/8
6½	(mill)	2/10
10	(old)	3/0
6⅛	"	3/2

BURGHCLERE

27⅛	(old)	3/0
41⅝	(new)	3/0
9½	"	3/8
34⅛	(old)	4/0
43⅜	(new)	4/0

CHERITON

60½	4/0

CLERE, HIGH

16⅞	4/0

CRAWLEY

3⅞	3/8
24¼	4/0

DOWNTON

7⅞	(mill)	3/0
3	"	3/4
10½		3/6
2	(mill)	3/7
41¼		[4/0]

DROXFORD

32¾	4/0

EBBESBORNE

12¾	3/4
21	4/0

FAREHAM

37⅞	4/0

FARNHAM

21		4/4
3⅞	(mill)	4/4

FONTHILL

21⅞	3/0
25⅝	3/8
12½	3/9

HAMBLEDON

4	(old)	2/8
15¾	"	4/0
38	(new)	4/0

HAMBLEDON, CHURCH

2⅞	(old)	3/4
28⅝	"	4/0
40½		4/0

HARWELL

qrs.		s. d.
22½		2/2
12		2/10
3		3/0

ITCHINGSWELL

16½	3/4
5	3/9
27 (old)	4/0
49⅞	4/0

IVINGHOE

20⅛	2/0
5⅜	2/2
16	2/4
10⅜	2/6
8	2/8
91⅜	2/10

KNOYLE

36¾	3/0
47⅜	3/8
22¼	3/9

KNOYLE, UPTON

13⅜	2/8
5¾	3/4
10⅜	3/8

MARDON

24	3/0
8	3/4
148	4/0

MARWELL

(SEE TWYFORD)

MEON

50⅞	(old)	3/4
14¾	(new)	3/4
33⅜	(old)	4/0
138½		4/0

MEON, CHURCH

8	(old)	3/4
6	(new)	3/4
20¼	(old)	4/0
21⅛		4/0

MORTON

19½	2/0
33¼	2/8

OVERTON

31⅛	4/0

RIMPTON

27⅜	3/4
4¾	3/8
60	4/0

STOKE

qrs.		s. d.
14½		3/8
41⅞		4/4

SUTTON

9¾	(old)	4/0
38¼	(new)	4/0

TAUNTON

266⅞	(old)	3/0
34⅜	"	3/4
87¼	"	3/8
29⅜	"	4/0
5⅝		4/0
99¾		4/2

TWYFORD & MARWELL

0¼	(mill)	[3/4]
53¾		3/6
107		4/0

WALTHAM

1½	(mill)	3/4
5⅝		3/4
100		4/0

WALTHAM, NORTH

29½	4/0

WARGRAVE

12¾		4/0
2¾		4/0
4	(mill)	[4/0]
14½		4/0

WIELD

14½	(old)	4/0
34¾	(new)	4/0

WITNEY

72	2/0
20½	2/1
5⅝	2/2
4	2/4
73⅜	2/8

WOLVESEY

12⅞	2/4
6⅜	3/2
18⅝	3/4
2	3/8
18	4/0
4	4/2

WOODHAY

5	(new)	3/0
—	"	3/5
14¾	"	4/0
24⅜	(old)	4/0

WYCOMBE

qrs.		s. d.
61⅜		2/8

1290–91

ADDERBURY

25⅜	3/4
19¾	3/8
8	6/2

ALRESFORD

0½	(mill)	5/0
33⅜		6/0

ASHMANSWORTH

15¼	5/6

BEAUWORTH

36⅞	6/0

BENTLEY

97½	6/8

BITTERNE

4½	(mill)	5/0
19⅜		6/0

BRIGHTWELL

1⅛	3/4
5⅓	4/0
0¼	4/4
2⅜	4/8

BURGHCLERE

37¼	(new)	5/0
42½	(old)	6/0
98	(new)	6/0

CHERITON

28½ (old)	6/0
45	6/0

CLERE, HIGH

16½	6/0

CRAWLEY

67¾	6/0

DOWNTON

3	(mill)	4/8
4½	"	5/0
88½		5/4
7⅜	(mill)	5/8

DROXFORD

0⅜	(mill)	5/0
37⅛		6/0

EBBESBORNE

3	4/4
46¼	5/8

Prices of Wheat, 1290–91 (*continued*)

Farnham

qrs.	s. d.
0⅞ (mill) ...	5/8
0⅞ " ...	5/8
3⅜ " ...	6/8
19⅝	6/8
2¾ (mill) ...	6/8

Fonthill

12	5/8
60⅛	6/o
13	6/1

Hambledon

57½	6/o

Hambledon, Church

41⅛	6/o

Harwell

68¼	5/o

Havant

45	6/o

Itchingswell

5	5/o
25¼ (old)....	6/o
46⅞	6/o

Ivinghoe

8	4/o
211⅜	5/o

Knoyle

13⅝	5/4
60⅛	6/o
23½	6/1

Knoyle, Upton

6	4/o
14¼	5/4
20⅛	6/o

Mardon

281⅛	6/o

Marwell

(See Twyford)

Meon

155⅜	[6/o]

Meon, Church

14½	5/4
33⅞	6/o
50 (tithes)..	6/o
4⅝	6/o

Morton

14¼	3/4
51	4/4

Overton

qrs.	s. d.
0⅛ (mill) ...	4/8
0¼ " ...	4/8
0½ " ...	5/4
1¼ " ...	5/4
38½	6/o

Rimpton

12⅝	6/o
1¾ (mill) ...	6/o
120¼	6/8

Stoke

6½	6/4
65¾	6/8

Sutton

58⅜	6/o

Taunton

23¾ (old)....	4/8
340	5/o
42	5/4
71⅜	6/o
77⅝	6/4

Twyford & Marwell

0⅛ (mill) ...	[5/o]
44½	5/6
120¼	6/o

Waltham

0¾ (mill) ...	5/4
90	6/o

Waltham, North

37	6/o

Wargrave

57¼	6/o
9⅞	6/o
16¼	6/o

Witney

11¼	3/4
22	4/o
115½	4/4

Woodhay

63½	6/o

Wycombe

1⅞	4/o
100⅝	4/8

1291–92

Alresford

23⅛	8/o

Ashmansworth

25	8/o

Beauworth

qrs.	s. d.
5¾	6/8
17	8/o

Bentley

80⅛	8/8

Brightwell

0¾ (mill) ...	4/4
1⅞ " ...	5/o
10	5/o
1⅝ (mill) ...	5/4
2¾	5/4
3 (mill) ...	6/o
72⅜	7/6

Burghclere

3	6/o
8	6/8
12	7/o
103½	8/o

Cheriton

0½ (mill) ...	[7/o]
64	8/o

Clere, High

10⅜	6/o
16¼	7/8

Crawley

15	7/o
29½	8/o

Culham

3¾	8/o

Downton

5½ (mill) ...	5/o
1⅛ " ...	7/6
113⅞	8/o
5⅝ (mill) ...	8/o

Droxford

0½ (mill) ...	6/6
30⅜	8/o

Ebbesborne

53¼	8/o

Fareham

0¾ (mill) ...	4/o
0½ " ...	[5/4]
7	6/o
56	8/o

Farnham

1⅛	5/4
24⅜	8/4
3⅜	8/4

Fonthill

qrs.	s. d.
2½	6/8
23⅜	8/o
12¾	8/1

Hambledon

53⅜	8/o

Hambledon, Church

65¼	8/o

Harwell

7	5/o
5⅜	5/4
9	5/6
34⅜	7/6

Havant

10¼	6/o
29	8/o

Itchingswell

7	6/o
6	7/o
37	8/o

Ivinghoe

3½	5/o
12⅛	5/4
127¾	7/4

Knoyle

18	6/8
60⅜	8/o
23¼	8/1

Knoyle, Upton

6½	7/2
23	8/o

Mardon

154⅜	8/o

Meon

34½	4/o
8	6/o
128⅝	8/o

Meon, Church

15¾	6/o
7 (tithes)..	7/o
8⅝	8/o
34⅞ (tithes)..	8/o

Morton

2	5/o
7	6/o
61⅛	7/o

Overton

0¾ (mill) ...	4/8
30	8/o

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1291–92 (*continued*)

PILLINGBEAR

qrs.	s. d.
8⅛	8/0

RIMPTON

2	(mill) ...	[8/0]
26⅜		8/0
61¼		9/0

SUTTON

31¼	8/0

TAUNTON

24⅜		6/8
163⅛		8/0
52⅛		8/8
175		9/0
99½		9/2

WALTHAM

104		8/0
0½	(mill) ...	[8/0]

WALTHAM, NORTH

35⅛	8/0

WALTHAM, ST. LAWRENCE

17⅞	8/0

WARGRAVE

22⅜	8/0

WIELD

16⅛	6/0
28⅛	8/0

WITNEY

4½	5/4
2⅜	6/0
117¼	6/8

WOODHAY

10	6/0
11	7/0
52	7/8

WYCOMBE

81⅜	[9/1⅛]

1292–93

ADDERBURY

27¼	4/0
15½	5/0

ALRESFORD

23¾	6/8

ASHMANSWORTH

7½	5/6
11⅜	6/8

BEAUWORTH

9½	6/8

BENTLEY

qrs.	s. d.
82	7/0

BITTERNE

12	(mill) ...	5/6
2¾	" ...	6/0
13¾		6/8

BRIGHTWELL

1	(mill) ...	4/0
6¾	" ...	4/8
1½	" ...	5/0
14½		5/0
122½		5/4

BURGHCLERE

28⅞	5/6
8	6/0
65½	6/8

CHERITON

19¾	6/8

CLERE, HIGH

1⅜	5/4
10⅞	6/0

CRAWLEY

50⅜	6/8

CULHAM

1⅞	6/10

DOWNTON

6	(mill) ...	5/0
1½	" ...	[6/0]
6⅜	" ...	6/4
140⅜		6/4

DROXFORD

0½	(mill) ...	6/0
14⅜		6/8

EBBESBORNE

39¾	6/4

FAREHAM

50⅜	6/8

FARNHAM

12¾	7/0

FONTHILL

76⅞	6/0
13¼	6/1

HAMBLEDON

15	6/0
15	6/4
43¾	6/8

HARWELL

qrs.	s. d.
4	5/0
71¼	5/4

HAVANT

18⅛	6/8

ITCHINGSWELL

13½	5/6
5	6/0
35⅛	6/8

IVINGHOE

5	(mill) ...	2/8
4¼	" ...	3/2
8¾	" ...	3/4
7⅛	" ...	3/5
19½		3/8
17⅞		4/0
38¾		5/0

KNOYLE

42½	6/0
23½	6/1

KNOYLE, UPTON

40⅜	6/0

MARDON

137½	6/8

MARWELL

(SEE TWYFORD)

MEON

9⅜	6/0
104½	6/8

MEON, CHURCH

23¾	6/8
52¾ (tithes)	6/8

MORTON

79½	5/0

OVERTON

5½		6/8
0⅞	(mill) ...	6/8
32		6/8
0½		6/8

PILLINGBEAR

5½	6/10

RIMPTON

2½	(mill) ...	5/8
23¼		7/0
65½		7/8

STOKE

63⅛	6/8

SUTTON

qrs.	s. d.
48¾	6/8

TAUNTON: NAILESBOURNE AND KINGSTON POUNDISFORD

8	6/0
17⅞	7/0
199⅜	7/0
3½	7/4
60⅝	7/4
54½	7/6
6½	8/0
37	8/6
99½	8/6
21½	8/6

TWYFORD & MARWELL

0⅜	(mill) ...	5/4
8		6/0
98¾		6/8

WALTHAM

108½	6/8

WALTHAM, NORTH

4	5/0
28½	6/8

WALTHAM, ST. LAWRENCE

12⅜	6/10

WARGRAVE

7¾	6/10

WIELD

6⅞	6/0
16¾	6/8

WITNEY

78½	5/0

WOLVESEY

23	6/0
39⅜	6/8

WOODHAY

17	5/6
34½	6/8

WYCOMBE

56¾	5/0

1293–94

ADDERBURY

20½	5/0
14¾	5/6

ALRESFORD

41⅛	7/0

Prices of Wheat, 1293–94 (*continued*)

Ashmansworth

qrs.	s. d.
7½	7/4

Beauworth

27½	7/0

Bentley

69½	7/6

Bitterne

8	5/3
6¼	6/0
11⅜	7/0

Brightwell

0¾ (mill)	4/0
3½ "	4/8
2½ "	5/8
1⅝ "	6/0

Burghclere

6	6/8
66⅜	8/0
0¾ (mill)	8/0

Cheriton

0½ (mill)	[5/2]
40¾	7/0

Crawley

6½	6/8
23⅞	7/0

Culham

9	7/6

Downton

6¼ (mill)	5/0
4⅞ "	6/8
124	6/8

Droxford

32¾	7/0
0½ (mill)	[7/0]

Ebbesborne

70⅝	6/8

Essere

2¾	5/4

Fareham

0¾ (mill)	[5/9½]
60⅜	7/0

Farnham

0¾ (mill)	6/0
2⅜ "	7/4
20⅜	7/4

Fonthill

37½	[6/0½]

Hambledon

qrs.	s. d.
27⅞	7/0

Harwell

5⅝	5/0
53¾	6/4

Havant

24⅛	7/0

Itchingswell

8	5/6
1	6/0
26⅛	8/0

Ivinghoe

136½	6/4

Knoyle, Upton

15¾	6/0

Mardon

18½	6/8
146¾	7/0

Meon, Church

11 (tithes)	6/0
23½	6/8
44½ (tithes)	6/8

Morton

43½	6/4

Overton

0¾ (mill)	8/0

Pillingbear

7⅜	7/6

Rimpton

81	[6/0½]

Sutton

41¾	7/0

Taunton

12¾	5/0
274½	5/0
40⅛	5/4
63½	6/0

Staplegrove

13⅝	5/4
19½	5/6
21½	[5]/10

Waltham, North

4	6/0
14½	8/0

Wargrave

39½	7/6

Wield

qrs.	s. d.
34¼	7/0

Witney

71¾	6/4

Woodhay

48¼	8/0

Wycombe

58¼	6/4

1297–98

Adderbury

14	3/0
16½	4/0

Alresford

0¾ (mill)	[6/7½]
24¼	6/8

Ashmansworth

3½	5/0
16½	6/0

Beauworth

22	6/8

Bentley

63	7/4

Bitterne

2 (mill)	5/0
2 "	5/8
5⅞ "	6/0
3 "	7/0
21½	7/4

Brightwell

2	4/0
4	4/0
1⅞	4/4
1⅜	4/8
1⅝	5/0
64⅝	5/4

Burghclere

18	5/0
30¼	6/0

Clere, High

10½	5/0
17⅞	6/0

Downton

5¾ (mill)	4/0
54½	6/0
11¼ (mill)	6/0

Droxford

38¾	6/8

Ebbesborne

qrs.	s. d.
42⅛	6/0

Fareham

48½	6/8
56¾	7/4

Farnham

1 (mill)	4/8
2⅜ "	7/0
19	7/0

Fonthill

43¾	6/0

Hambledon

2	5/0
36	6/8

Harwell

50	5/4

Havant

1½ (mill)	5/0
4⅞ "	7/4

Itchingswell

7	5/0
22	6/0

Ivinghoe

15¼	3/4
16	4/0
50½	4/8

Knoyle

25⅞	6/0

Knoyle, Upton

12½	6/0

Marwell

(See Twyford)

Meon

20	6/8
161½	7/4

Meon, Church

13⅜	5/0
27⅞	7/4

Morton

22⅜	4/8

Rimpton

79⅞	5/8

Stoke

28	6/8

Sutton

21¾	6/8

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1297–98 (*continued*)

TAUNTON

qrs.	s. d.
48½	2/8
27	3/4
20	4/4
89⅝	6/10

Kingston and Nailesbourne

10⅜	6/[0]
21½	6/10

Poundisford

28½	[3/6½]
2	6/0
31½	6/10

TWYFORD & MARWELL

82⅛	6/8

WALTHAM

68	6/8

WALTHAM, NORTH

7	5/0
20⅜	6/0

WARGRAVE

5¾	7/0

WIELD

21	6/8

WITNEY

64½	4/0

WOLVESEY

0½	4/0
1	4/6
4½	5/0
8	5/6
1¼	6/0
5	7/1
1	7/6
39½	8/0

WOODHAY

9	5/0
26½	6/0

WYCOMBE

43¾	4/8

1298–99

ADDERBURY

18½	6/0

ALRESFORD

46⅞	8/0

ASHMANSWORTH

7⅞	8/0

BEAUWORTH

22½	8/0

BENTLEY

qrs.	s. d.
4¾	4/8
4	5/0
3	6/0
57⅜	8/8

BITTERNE

18⅛	8/0

BRIGHTWELL

40	7/0
58½	8/0

BURGHCLERE

7½	6/8
50⅞	8/0
0½ (mill)	8/0

CHERITON

65⅛	8/0

CLERE, HIGH

10½	8/0

CRAWLEY

60⅞	8/0

CULHAM

5¾	8/0

DOWNTON

3⅝ (mill)	5/8
111½	7/4
13¼ (mill)	7/4

DROXFORD

81½	8/0

EBBESBORNE

72⅜	7/4

FAREHAM

19⅜	8/0

FARNHAM

13¾	8/0

HAMBLEDON

13⅛	7/4
57⅜	8/0

HARWELL

16	7/0
25½	8/0

HAVANT

35½	8/0

ITCHINGSWELL

4	5/6
18⅜	8/0

IVINGHOE

50½	7/0

KNOYLE

qrs.	s. d.
39	6/0
118½	7/4

KNOYLE, UPTON

3⅜	6/8
2	6/8
20½	7/4

MARDON

4	4/0
4	4/9
2¾	5/0
4½	5/6
4½	6/0
3⅞	6/2
3	6/6
3½	6/8
1	7/0
126⅜	8/0

MARWELL (SEE TWYFORD)

MEON

44⅞	6/8
190⅝	8/0

MEON, CHURCH

7¾	6/8
68½	8/0

OVERTON

32½	8/0

RIMPTON

1⅜ (mill)	7/8
82	7/8

SOUTHWARK

6 (mill)	6/8

SUTTON

70	8/0

TAUNTON

18½	4/6
28⅞	5/0
35½	6/8
60½	7/0
24½	8/4
100½	9/0

Kingston and Nailesbourne

8⅝	6/0
3¾	6/8
21½	9/0

Otterford

18½	6/0
9	6/8
37	8/8½

TWYFORD & MARWELL

qrs.	s. d.
98¼	8/0

WALTHAM

1⅜	4/8
5	7/4
64⅞	8/0

WALTHAM, NORTH

30¼	8/0

WALTHAM, ST. LAWRENCE

15⅞	8/4

WARGRAVE

9½	8/0

WIELD

43	8/0

WITNEY

78¼	6/0

WOLVESEY

5⅞	6/0
3	6/4
26⅝	6/8
4½	7/0
2	7/4
3	7/8
2¾	8/10 [7/10?]
10¾	8/0
2	8/8

WOODHAY

5½	6/8
37⅝	8/0

WYCOMBE

21½	7/0

1299–1300

ADDERBURY

7¾	4/0
20½	4/4

ALRESFORD

50⅜	6/8

ASHMANSWORTH

11	5/0
15¼	6/0

BEAUWORTH

32	6/8

BENTLEY

78⅛	6/8

BITTERNE

18½	6/8

Prices of Wheat, 1299–1300 (*continued*)

Brightwell

qrs.	s. d.
11½	4/0
2¼ (mill)	4/0
2⅜ "	4/4
13	4/6
4⅛ (mill)	4/8
6½ "	5/0
74⅞	5/4

Burghclere

77	5/0
40	6/0

Cheriton

9½	6/0
56⅜	6/8

Clere, High

6¾	5/0
20	6/0

Crawley

69½	6/8

Culham

7	6/0

Downton

35¾	5/4
143	6/0

Droxford

7	5/4
12	6/0
50½	6/8

Ebbesborne

1	5/0
16¼	5/4
72	6/0

Fareham

0⅛	5/4
0⅝	6/0
9	6/8

Farnham

qrs.	s. d.
2⅜ (mill)	6/0
19⅞	6/0

Fonthill

15⅜	5/0
59	5/8

Hambledon

9	6/0
24	6/8

Harwell

20	4/4
49¼	5/4

Havant

10	5/0
1 (mill)	5/0
41⅝	5/4
9⅜ (mill)	6/8

Itchingswell

18⅜	5/0
16½	6/0

Ivinghoe

56¾	4/0
15¼	4/4
45	4/8
40⅛	5/0
7⅞	5/4
71⅞	5/8

Knoyle

69¼	5/0
76	5/8

Knoyle, Upton

17⅞	5/0
22	5/8

Mardon

9⅜	5/0
8⅜	5/2
42	5/4
21	6/0
106	6/8

Meon

qrs.	s. d.
18	6/0
162⅝	6/8

Morton

8	4/10
30⅜	5/8

Overton

20	5/0
41	6/0

Rimpton

24⅝	4/8
80½	5/4

Stoke

3½	5/4
62	5/6

Sutton

30	6/8

Taunton:

1⅛	5/0
0¾ (bought)	5/0
3⅜	5/4
2	5/4
165½	5/4
10	5/4
2¾	5/8
97	5/8
5⅞	6/0
98½	6/2

Kingston and Nailesbourne

2¾	4/8
17⅞	5/0
9⅛	5/4
10⅞	5/8
21½	6/2

Poundisford

31⅞	5/4
8¾	5/8
37¾	6/2

Twyford

qrs.	s. d.
4¼	5/6
4½	5/8
101⅛	6/0
100	6/8

Waltham

9½	4/0
4½	4/8
27	5/0
7	5/4
1¼ (mill)	6/0
19⅜	6/0
68½	6/8

Waltham, North

12⅛	5/0
27¾	6/0

Wargrave

3¼	4/2
56¾	6/0

Witney

145⅛	4/4

Wolvesey

1¼	5/4
1 (bought)	5/4
4⅜	5/6
3¾ (bought)	5/6
27⅞	5/8
2½ (bought)	5/8
3	5/10
2 (bought)	5/10
15¼	6/0
7	6/2
35½	6/8

Woodhay

27½	5/0
26⅝	6/0

Wycombe

2	5/0
51⅝	5/8

Prices of Corn, 1523–24

Bought for the household of the countess of Devon, in Devonshire. All the wheat was bought from Robert Hancock by bargain.

MS., R.O., Misc. Exchequer Books (T. R.) 223.

Date	Amt. in qrs.		Price	Particulars of purchase
1523			s. d.	
2 Oct.	0½	wheat	8/0	"of the old bargayn."
2 "	1	"	9/4	"of the newe bargayn."
9 "	2	"	9/4	
25 Dec.	2	"	8/8	
1523–24				
1 Jan.	6	"	[9/4]	
29 "	1½	"	9/4	
5 Feb.	1½	"	9/4	
12 "	2	"	9/4	
23 "	1½	"	9/8	
1524				
1 Apr.	2	"	9/8	
8 "	2	"	9/8	
15 "	1½	"	9/8	
22 "	1½	"	9/8	
29 "	2	"	9/8	
6 May	1½	"	9/8	
13 "	2	"	9/8	
20 "	1½	"	9/8	
20 "	0½	rye	[5/4]	At Adderley Bridge.
27 "	2	wheat	9/8	
27 "	0½	rye	[5/4]	At Adderley Bridge.
3 June	1½	wheat	9/8	
3 "	0½	rye	[5/4]	At Adderley Bridge.
10 "	2	wheat	9/8	
10 "	0½	rye	[5/4]	At Adderley Bridge.
17 "	1½	wheat	9/8	
1524			s. d.	
17 June	0½	rye	[5/4]	At Adderley Bridge.
24 "	1½	wheat	9/8	
24 "	0½	rye	[5/4]	At Adderley Bridge.
1 July	3½	wheat	9/8	
1 "	0½	rye	[5/4]	At Adderley Bridge.
7 "	1½	wheat	9/8	
15 "	2	"	9/8	
15 "	0½	rye	[5/4]	At Adderley Bridge.
22 "	2	wheat	9/8	
22 "	0½	rye	[5/4]	At Adderley Bridge.
29 "	1½	wheat	9/8	
29 "	0½	rye	[5/4]	
5 Aug.	2	wheat	9/8	
12 "	1	"	9/8	
12 "	1	"	8/0	
19 "	2½	"	8/0	"off a new barge[n]."
26 "	2	"	8/0	
26 "	0½	rye	[4/8]	"bogth off Mr. Bayly."
2 Sept.	2½	wheat	8/0	
2 "	0½	rye	4/2	bought at Honiton.
9 "	2	wheat	8/0	
9 "	0½	rye	[5/4]	"bogth off Mr. Bayly."
16 "	2½	wheat	8/0	
16 "	0½	rye	[4/8]	"bogth off Mr. Bayly."
23 "	1½	wheat	8/0	
23 "	0½	[wheat]	[5/4]	"bogth off Mr. Bayly."

Prices of Corn, 1557–58

Little Walsingham, Norfolk.

MS., R.O., Misc. Exchequer Books (T. R.) 255, "Gresham Accounts."

Year	Date	Amount			Price
					s. d.
1557		2	combs	red wheat	[6/8].
		8	"	wheat	1/2.
		5	"	"	8/0.
		100	"	barley	[5/2½].
1557–58	16 Jan.	2	"	malt	[4/0].
[1557–58]		5	"	wheat	4/4.
[1557–58]		1¾	combs	wheat	6/8.
		6½	"	"	4/0.
		3½	"	peas	3/0.
		3½	"	malt	3/4.
		1½	"	barley	[3/0].

Prices of Corn, 1572–84

Sold in southern Norfolk (Mendham and Harling).

MS., Br. M., Add., 27398, "Household Accounts of the Family of Gawdy, 1570–1576."

Date	Amount	Price	Place of sale
1572		s. d.	
27 Sept.	1 bush. oatmeal	[1/9]	Harling.
27 "	0½ " "	[2/0]	Mendham.
27 "	0½ comb wht. with rye	[8/0]	"
4 Oct.	1½ bush. oatmeal	[1/10½]	Harling.
4 "	0½ comb wheat	[10/0]	Mendham.
11 "	3 bushs. rye	[1/6]	Harling.
11 "	2 " wheat	[2/0]	"
11 "	7 combs malt	[4/0]	"
11 "	4 " "	[4/0]	Mendham.
11 "	2 " wheat	[10/0]	"
18 "	0½ bush. oatmeal	[2/0]	Harling.
18 "	0½ comb rye	[6/0]	"
18 "	0½ " "	[6/0]	Mendham.
25 "	0½ pk. oatmeal	[0/6]	Harling.
25 "	2 bushs. rye	[1/6]	"
25 "	0½ bush. oatmeal	[2/0]	Mendham.
25 "	0½ comb wheat	[10/0]	"
25 "	0½ " rye	[6/0]	"
1 Nov.	0½ bush. oatmeal	[2/0]	Harling.
1 "	1 comb rye	[6/0]	"
1 "	0½ " wheat	[8/0]	"
8 "	1 " oatmeal	[2/0]	"
8 "	7 combs malt	[4/0]	"
8 "	1 comb wheat	[8/0]	"
8 "	6 bushs. rye	[1/6]	"
8 "	0½ bush. oatmeal	[2/0]	Mendham.
8 "	1 " mistlin	[2/0]	"
15 "	1 " oatmeal	[2/0]	Harling.
15 "	0½ " "	[2/0]	Mendham.
15 "	1 " mistlin	[2/0]	"
22 "	1 " oatmeal	[2/0]	Harling.
22 "	3 " wheat	[2/0]	"
22 "	6 " rye	[1/6]	"
22 "	1 " mistlin	[2/0]	Mendham.
22 "	4 combs malt	[4/0]	"
29 "	0½ bush. oatmeal	[2/0]	Harling.
29 "	1 " mistlin	[2/0]	Mendham.
7 Dec.	1 " oatmeal	[2/0]	Harling.
7 "	3 " rye	[1/0]	"
7 "	6 " barley	[1/0]	"
14 "	1 " oatmeal	[2/0]	"
14 "	3 bushs. rye	[1/6]	"
14 "	3 " wheat	[2/0]	"
14 "	4 combs malt	[4/0]	"
14 "	1 bush. wheat	[1/6]	Mendham.
14 "	0½ comb rye	[8/0]	"
14 "	4 combs malt	[4/0]	"
20 "	12½ " bread corn	[0/4½]	Harling.
20 "	2 " wheat	[10/0]	Mendham.
20 "	2 " rye	[6/0]	"

Date	Amount	Price	Place of sale
1572		s. d.	
27 Dec.	1 pk. oatmeal	[0/6]	Harling.
27 "	0½ comb mistlin	[8/0]	"
1572–73			
3 Jan.	1 " wheat	[10/0]	Mendham.
3 "	1 " rye	[6/0]	"
3 "	4 combs malt	[4/0]	"
10 "	0½ bush. oatmeal	[2/0]	Harling.
10 "	5 combs malt	[4/0]	"
10 "	0½ comb mistlin	[8/0]	"
10 "	1 bush. oatmeal	[2/0]	Mendham.
10 "	4 combs malt	[4/0]	"
10 "	1 comb wheat	[10/0]	"
10 "	1 " rye	[6/0]	"
17 "	0½ " mistlin	[8/0]	Harling.
17 "	1 " wheat	[10/0]	Mendham.
17 "	0½ " rye	[6/0]	"
24 "	0½ bush. oatmeal	[2/0]	"
24 "	0½ comb wheat	[10/0]	"
24 "	1 " rye	[6/0]	"
24 "	4 combs malt	[4/0]	"
2 Feb.	6 bushs. wheat	[1/1]	Harling.
2 "	2½ combs rye	[6/0]	"
2 "	0½ bush. oatmeal	[2/0]	Mendham.
2 "	1 comb wheat	[10/0]	"
2 "	0½ " rye	[6/0]	
7 "	0½ bush. oatmeal	[2/0]	Harling.
7 "	4 combs malt	[4/0]	Mendham.
7 "	0½ comb wheat	[10/0]	"
7 "	0½ " rye	[6/0]	"
14 "	1 bush. peas	[1/4]	Harling.
14 "	0½ " oatmeal	[2/0]	"
14 "	1 pk. oatmeal	[0/6]	Mendham.
21 "	5 bushs. wheat	[2/0]	Harling.
21 "	6 " mistlin	[1/4]	"
28 "	1 bush. peas	[1/3]	"
28 "	3 pks. peas	[0/4]	"
28 "	1 bush. wheat	[2/6]	"
7 Mar.	0½ " oatmeal	[2/0]	"
7 "	0½ comb peas	[5/4]	"
7 "	9 bushs. mistlin	[1/6]	"
7 "	3 " wheat	[2/6]	"
14 "	2 " peas	[5/4]	"
14 "	6 " mistlin	[1/6]	"
1573			
28 Mar.	1 comb rye	[6/0]	"
11 Apr.	1 bush. oatmeal	[2/8]	"
25 "	0½ " "	[3/4]	"
Undated	1 comb rye	[8/0]	
"	1 " peas	[5/0]	
"	1 bush. rye	[2/3]	

Prices of Corn, 1572–84 (*continued*)

Date	Amount	Price	Place of sale
1573		s. d.	
Undated	1 pk. rye	[0/7]	
"	0½ bush. peas	[1/4]	
"	0½ " rye	[2/6]	
"	0½ comb peas	[6/0]	
"	1 bush. "	[1/8]	
"	0½ " rye	[2/6]	
"	2 bushs. "	[1/3]	
1573–4			
14 Mar.	10½ combs rye	[9/6½]	Harling.
14 "	5¼ " "	[9/6½]	"
14 "	5¼ " "	[9/9]	"
14 "	1 comb "	[10/0]	"
14 "	5 bushs. rye	[2/0]	"
14 "	2 " "	[2/6]	"
14 "	1 comb "	[10/0]	"
14 "	1 bush. "	[2/6]	"
14 "	1 comb "	[10/8]	"
14 "	5¼ combs "	[9/6½]	"
14 "	1 bush. "	[2/6]	
14 "	2 combs "	[10/0]	
14 "	5 " seed barley	[6/8]	
14 "	1 comb rye	[9/0]	
14 "	5 combs "	[9/4]	
14 "	1 bush. "	[2/4]	
14 "	1 " "	[2/0]	
14 "	1 " "	[2/6]	
14 "	5¼ combs rye	[8/0]	
1576			
24 June	20 " "	[6/8]	Sold.
24 "	10 combs rye (2 lots)	[6/0]	Sold.
24 "	10 " "	[5/0]	"
24 "	3 " "	[4/8]	"
24 "	9 bushs. "	[1/8]	"
24 "	7 " "	[1/6]	"
24 "	3 combs "	[4/6]	"
24 "	10 " "	[5/0]	"
24 "	10 " "	[5/0]	"
24 "	40 " [rye]	[6/5]	"
1583–84			
17 Mar.	20 combs rye	[2/6]	Harling.
17 "	10 " "	[5/0]	"
17 "	20 " "	[5/8]	"
17 "	5 " "	[5/0]	"
17 "	3 " barley	[5/0]	"
17 "	26 " rye (5 lots)	[5/0]	"
1584			
9 July	20 combs barley	[5/0]	Mendham.
9 "	10 " "	5/2	"
9 "	30 " " (5 lots)	[5/0]	"
9 "	20 bushs. " (2 lots)	[1/3]	"
9 "	4 combs "	[5/0]	"
9 "	10 " rye	5/8	"
9 "	1 comb "	[5/8]	"
9 "	1 " mistlin	[6/0]	"
9 "	3 bushs. rye	[5/0]	"
9 "	0½ comb mistlin	[6/0]	"
9 "	0½ " rye	[4/0]	"
9 "	1 " mistlin	[6/0]	"

Prices of Corn, 1585–86

Bought for the use of Philip, Lord Wharton, Westmoreland. (Br. M., Add., 22289.)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price
1585		s. d.
30 Oct.–27 Nov.	4⅝ wheat	44/0.
	5⅞ malt	26/8.
	0¾ " brewed in ale	26/8.
	0⅛ + 2 pks. wheat for brewing	44/0.
27 Nov.–25 Dec.	5 wheat	44/0.
	7¼ malt	26/8.
	0⅞ " brewed in ale	26/8.
	0¼ wheat for brewing	[44/0].
1585–86		
25 Dec.–22 Jan.	6⅜ wheat	44/0.
	9½ malt	26/8.
	0½ wheat for brewing	[44/0].
	0⅞ malt brewed in ale	26/8.
22 Jan.–19 Feb.	5⅛ wheat	45/4.
	7⅜ malt	26/8.
	1 " brewed in ale	26/8.
1585–86		
22 Jan.–19 Feb.	0¼ wheat for brewing	[45/4].
19 Feb.–19 Mar.	5½ "	48/0.
	6⅛ malt	26/8.
	0¾ " brewed in ale	26/8.
	0⅛ wheat for brewing	48/0.
19 Mar.–16 Apr.	5¼ "	53/4.
	6⅞ malt	26/8.
	0½ wheat for brewing	[53/4].
	1 malt brewed in ale	26/8.
1586		
16 Apr.–11 May	4⅞ wheat	53/4.
	5⅞ malt	26/8.
	0⅛ wheat for brewing	[53/4].
	0½ malt brewed in ale	26/8.
4 May– 4 June	8⅜ wheat	26/8.
	12½ malt	16/0.

Prices of Corn, 1585–86 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price
1586		s. d.
4 May – 4 June	1 wheat for brewing	26/8.
4 June – 2 July	7⅜ "	26/8.
	12⅛ malt	16/0.
	0½ wheat for brewing	26/8.
2 July –30 July	5¼ "	26/8.
	9⅜ malt	16/0.
	0¼ wheat for brewing	26/8.
30 July –27 Aug.	7⅛ "	26/8.
30 July –27 Aug.	11¼ malt	16/0.
	0½ wheat for brewing	26/8.
17 Aug. –24 Sept.	7⅛ "	26/8.
	11¼ malt	16/0.
	0½ wheat for brewing	26/8.
24 Sept.–29 Oct.	6 wheat	40/0.
	3 rye	26/8.
	12⅜ malt	16/0.
	0¼ wheat for brewing	40/0.

Prices of Corn, 1633–61

Bought and sold in Sussex.
MS., Br. M., Add., 33147, " Accompts of Laughton, etc."

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1633		s. d.	
25 Mar. – Mich.	6 wheat	36/0	
	Bought from a Ringmer man.		
25 " – "	3 wheat	36/0	Bought.
25 " – "	8 "	36/0	"
25 " – "	5 "	33/0	"
25 " – "	0½ "	34/8	"
25 " – "	4 malt	19/0	"
25 " – "	11 "	19/0	"
25 " – "	40 "	20/0	"
25 " – "	0½ "	20/0	"
25 " – "	1 "	18/0	"
25 " – "	1 barley	18/0	"
25 " – "	0½ "	17/4	
	Bought from a Ringmer man.		
25 " – "	0⅛ barley	[20/0]	Bought.
25 " – "	0¼ peas	20/0	"
25 " – "	0⅜ tares	12/0	"
25 " – "	0⅞ "	12/0	"
25 " – "	12½ oats	8/0	"
25 " – "	13 "	9/4	"
1633–34			
Mich.–25 Mar.	2 wheat	36/0	
	Bought from a Farley man.		
" –25 "	0½ malt	20/0	Bought.
" –25 "	1 peas	20/0	"
" –25 "	2 "	20/0	"
" –25 "	3 "	24/0	"
" –25 "	0½ "	24/0	"
" –25 "	0¼ " pease for the horsses"	26/8	
	Bought from a Ringmer man.		
" –25 "	0⅛ " pease for porridge "	[32/0]	Bought.
" –25 "	1 barley	20/0	
	Bought from a Ringmer man.		
1633–34			
Mich.–25 Mar.	0⅜ barley	16/0	
	Bought from a Norton man.		
" –25 "	1 barley	24/0	
	Bought from a Bishopston man.		
" –25 "	12½ oats	8/0	Bought.
" –25 "	17 "	10/6	"
1634			
25 Mar. – Mich.	0½ tares	10/8	"
25 " – "	1 barley	20/0	
	Bought from a Bishopston man.		
25 " – "	0½ malt	[24/0]	Bought.
25 " – "	0¼ wheat	40/0]	"
1634–35			
Mich.–25 Mar.	1¼ seed wheat	47/4	
	Bought from a Denton man.		
" –25 "	1⅛ wheat	45/4	
	Bought from a Tarring man.		
" –25 "	1 rye	30/0	Bought.
" –25 "	0⅜ "	32/0	"
" –25 "	2 peas	20/0	"
" –25 "	1 "	22/8	"
" –25 "	3 "	21/4	"
" –25 "	1 barley	22/0	"
" –25 "	1 peas	21/4	"
" –25 "	0½ "	22/8	"
" –25 "	0½ tares	12/0	"
" –25 "	12½ oats	8/0	"
" –25 "	5 "	10/0	
	Bought from a Laughton man.		
" –25 "	12½ oats	10/0	Bought.
" –25 "	10 "	10/0	"
1635			
25 Mar. – Mich.	1 barley	20/0	"
25 " – "	0¼ tares	[14/4]	"

Prices of Corn, 1633–61 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1635		s. d.	
25 Mar. – Mich.	$0\frac{4}{8}$ oats	[10/8]	Bought.
25 " – "	$0\frac{4}{8}$ seed wheat	48/0	"
25 " – "	8 " rye	32/0	"
1635–36			
Mich.–25 Mar.	3 rye	32/0	Sold.
" –25 "	2 "	29/4	"
" –25 "	$0\frac{1}{4}$ "course" wht.	37/4	"
" –25 "	$1\frac{1}{8}$ peas	20/0	
	Bought from a Ringmer man.		
" –25 "	$0\frac{5}{8}$ peas	17/4	
	Bought from a Ringmer man.		
" –25 "	1 seed peas	25/4	Bought.
" –25 "	$0\frac{3}{8}$ tares	20/0	"
" –25 "	$0\frac{3}{4}$ barley	20/0	"
1636			
25 Mar. – Mich.	4 malt	22/0	"
25 " – "	$0\frac{1}{4}$ barley	26/0	
	Bought at Lewes market.		
25 " – "	$0\frac{1}{4}$ barley	20/0	Bought.
25 " – "	$0\frac{1}{4}$ tares	18/8	"
1636–37			
Mich.–25 Mar.	$1\frac{3}{8}$ peas	32/0	
	Bought from a Stoughton man.		
" –25 "	$5\frac{1}{2}$ malt	28/0	Bought.
" –25 "	$0\frac{3}{4}$ tares	32/0	
	Bought from a Stoughton man.		
" –25 "	10 oats	15/0	Bought.
" –25 "	$0\frac{5}{8}$ peas	32/0	
	Bought from a Waldron man.		
" –25 "	9 oats	15/0	Bought.
" –25 "	$4\frac{1}{2}$ "	13/4	
	Bought from a Hoathly man.		
1637			
25 Mar. – Mich.	$0\frac{1}{2}$ barley	24/0	
	Bought from a Stoneham man.		
25 " – "	$0\frac{1}{4}$ "	28/0	Bought.
25 " – "	$0\frac{1}{8}$ "	[28/8]	"
25 " – "	$0\frac{1}{4}$ peas for horses	[28/0]	"
25 " – "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ oats	13/0	"
25 " – "	$1\frac{1}{8}$ "	19/0	"
25 " – "	$12\frac{1}{2}$ "	14/0	"
25 " – "	4 "	15/0	"
25 " – "	$0\frac{5}{8}$ barley	30/8	"
1638			
Mich.–25 Mar.	$0\frac{1}{2}$ "	28/0	"
" –25 "	$0\frac{1}{2}$ "	28/0	"
" –25 "	$12\frac{1}{2}$ oats	16/0	
	Bought from a Hellingleigh man.		
" –25 "	10 barley malt	30/0	Bought.
25 Mar. – Mich.	1 wheat	32/0	"
1638–39			
Mich.–25 Mar.	$1\frac{3}{8}$ seed wheat	32/0	
	Bought from a Laughton man.		
Mich.–25 Mar.	$0\frac{4}{8}$ barley	[24/0]	Bought.
" –25 "	2 peas	24/0	
	Bought from a Hellingleigh man.		
" –25 "	10 malt	23/0	Bought.
" –25 "	$0\frac{1}{2}$ barley	24/0	"
1639			
25 Mar. – Mich.	0		
1639–40			
Mich.–25 Mar.	0		
1640			
25 Mar. – Mich.	$12\frac{1}{2}$ oats	8/0	Bought.
25 " – "	$12\frac{1}{2}$ "	9/6	"
25 " – "	20 "	9/0	
	Bought from a Clapham man.		
25 " – "	$0\frac{3}{4}$ barley	16/0	
	Bought from a Bishopston man.		
25 " – "	$3\frac{3}{4}$ seed wheat	30/0	Bought.
25 " – "	$0\frac{3}{8}$ " "	29/4	"
25 " – "	2 " rye	21/4	"
1640–41			
Mich.–25 Mar.	$0\frac{3}{4}$ wheat	28/0	"
" –25 "	10 oats	10/0	"
" –25 "	1 "	10/0	"
" –25 "	1 "	9/4	"
" –25 "	$4\frac{1}{4}$ peas	26/8	"
" –25 "	$0\frac{3}{8}$ "	24/0	"
" –25 "	$0\frac{3}{8}$ barley	16/0	"
" –25 "	1 "	18/0	"
1641			
25 Mar. – Mich.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ wheat	32/0	"
25 " – "	5 "	32/0	"
25 " – "	1 "	32/0	
	Bought from a Farley man.		
25 " – "	$2\frac{1}{2}$ wheat	32/0	Bought.
25 " – "	1 barley	16/0	
	Bought from a Bishopston man.		
25 " – "	6 oats	10/0	Bought.
1641–42			
Mich.–25 Mar.	3 old oats	12/0	"
" –25 "	7 oats	10/0	"
" –25 "	$0\frac{1}{4}$ barley	18/8	"
" –25 "	$2\frac{3}{4}$ peas for hogs	20/0	"
" –25 "	$0\frac{1}{2}$ "	24/0	"
" –25 "	$1\frac{1}{4}$ " to sow	20/0	"
1642			
25 Mar. – Mich.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ wheat	32/0	"
25 " – "	1 barley	18/0	"
25 " – "	$1\frac{1}{2}$ peas	20/0	"
25 " – "	$1\frac{1}{2}$ tares	18/8	"
1642–43			
Mich.–25 Mar.	4 seed wheat	40/0	
	Bought from a Farley man.		
" –25 "	$0\frac{1}{2}$ wheat	36/0	Bought.

Prices of Corn, 1633–61 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1642–43			
Mich.–25 Mar.	0½ peas	24/0	Bought.
1643			
25 Mar. – Mich.	0½ barley	19/0	"
25 " – "	20 oats	9/0	"
25 " – "	20 "	9/0	"
1643–44			
Mich.–25 Mar.	2 peas	17/4	"
1644			
25 Mar. – Mich.	0½ wheat	[26/8]	"
25 " – "	0½ "	[26/8]	"
25 " – "	25 oats (2 lots)	8/0	"
1644–45			
Mich.–25 Mar.	12½ oats	8/8	
	Bought from an Arlington man.		
" –25 "	1 oats	9/0	Bought.
" –25 "	3 seed wheat	28/2	"
" –25 "	1½ horse beans to sow	24/0	"
" –25 "	2 peas	20/0	"
" –25 "	2½ "	17/0	"
" –25 "	0½ barley	16/0	"
1645			
25 Mar. – Mich.	1⅜ wheat	26/8	"
25 " – "	0½ "	26/0	"
25 " – "	12 oats	13/0	"
25 " – "	5½ "	11/8	"
25 " – "	4 "	12/0	"
25 " – "	3 "	13/4	"
25 " – "	2 "	13/4	"
25 " – "	7½ "	13/4	"
25 " – "	9⅞ "	12/0	"
25 " – "	2⅛ "	13/4	"
25 " – "	4 "	9/4	"
25 " – "	1 barley	20/0	"
25 " – "	0½ "	16/0	"
25 " – "	1 "	18/0	"
	Bought from a Bishopston man.		
1645–46			
Mich.–25 Mar.	5 wheat	28/0	Bought.
" –25 "	31 oats	10/0	"
" –25 "	7½ "	11/4	"
" –25 "	3 "	11/0	"
" –25 "	0⅜ "	12/0	"
" –25 "	1⅜ "	[12/0]	"
" –25 "	0⅛ barley	[10/0]	"
1646			
25 Mar. – Mich.	5 wheat	28/0	"
25 " – "	1½ "	28/0	"
25 " – "	0½ "	29/4	"
25 " – "	1½ "	38/0	"
25 " – "	30 oats	10/0	"
25 " – "	10 "	11/0	"
25 " – "	5⅝ seed wheat	37/4	"

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
		s. d.	
1646–47			
Mich.–25 Mar.	6¼ old oats	10/0	Bought.
" –25 "	1½ " "	12/0	"
" –25 "	3 new "	10/6	"
" –25 "	0¼ peas for hogs	24/0	"
1647			
25 Mar. – Mich.	40 old oats	10/0	"
25 " – "	29 " "	12/0	"
25 " – "	4½ " "	12/0	"
25 " – "	0¾ " wheat	32/0	Sold.
1647–48			
Mich.–25 Mar.	0½ " "	48/0	Bought.
" –25 "	1 wheat	40/0	Sold.
Mich.–25 Mar.	0⅛ coarse wheat	[16/0]	"
1648			
25 Mar. – Mich.	1 wheat	52/4	"
25 " – "	0½ "	56/0	"
25 " – "	2¼ "	40/0	"
25 " – "	0¼ "	52/4	"
25 " – "	0⅞ rye	40/0	Bought.
25 " – "	0½ "	42/8	"
25 " – "	14 oats	16/0	"
25 " – "	1½ "	16/0	"
25 " – "	0¾ "	32/0	"
25 " – "	1 " for the swans	[16/0]	"
1648–49			
Mich.–25 Mar.	0¼ rye	[36/0]	"
" –25 "	1 seed wheat	52/0	"
" –25 "	1½ " beans	36/0	"
" –25 "	2 " peas	40/0	"
" –25 "	3 " "	32/0	"
" –25 "	0⅝ " "	44/0	"
" –25 "	1¼ " tares	28/0	"
" –25 "	2 oats	12/0	"
" –25 "	0⅝ "	14/8	"
" –25 "	5 "	[19/1½]	
	Bought from a Bishopston man.		
1649			
25 Mar. – Mich.	2½ wheat to sow	76/0	
	Bought at Turners Hill.		
25 " – "	2 old wheat	50/0	
	Bought for the house.		
25 " – "	1 wheat	52/0	Ditto.
25 " – "	2 barley	30/0	Bought.
25 " – "	0⅜ oats	17/4	
	Bought from a Bishopston man.		
1649–50			
Mich.–25 Mar.	0½ wheat	50/0	Bought.
" –25 "	5 "	56/0	"
" –25 "	0¼ "	48/0	"
" –25 "	1 barley	33/0	"
" –25 "	0¾ "	32/0	"
" –25 "	0½ "	36/0	"

PRICES OF CORN, 1633–61 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
1649–50		s. d.	
Mich.–25 Mar.	1 barley	34/0	Bought.
" –25 "	10 malt	32/0	"
" –25 "	0¾ "	18/0	"
1650			
25 Mar. – Mich.	1 wheat	72/0	"
25 " – "	1 "	64/0	"
25 " – "	1⅛ "	76/0	"
25 " – "	1 "	60/0	"
25 " – "	1 "	60/0	"
25 " – "	0½ new wheat	24/0	"
25 " – "	0¾ barley	34/0	
		Bought at Lewes.	
25 " – "	3 "	34/0	Bought.
1650–51			
Mich.–25 Mar.	0½ "	24/0	"
" –25 "	1⅛ "	21/4	"
" –25 "	0⅜ oats	10/8	"
" –25 "	1⅛ wheat	49/4	Sold.
Mich.–25 Mar.	0¾ "	32/0	"
" –25 "	8¼ peas	24/0	"
1651			
25 Mar. – Mich.	9½ wheat	32/0	"
25 " – "	1½ "	40/0	"
25 " – "	20 oats	40/0	"
25 " – "	1 barley	20/0	Bought.
25 " – "	3 barley to sow	19/0	"
25 " – "	0¼ "	[20/0]	"
1651–52			
Mich.–25 Mar.	3½ "gatton" wht.	50/0	Sold.
" –25 "	1 coarse wheat	32/0	"
" –25 "	0½ barley	20/0	Bought.
" –25 "	0½ tares	12/0	"
1652			
25 Mar. – Mich.	18 oats	11/1½	Sold.
25 " – "	1 wheat	32/0	"
25 " – "	1 malt	22/0	"
25 " – "	3¾ barley	17/0	"
1652–53			
Mich.–25 Mar.	1 "Gatton" wht.	40/0	Bought.
" –25 "	3 "	48/0	"
" –25 "	0⅛ peas for the hogs	34/8	"
1653			
25 Mar. – Mich.	0½ wheat	32/0	Sold.
25 " – "	1 "	[26/8]	"
1653–54			
Mich.–25 Mar.	3 oats	13/4	"
" –25 "	1⅛ wheat	26/8	"
" –25 "	1 "	24/0	"
" –25 "	0½ "	21/4	"
" –25 "	0⅜ [wheat]	20/0	"
" –25 "	0½ seed barley	[28/0]	
		Bought at Malling.	
1653–54			
Mich.–25 Mar.	0½ peas	20/0	Bought.
1654			
25 Mar.– Mich.	1⅛ wheat	20/0	Sold.
25 " – "	20 malt	[32/0]	"
1654–55			
Mich.–25 Mar.	8 wheat	16/0	"
" –25 "	2 seed wheat	16/0	Bought.
" –25 "	1½ wheat	16/0	"
" –25 "	0⅜ horse beans	16/0	"
" –25 "	0⅛ garden "	[6/8]	"
1655			
25 Mar. – Mich.	13 wheat	16/0	Sold.
25 " – "	1 "	[16/0]	Bought.
1655–56			
Mich.–25 Mar.	11½ oats	12/0	"
" –25 "	1 "	11/0	"
1656			
25 Mar. – Mich.	12 malt	17/0	Sold.
25 " – "	0⅞ wheat	21/4	"
25 " – "	1½ "	24/0	"
25 " – "	0⅞ "	26/8	"
25 " – "	3¼ peas	21/4	"
25 " – "	1¾ "	20/0	"
25 " – "	3¾ wheat	24/0	Bought.
25 " – "	2½ seed wheat	26/8	"
25 " – "	1¼ horse beans	[20/0]	"
1656–57			
Mich.–25 Mar.	1½ wheat	24/0	Sold.
" –25 "	0½ "	26/8	"
" –25 "	2 peas	20/0	"
" –25 "	14 "	21/4	"
" –25 "	0⅜ wheat	26/8	Bought.
" –25 "	0¼ barley	[20/0]	"
" –25 "	1¼ horse beans	[24/0]	"
" –25 "	3 oats	[20/0]	"
" –25 "	3 "	[12/0]	"
1657			
25 Mar. – Mich.	4½ "	11/6	"
25 " – "	1 wheat	[29/4]	"
25 " – "	0⅛ " for horses	[27/8]	"
1657–58			
Mich.–25 Mar.	0½ wheat	24/0	Sold.
" –25 "	1½ "	26/8	"
" –25 "	1 "	29/4	"
" –25 "	1½ old peas	20/0	"
" –25 "	6 peas	21/4	"
" –25 "	4⅛ "	24/0	"
" –25 "	18 oats (2 lots)	11/0	Bought.
" –25 "	1 tares	16/0	"
" –25 "	1¼+1 "tavett" tares	16/0	"
" –25 "	1 wheat	[29/4]	"

Prices of Corn, 1633–61 (*continued*)

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
	1658	s. d.	
25 Mar. – Mich.	1 wheat	44/0	Bought.
25 " – "	7 seed barley	22/0	Sold.
25 " – "	1 " "	52/0	Bought.
25 " – "	2 " "	50/0	"
25 " – "	0¾ " "	48/0	"
	1658–59		
Mich.–25 Mar.	1½ wheat	32/0	Sold.
" –25 "	0½ "	37/4	"
" –25 "	1¼ barley	26/8	"
" –25 "	0⅝ peas	26/8	"
" –25 "	0¾ tares	18/8	"
	1659		
25 Mar. – Mich.	7 wheat	53/4	Bought.
25 " – "	2½ seed wheat	58/8	"
25 " – "	1 " "	45/0	"
25 " – "	5 oats	14/0	"
25 " – "	1 "	12/0	"
25 " – "	2 "	[18/0]	"
	1659–60		
Mich.–25 Mar.	3 peas	26/8	Sold.
" –25 "	2 tares	18/8	"
" –25 "	3½ seed wheat	44/0	Bought.
" 25 "	1¾ wheat	40/0	"
" –25 "	4 seed peas	24/0	"
" –25 "	0½ peas	26/8	"
" –25 "	0¼ malt	[28/0]	
		Bought at Lewes.	

Date	Amt. in qrs.	Price	Particulars of sale and purchase
	1660	s. d.	
25 Mar. – Mich.	2¼ wheat	32/0	Sold.
25 " – "	10 peas	21/4	"
25 " – "	4 tares	18/8	"
25 " – "	0½ wheat	48/0	Bought.
25 " – "	1 field beans	24/0	"
25 " – "	10 oats	14/0	"
25 " – "	3½ "	18/0	"
25 " – "	3½ "	16/0	"
25 " – "	1 barley for poultry	[26/0]	"
	1660–61		
Mich.–25 Mar.	0⅛ wheat	[44/0]	"
" –25 "	1 field beans	[24/0]	"
" –25 "	8 oats	14/8	"
" –25 "	7 "	12/0	"
" –25 "	3 tares	14/8	"
" –25 "	1 "	[12/0]	"
	1661		
25 Mar. – Mich.	1⅛ " gatton " wheat for seed	44/0	Sold.
25 " – "	4 barley	18/8	"
25 " – "	2 peas	24/0	"
25 " – "	4 "	20/0	"
25 " – "	1 seed wheat	48/0	Bought.
25 " – "	1 " "	48/0	"
25 " – "	5 wheat for the house	42/8	"
25 " – "	30 oats	10/0	"

Prices of Wheat, 26 Sept., 1663 to 3 Mar., 1668–69

Sold in the Oxford market, and recorded by the market authorities. The market was held Wednesdays and Saturdays.
The following abbreviations have been used:

W — Wednesday.
S — Saturday.
F — Regular market day a feast day, market held a day earlier.

Source is MS., Br. M., Stowe, 874, "Oxford Wheat—Prices, 1663–1669."

Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.	Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.
1663						1663–64					
S 26 Sept.	9	45	6/6	5/8	6/1¼	W 27 Jan.	6	39	6/4	5/10	6/2
W 30 "	6	25	6/6	6/0	6/4	S 30 "	6	20	6/0	5/6	5/10
S 3 Oct.	5	29	6/8	6/0	6/5½	W 3 Feb.	5	19	6/0	5/8	5/10½
W 7 "	7	58	6/6	6/0	6/3⅜	S 6 "	6	25	6/4	5/6	5/11
S 10 "	7	44	6/6	6/0	6/4	W 10 "	5	28	6/0	5/8	5/10
W 14 "	9	35	6/6	6/0	6/3⅜	S 13 "	6	25	6/0	5/7	5/10
S 17 "	8	59	6/2	5/4	5/9⅞	W 17 "	5	18	6/0	5/5	5/8
W 21 "	7	40	6/0	5/2	5/8⅜	S 20 "	6	30	6/4	5/7	5/10
S 24 "	7	46	6/0	5/0	5/7½	W 24 "	6	18	6/5	6/0	6/3
W 28 "	6	35	6/0	5/4	5/8⅛	S 27 "	7	28	6/6	6/0	6/4
S 31 "	8	43	5/10	5/0	5/6½	W 2 Mar.	6	32	6/8	6/0	6/5⅓
W 4 Nov.	6	31	5/8	5/2	5/5⅜	S 5 "	8	46	6/8	6/0	6/5½
S 7 "	7	44	5/9	5/0	5/5½	W 9 "	7	41	6/6	5/10	6/2⅜
W 11 "	7	34	5/10	5/0	5/5½	S 12 "	7	33	6/6	5/4	5/11⅜
S 14 "	6	36	5/10	5/2	5/6⅓	W 16 "	6	31	6/4	5/7	6/0⅓
W 18 "	5	17	5/10	5/2	5/6⅓	S 19 "	7	42	6/2	5/11	6/0⅜
S 21 "	4	17	5/8	5/2	5/5½	W 23 "	5	22	6/6	5/8	6/0½
W 25 "	6	32	5/8	5/2	5/4⅓	1664					
S 28 "	5	27	5/8	5/2	5/5	S 26 "	6	22	6/3	5/9	6/0
W 2 Dec.	5	14	5/9	5/0	5/5½	W 30 "	7	39	6/2	5/6	5/11⅓
S 5 "	4	18	5/10	5/2	5/5	S 2 Apr.	6	37	6/1	5/10	5/11⅜
W 9 "	5	23	6/0	5/4	5/4¼	W 6 "	6	36	6/0	5/6	5/9⅓
S 12 "	6	30	5/10	5/2	5/6⅓	S 9 "	6	32	6/4	5/9	6/0⅓
W 16 "	6	30	6/0	5/6	5/9⅓	W 13 "	7	34	6/3	5/3	5/9
S 19 "	5	26	6/6	5/4	5/8	S 16 "	8	49	6/3	5/6	5/11¼
W 23 "	5	21	5/8	5/2	5/6	W 20 "	6	27	6/4	5/6	5/11⅓
S 26 "	St. Ste sold.	phen's	Day,	" noe	corne	S 23 "	6	34	6/0	5/4	5/8⅓
						W 27 "	5	26	6/0	5/3	5/8
W 30 "	4	20	5/10	5/4	5/7⅓	S 30 "	6	35	5/11	5/4	5/8⅓
1663–64						W 4 May	7	39	5/6	4/8	5/1⅔
S 2 Jan.	5	33	5/8	5/2	5/5⅓	S 7 "	7	45	5/6	5/0	5/3⅓
W 6 "	6	32	5/8	5/0	5/4⅓	W 11 "	7	36	5/3	4/8	5/0½
S 9 "	5	26	6/0	5/4	5/8⅓	S 14 "	6	27	5/6	5/0	5/2½
W 13 "	5	25	6/0	5/8	5/10⅓	W 18 "	6	39	5/6	5/0	5/3⅓
S 16 "	6	18	6/0	5/6	5/9⅝	S 21 "	6	40	5/6	4/8	5/1½
W 20 "	7	39	6/4	5/8	6/0½	W 25 "	6	32	5/4	4/4	4/11⅝
S 23 "	6	23	6/4	6/0	6/2⅝	S 28 "	5	18	5/3	4/10	5/1

Prices of Wheat, 1663–69 (*continued*)

Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.	Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.
1664						1664					
W 1 June	5	23	5/3	4/10	5/0	S 26 Nov.	6	30	4/0	3/6	3/9⅔
S 4 "	6	32	5/4	5/0	5/2⅓	W 30 "	5	39	4/0	3/8	3/10½
W 8 "	5	16	5/2	4/10	5/0¼	S 3 Dec.	7	30	4/0	3/8	3/11⅓
S 11 "	7	44	5/3	4/6	5/0½	W 7 "	6	19	4/6	3/11	4/1⅔
W 15 "	5	27	5/3	5/0	5/1⅓	S 10 "	6	29	4/6	4/0	4/3⅓
S 18 "	5	27	5/3	4/6	5/0¼	W 14 "	6	27	4/6	3/10	4/2
W 22 "	6	28	5/8	4/6	5/2	S 17 "	6	31	4/8	3/10	4/2⅔
S 25 "	7	50	5/6	4/0	5/1½	W 21 "	7	29	4/6	3/8	4/1
W 29 "	5	39	5/5	4/10	5/2⅓	S 24 "	7	37	4/4	3/10	4/1⅔
S 2 July	4	19	5/5	5/1	5/3	W 28 "	4	16	4/4	4/0	4/2
W 6 "	5	30	5/5	4/6	4/11½	S 31 "	5	18	4/4	4/0	4/2
S 9 "	5	28	5/3	4/10	5/1	1664–65					
W 13 "	5	27	5/7	4/10	5/3	W 4 Jan.	4	18	4/2	3/8	3/11
S 16 "	5	24	5/3	4/8	4/11½	S 7 "	5	30	4/6	4/2	4/4
W 20 "	5	27	5/4	4/6	5/0¼	W 11 "	7	46	4/6	3/8	4/1⅔
S 23 "	5	17	5/11	5/0	5/5¼	S 14 "	6	47	4/6	4/2	4/4
W 27 "	5	30	5/4	5/0	5/2⅓	W 18 "	6	38	4/6	4/0	4/2⅔
S 30 "	5	21	5/1	4/6	4/10	S 21 "	7	32	4/5	3/9	4/2½
W 3 Aug.	4	16	5/3	4/11	5/1¼	W 25 "	6	27	4/5	3/10	4/1⅔
S 6 "	4	13	5/6	5/0	5/3¼	S 28 "	6	28	4/6	4/0	4/3⅙
W 10 "	5	26	5/6	4/10	5/3	W 1 Feb.	5	17	4/5	3/10	4/2
S 13 "	4	14	5/4	4/8	5/0¼	S 4 "	8	35	4/7	4/0	4/4⅝
W 17 "	4	27	5/0	4/2	4/6½	W 8 "	7	41	4/8	4/0	4/4⅜
S 20 "	5	26	5/4	4/8	5/0	S 11 "	7	45	4/6	4/0	4/3½
W 26 "	4	26	5/2	4/6	4/11	W 15 "	6	30	4/8	4/0	4/4
S 29 "	5	26	5/3	4/6	4/11¼	S 18 "	7	33	4/7	4/2	4/5⅛
W 31 "	5	22	5/6	4/4	4/11⅓	W 22 "	5	30	4/10	4/4	4/7⅓
S 3 Sept.	4	22	5/4	4/6	4/10½	S 25 "	7	33	5/0	4/4	4/8
W 7 "	4	15	5/2	4/2	4/9	W 1 Mar.	6	19	5/0	4/7	4/9⅔
S 10 "	5	30	5/4	4/6	4/10⅓	S 4 "	7	42	5/2	4/8	4/10½
W 14 "	5	28	4/11	4/0	4/6½	W 8 "	7	45	5/4	4/10	5/2
S 17 "	4	25	4/6	3/11	4/2½	S 11 "	7	26	5/3	4/10	5/1½
W 21 "	5	25	4/2	3/6	3/10	W 15 "	7	30	5/4	5/0	5/2⅓
S 24 "	7	46	4/10	4/0	4/6	S 18 "	8	57	5/3½	5/0	5/2
W 28 "	9	49	5/0	4/0	4/7½	W 22 "	8	51	5/5	4/10	5/1¾
S 1 Oct.	5	24	4/10	3/9	4/3½	1665					
W 5 "	5	25	4/4	3/8	3/11½	S 25 "	6	21	5/0	4/6	4/9⅛
S 8 "	8	38	4/10	3/10	4/5¾	W 29 "	4	20	5/0	4/6	4/9
W 12 "	5	27	4/6	3/8	4/3	S 1 Apr.	7	40	5/4	4/6	4/11½
S 15 "	7	34	4/6	4/0	4/3⅛	F 4 "	6	29	5/4	4/6	5/0
W 19 "	6	28	4/6	3/10	4/3½	S 8 "	6	3/6	5/2	4/8	5/0⅛
S 22 "	5	18	4/6	3/10	4/2¼	W 12 "	6	30	5/3	4/1	4/9
W 26 "	6	25	4/7	4/0	4/4	S 15 "	6	34	5/2	4/2	4/16
S 29 "	5	22	4/4	3/10	4/1	W 19 "	6	42	5/2	4/8	4/11⅔
W 2 Nov.	5	27	4/3	3/10	4/0½	S 22 "	8	52	4/10	4/3	4/7
S 5 "	6	33	4/2	3/5	3/10⅛	W 26 "	7	30	5/0	4/3	4/8
W 9 "	5	22	4/4	3/6	3/10⅓	S 29 "	9	49	4/4	4/1	4/6⅛
S 12 "	6	34	4/0	3/6	3/10	W 3 May	7	39	5/0	4/4	4/8⅛
W 16 "	6	27	4/0	3/6	3/9⅔	S 6 "	7	36	5/2	4/6	4/10½
S 19 "	6	32	4/2	3/8	3/11⅛	W 10 "	6	32	5/2	4/6	4/10
W 23 "	6	39	4/0	3/6	3/9⅛	S 13 "	6	36	5/2	4/8	4/11⅛

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1663–69 (*continued*)

Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.	Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.
1665						1665					
W 17 May	6	31	5/5	4/10	5/1⅜	S 11 Nov.	7	39	5/2	4/9	5/0
S 20 "	7	35	5/4	4/9	5/2⅛	W 15 "	6	50	5/2	4/8	4/11½
W 24 "	6	30	5/3	5/0	5/2	S 18 "	5	39	5/0	4/6	4/9½
S 27 "	5	28	5/4	5/1	5/3	W 22 "	7	47	5/1	4/6	4/9½
W 31 "	7	30	5/6	5/0	5/3½	S 25 "	6	41	5/0	4/6	4/9
S 3 June	6	36	5/6	5/2	5/4⅛	W 29 "	5	34	5/0	4/6	4/9⅜
W 7 "	6	19	5/6	5/3	5/5	S 2 Dec.	6	36	4/11	4/6	4/8⅜
S 10 "	7	32	5/6	5/0	5/3⅜	F 5 "	5	29	4/10	4/6	4/8½
W 14 "	6	27	5/8	5/2	5/6	S 9 "	6	43	4/11	4/2	4/6⅜
S 17 "	6	27	5/9	5/4	5/7½	W 13 "	6	46	4/10	4/4	4/7½
W 21 "	6	36	5/9	5/5	5/7⅛	S 16 "	6	46	4/10	4/2	4/6⅜
S 24 "	7	41	5/10	5/4	5/7½	W 20 "	7	47	4/10	4/4	4/7⅓
W 28 "	6	36	5/8	5/2	5/6	S 23 "	6	37	5/0	4/4	4/8½
S 1 July	6	37	5/10	5/2	5/6⅛	W 27 "	5	29	4/10	4/5	4/7¼
W 5 "	6	21	5/10	5/2	5/6⅓	S 30 "	5	32	4/9	4/4	4/7
S 8 "	7	42	5/7	5/1	5/4⅛	1665–66					
W 12 "	5	27	5/7	5/3	5/5	F 2 Jan.	4	25	4/8	4/4	4/6¼
S 15 "	7	44	5/6	5/1½	5/3¾	S 6 "	5	37	5/0	4/4	4/8
W 19 "	6	27	5/6	5/1	5/3½	W 10 "	6	41	4/10	4/4	4/7½
S 22 "	7	37	5/7	5/0	5/4	S 13 "	5	28	4/11	4/4	4/8
W 26 "	5	36	5/6	4/11	5/5	W 17 "	7	46	4/10	4/4	4/7½
S 29 "	7	44	5/6	4/10	5/2½	S 20 "	5	44	4/9	4/4	4/7
F 2 Aug.	5	30	5/4	4/10	5/1	W 24 "	6	42	4/9	4/4	4/7⅓
S 5 "	7	33	5/7	5/0	5/4	S 27 "	6	41	4/10	4/4	4/7⅓
W 9 "	6	37	5/8	5/0	5/4¾	W 31 "	6	33	4/9	4/4	4/7⅛
S 12 "	7	36	5/8	5/0	5/5⅛	S 3 Feb.	7	52	5/0	4/4	4/6⅝
W 16 "	7	50	5/6	4/8	5/2	W 6 "	5	27	4/10	4/4	4/7
S 19 "	6	31	5/7	4/8	5/3	S 10 "	5	32	4/10	4/4	4/7⅓
W 23 "	6	32	5/2	4/6	4/10⅜	W 14 "	5	34	4/8	4/5	4/6½
S 26 "	6	45	5/4	4/6	4/11⅜	S 17 "	6	28	4/10	4/4	4/7⅛
W 30 "	6	30	5/0	4/6	4/10	W 21 "	5	29	4/10	4/4	4/7
S 2 Sept.	6	28	5/6	4/6	5/0½	S 24 "	6	40	4/9	4/4	4/6½
F 5 "	7	31	5/0	4/0	4/8⅓	W 28 "	5	31	4/6	4/0	4/3½
S 9 "	7	32	5/4	4/4	4/9⅜	S 3 Mar.	6	33	4/8	4/4	4/5⅜
W 13 "	6	37	5/0	4/6	4/9⅜	W 7 "	4	14	4/4	4/0	4/2¼
S 16 "	6	38	4/11	4/5	4/8	S 10 "	5	39	4/7	4/2	4/5¼
W 20 "	6	35	5/0	4/2	4/8⅛	W 14 "	6	35	4/6	4/2	4/4⅓
S 23 "	6	37	4/10	4/5	4/8	S 17 "	5	20	4/7	4/2	4/5⅛
W 27 "	7	37	5/4	4/8	5/0	W 21 "	7	38	4/6	4/3	4/5
S 30 "	6	37	5/0	4/2	4/8⅓	S 24 "	9	49	5/0	4/3	4/7⅛
F 3 Oct.	6	39	4/8	4/2	4/5	1666					
S 7 "	7	31	5/0	4/2	4/7	W 28 Mar.	6	33	4/8	4/2	4/4⅜
W 11 "	6	35	4/10	4/0	4/6	S 31 "	5	30	4/5	4/2	4/3⅛
S 14 "	7	42	4/11	4/2	4/7	F 3 Apr.	4	21	4/2	4/0	4/0⅜
W 18 "	6	41	4/8	4/0	4/4	S 7 "	7	42	4/4	3/10	4/1½
S 21 "	7	43	4/8	4/0	4/5	W 11 "	5	32	4/2	3/8	4/11
W 25 "	8	46	4/7	4/0	4/4¾	S 14 "	6	33	4/0	3/6	3/9⅜
S 28 "	7	35	4/6	4/0	4/3⅜	W 18 "	6	35	4/0	3/6	3/10
W 1 Nov.	7	29	4/6	4/0	4/3½	S 21 "	6	36	4/0	3/4	3/8½
S 4 "	5	29	4/10	4/2	4/6	W 25 "	5	28	3/8	3/4	3/6⅛
F 7 "	6	40	5/0	4/4	4/9⅜	S 28 "	5	34	3/8	3/3	3/6

Prices of Wheat, 1663–69 (*continued*)

Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.	Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.
1666						1666					
F 1 May	5	31	3/7	3/4	3/5½	S 27 Oct.	6	41	2/11	2/6	2/8½
S 5 "	4	35	3/7	3/3	3/5	W 31 "	7	41	2/11	2/6	2/9⅛
W 9 "	6	32	3/7	3/3	3/4⅜	S 3 Nov.	7	37	2/10	2/4	2/7⅜
S 12 "	5	34	3/6	3/2	3/4	F 6 "	6	41	2/11	2/6	2/8½
W 16 "	6	42	3/8	3/3	3/5⅛	S 10 "	7	46	2/10	2/4	2/8⅛
S 19 "	6	39	3/7	3/3	3/5⅛	W 14 "	6	37	3/0	2/4	2/8⅛
W 23 "	6	51	4/0	3/6	3/9	S 17 "	7	48	3/0	2/4	2/8⅛
S 26 "	7	46	4/4	3/10	4/1⅛	W 21 "	7	54	3/0	2/4	2/9
W 30 "	6	54	4/0	3/6	3/9⅛	S 24 "	7	44	2/11	2/4	2/8⅛
S 2 June	6	38	3/8	3/3	3/5⅛	W 28 "	5	35	3/0	2/6	2/9⅛
W 6 "	4	18	3/8	3/4	3/6¼	S 1 Dec.	7	45	3/0	2/5	2/9⅛
S 9 "	5	36	3/10	3/4	3/6½	W 4 "	6	35	2/10	2/6	2/8
W 13 "	6	48	3/9	3/4	3/6	S 8 "	7	40	3/0	2/6	2/8½
S 16 "	6	41	3/8	3/4	3/6	W 12 "	6	48	3/0	2/7	2/10
W 20 "	5	30	3/6	3/2	3/4	S 15 "	6	31	3/0	2/6	2/10
S 23 "	6	31	3/7	3/0	3/3½	W 19 "	7	41	3/0	2/6	2/9⅛
W 27 "	6	36	3/9	3/3	3/6	S 22 "	6	39	3/0	2/6	2/9
S 30 "	5	33	3/8	3/3	3/5½	W 26 "	..	..	..	..	..
F 3 July	5	32	3/8	3/3	3/5½	S 29 "	7	46	3/1	2/6	2/9⅛
S 7 "	5	39	3/8	3/3	3/6	1666–67					
W 11 "	7	41	3/8	3/2	3/5	W 2 Jan.	5	26	3/0	2/6	2/8½
S 14 "	6	64	3/6	3/0	3/3⅓	S 5 "	7	43	3/0	2/6	2/9⅛
W 18 "	5	30	3/8	3/4	3/6⅛	W 9 "	7	39	3/2	2/6	2/10
S 21 "	6	35	3/8	3/3	3/6	S 12 "	9	49	3/4	2/7	3/0⅜
W 25 "	6	39	3/6	3/2	3/4⅛	W 16 "	8	43	3/3	2/7	2/11¾
S 28 "	7	47	3/8	3/2	3/5	S 19 "	7	36	3/4	2/8	3/1
W 31 "	7	52	3/8	3/3	3/5½	W 23 "	8	43	3/4	2/7	3/0
S 4 Aug.	7	50	3/9	3/3	3/6	S 26 "	8	49	3/4	2/6	3/0½
W 8 "	5	27	3/8	3/4	3/6	F 29 "	5	24	3/2	2/8	2/11⅜
S 11 "	5	23	3/7	3/3	3/5	S 2 Feb.	9	45	3/4	2/6	2/11⅜
W 15 "	6	50	3/6	3/2	3/4⅓	W 6 "	6	38	3/3	2/6	2/11
S 18 "	6	37	3/6	3/2	3/4⅓	S 9 "	7	51	3/4	2/9	3/0⅓
W 22 "	..	..	..	..	..	W 13 "	8	38	3/6	2/6	3/1
S 25 "	5	28	3/3	3/0	3/1⅙	S 16 "	7	39	3/6	3/0	3/3½
W 29 "	6	43	3/0	2/8	2/10½	W 20 "	6	44	3/6	3/3	3/4⅜
S 1 Sept.	8	54	3/0	2/4	2/7⅝	S 23 "	8	50	3/8	3/0	3/4⅝
W 4 "	5	28	2/8	2/4	2/5½	W 27 "	7	38	3/10	3/0	3/6
S 8 "	5	30	2/10	2/4	2/7	S 2 Mar.	7	54	3/8	3/3	3/5½
W 12 "	7	41	2/8	2/3	2/6	W 6 "	7	43	3/7	3/0	3/3½
S 15 "	7	48	2/10	2/3	2/6⅛	S 9 "	7	39	3/9	3/4	3/7
W 19 "	6	35	3/0	3/6	2/8½	W 13 "	7	50	3/8	3/4	3/6⅛
S [22] "	6¼	37	3/0	2/4	2/8	S 16 "	6	38	3/8	3/2	3/6
W 26 "	9	56	3/2	2/6	2/9⅝	W 20 "	7	45	3/7	3/2	3/5
S 29 "	6	39	2/11	2/6	2/8½	S 23 "	7	42	4/0	3/5	3/9⅛
W 3 Oct.	..	..	..	..	..	1667					
S 6 "	7	48	3/0	2/4	2/7½	W 27 "	7	38	3/9	3/4	3/6½
F 9 "	5	17	2/10	2/6	2/8⅛	S 30 "	5	34	3/9	3/4	3/6⅓
S 13 "	6	36	3/0	2/6	2/9⅜	W 3 Apr.	6	33	3/8	3/2	3/5
W 17 "	7	44	2/9	2/4	2/7½	S 6 "	7	38	3/6	3/0	3/3½
S 20 "	5	32	2/10	2/6	2/8	W 10 "	6	29	3/5	2/10	3/2⅓
W 24 "	6	34	2/10	2/4	2/7⅓	S 13 "	6	32	3/6	3/0	3/3⅓

PRICES OF WHEAT, 1663–69 (*continued*)

Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.	Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.
1667						1667					
W 17 Apr.	6	36	3/6	3/0	3/3	S 12 Oct.	6	40	3/8	3/2	3/5
S 20 "	7	36	3/6	3/0	3/3⅜	W 16 "	6	39	3/8	3/3	3/5⅛
W 24 "	5	23	3/4	3/1	3/2½	S 19 "	6	34	3/8	3/2	3/5⅜
S 27 "	5	27	3/4	3/0	3/2⅛	W 23 "	5	28	3/6	3/3	3/4½
W 1 May	5	27	3/4	2/10	3/1⅝	S 26 "	5	33	3/6	3/3	3/4⅜
S 4 "	6	41	3/6	3/1	3/3⅛	W 30 "	6	30	3/6	3/2	3/4⅛
W 8 "	6	39	3/6	2/10	3/2⅝	S 2 Nov.	6	30	3/6	3/2	3/3⅝
S 11 "	6	40	3/6	3/0	3/3	W 6 "	6	30	3/6	3/2	3/3⅜
W 15 "	6	35	3/6	2/10	3/2½	S 9 "	5	31	3/6	3/2	3/4
S 18 "	6	41	3/5	3/0	3/3⅛	W 13 "	5	27	3/4	3/0	3/2⅛
W 22 "	6	33	3/4	3/0	3/2⅛	S 16 "	6	31	3/5	3/1	3/3
S 25 "	5	30	3/4	2/10	3/2	W 20 "	5	32	3/5	3/2	3/3⅛
F 28 "	4	21	3/4	2/10	3/1¾	S 23 "	6	40	3/4	3/1	3/2½
S 1 June	6	38	3/4	2/10	3/2	W 27 "	6	30	3/6	3/3	3/4½
W 5 "	6	30	3/4	2/10	3/2	S 30 "	7	33	3/5	3/1	3/3⅛
S 8 "	7	50	3/4	3/0	3/2⅛	W 4 Dec.	6	35	3/4	3/1	3/2⅜
W 12 "	4	28	3/4	3/2	3/3	S 7 "	5	34	3/4	3/2	3/4
S 15 "	7	41	3/4	2/10	3/1½	W 11 "	7	41	3/6	3/1	3/4
W 19 "	7	46	3/4	2/8	3/1	S 14 "	6	30	3/6	3/2	3/4
S 22 "	5	26	3/4	2/10	3/1⅓	W 18 "	8	43	3/6	3/1	3/3½
W 26 "	7	56	3/4	2/7	3/0½	S 21 "	5	27	3/6	3/2	3/4
S 29 "	7	50	3/5	3/0	3/2⅜	F 24 "	5	31	3/6	3/2	3/4
W 3 July	6	33	3/6	2/10	3/3	S 28 "	5	26	3/6	3/2	3/4
S 6 "	7	58	3/7	3/0	3/3⅜	F 31 "	5	25	3/6	3/3	3/5
W 10 "	6	37	3/6	3/0	3/4	1667–68					
S 13 "	6	43	3/8	3/2	3/5⅓	S 4 Jan.	6	23	3/4	3/0	3/2½
W 17 "	6	39	3/8	3/3	3/5⅜	W 8 "	6	25	3/6	3/1	3/3½
S 20 "	7	44	3/8	3/0	3/4⅓	S 11 "	6	35	3/6	3/2	3/4⅓
W 24 "	8	53	3/8	3/0	3/3⅞	W 15 "	4	23	3/5	3/2	3/4¼
S 27 "	8	52	3/8	3/1	3/5⅛	S 18 "	5	23	3/6	3/3	3/5
W 31 "	8	55	3/9	3/3	3/6¼	W 22 "	6	29	3/6	3/0	3/3½
S 3 Aug.	8	48	3/10	3/2	3/7¼	S 25 "	6	31	3/6	3/0	3/3⅓
W [7] "	5	28	3/8	3/3	3/5	W 29 "	5	27	3/6	3/2	3/4
S 10 "	6	35	3/8	3/4	3/6½	S 1 Feb.	6	34	3/6	3/1	3/3½
W 14 "	6	38	3/8	3/4	3/6⅛	W 5 "	6	26	3/4	3/1	3/3
S 17 "	7	49	3/7	3/2	3/4⅝	S 8 "	5	33	3/5	3/1	3/3
W 21 "	6	31	3/8	3/3	3/5⅛	W 12 "	6	36	3/5	3/1	3/3
S 24 "	8	51	3/9	3/3	3/6⅜	S 15 "	5	34	3/6	3/2	3/4
W 28 "	6	36	3/10	3/4	3/7½	W 19 "	6	34	3/4	3/0	3/2½
S 31 "	7	47	4/0	3/4	3/8½	S 22 "	5	24	3/4	3/1	3/3
W 4 Sept.	6	40	4/0	3/6	3/8½	W 26 "	6	25	3/6	3/0	3/3⅓
S [7] "	7	48	4/0	3/4	3/8	S 29 "	6	32	3/6	3/2	3/4
W 11 "	6	33	3/10	3/4	3/6½	W 4 Mar.	6	34	3/6	3/2	3/4⅓
S 14 "	7	40	3/10	3/3	3/6⅓	S 7 "	7	39	3/9	3/4	3/7⅛
W 18 "	5	32	3/10	3/4	3/7⅓	W 11 "	7	42	3/10	3/4	3/7½
S 21 "	6	38	3/10	3/4	3/7⅓	S 14 "	7	38	3/10	3/5	3/7⅓
W 25 "	7	39	3/10	3/3	3/6½	W [18] "	7	37	3/10	3/4	3/7
S 28 "	4	23	4/4	3/8	4/0¼	S 21 "	7	42	4/5	3/8	4/1⅛
W 2 Oct.	6	36	4/0	3/6	3/8	1668					
S 5 "	7	42	4/0	3/4	3/8½	W 25 "	5	26	3/10	3/6	3/7½
W 9 "	6	37	3/10	3/3	3/6⅜	S 28 "	7	43	4/0	3/6	3/10⅛

Prices of Wheat, 1663–69 (*continued*)

Date	No. of sales	Total No. of bu. sold	Highest price per bu.	Lowest price per bu.	Aver. price per bu.
1668					
W 1 Apr.	7	38	4/0	3/6	3/10
S 4 "	6	33	3/10	3/6	3/8
W 8 "	6	33	3/8	3/4	3/6⅓
S 11 "	7	43	3/8	3/4	3/6½
W 15 "	6	33	3/6	3/3	3/4⅜
S 18 "	6	28	3/6	3/0	3/3½
W 22 "	6	31	3/4	3/0	3/2⅓
S 25 "	6	31	3/4	3/0	3/2⅓
W 29 "	6	28	3/5	3/2	3/3½
S 2 May	7	34	3/5	3/0	3/2⅜
W 6 "	6	29	3/3	3/0	3/1⅓
S 9 "	6	37	3/3	3/0	3/1⅜
W 13 "	5	20	3/2	3/0	3/1
S 16 "	7	45	3/2	2/10	3/0⅓
W 20 "	6	34	3/2	2/9	3/1⅜
S 23 "	7	36	3/4	2/10	3/1⅓
W 27 "	5	33	3/3	3/0	3/2
S 30 "	7	45	3/2	2/9	2/11½
W 3 June	5	27	3/2	2/10	3/0⅓
S 6 "	6	39	3/3	2/10	3/1
W 10 "	5	25	3/0	2/8	2/10
S 13 "	7	45	3/2	2/9	2/11⅓
W 17 "	6	39	3/2	2/9	2/11⅔
S 20 "	7	51	3/6	3/0	3/2⅓
W 24 "	5	34	3/4	3/1	3/2½
S 27 "	7	47	3/7	3/4	3/5⅓
W 1 July	6	36	3/7	3/4	3/6
S 4 "	8	48	3/8	3/4	3/6⅓
W 8 "	6	36	4/0	3/9	3/11
S 11 "	7	48	4/6	4/3	4/5
W 15 "	7	55	4/6	4/3	4/4½
S 18 "	8	58	4/4	3/10	4/0⅞
W 22 "	6	38	4/4	3/10	4/1½
S 25 "	5	31	4/4	4/0	4/2
W 29 "	6	42	4/4	4/0	4/2⅓
S 1 Aug.	6	39	4/2	3/10	4/0
W 5 "	6	33	4/0	3/9	3/10⅔
S 8 "	6	36	4/2	3/11	4/0½
W 12 "	6	43	4/6	4/0	4/3
S 15 "	7	78	4/8	4/4	4/6⅓
W 19 "	5	45	4/8	4/4	4/6
S 22 "	6	..	4/10	4/5	4/7⅙
W 26 "	6	46	4/10	4/6	4/8
S 29 "	6	47	4/10	4/6	4/8
W 3 Sept.	7	44	4/8	4/4	4/6½
S 5 "	6	61	4/8	4/5	4/6⅔
W 9 "	6	43	4/8	4/5	4/6⅔
S 12 "	7	52	4/10	4/4	4/7
W 16 "	6	51	4/8	4/4	4/6½
1668					
S 19 Sept.	6	39	4/8	4/4	4/6⅓
W 23 "	6	38	4/6	4/3	4/4⅜
S 26 "	8	61	5/0	4/6	4/9
W 30 "	5	36	4/6	4/2	4/4
S 3 Oct.	7	43	4/8	4/3	4/6⅛
W 7 "	6	36	4/6	4/3	4/4⅜
S 10 "	5	40	4/8	4/4	4/6½
W 14 "	5	33	4/6	4/3	4/4
S 17 "	6	35	4/10	4/5	4/7⅛
W 21 "	7	53	4/8	4/4	4/6⅛
S 24 "	6	35	4/10	4/4	4/7⅛
W 28 "	6	32	4/6	4/3	4/4⅜
S 31 "	6	40	4/8	4/4	4/6
W 4 Nov.	5	31	4/6	4/4	4/5
S 7 "	6	34	4/7	4/3	4/5⅛
W 11 "	5	32	4/7	4/3	4/5
S 14 "	7	39	4/7	4/3	4/5½
W 19 "	6	39	4/8	4/4	4/6
S 21 "	6	35	4/8	4/4	4/6⅛
W 25 "	7	36	4/9	4/3	4/6
S 28 "	7	43	4/10	4/4	4/6½
W 2 Dec.	6	29	4/11	4/6	4/9½
S 5 "	7	41	5/0	4/6	4/7½
W 9 "	8	42	5/1	4/8	4/10⅝
S 12 "	7	45	5/2	4/10	5/0
W 16 "	7	39	5/2	4/9	5/0
S 19 "	8	47	5/4	4/11	5/1⅝
W 23 "	6	31	5/2	4/10	5/0
26 "	" Noe	corne i	n the	Marke	tt "
W 30 "	6	34	5/3	4/10	5/0⅜
S 2 Jan.	6	29	5/6	5/0	5/3⅛
W 6 "	6	30	5/6	5/2	5/4⅛
S 9 "	7	32	5/6	5/3	5/4⅛
W 13 "	6	38	5/6	5/3	5/5
S 16 "	7	40	5/6	5/2	5/4⅛
W 20 "	7	39	5/6	5/1	5/4
S 23 "	7	41	5/6	5/2	5/4⅛
W 27 "	7	42	5/6	5/0	5/3⅛
F 29 "	7	38	5/4	5/0	5/2⅛
W 3 Feb.	6	34	5/4	5/0	5/2⅛
S 6 "	5	32	5/8	5/4	5/6
W 10 "	7	35	5/6	5/0	5/3⅜
S 13 "	6	37	5/6	5/2	5/4
W 17 "	6	33	5/6	5/0	5/3⅛
S 20 "	8	53	5/6	5/1	5/3⅛
W 24 "	7	51	5/7	5/2	5/5⅛
S 27 "	9	58	5/8	5/2	5/6
W 3 Mar.	7	44	5/9	5/4	5/7⅛

Prices of Barley, 26 Sept., 1663 to 3 Mar., 1668–69

Sold on the Oxford market.

The following abbreviations have been used:

W — Wednesday.

S — Saturday.

N — "Noe Barly in the Markett."

F — Regular market day a feast day, market held a day earlier.

Source — as in wheat lists preceding.

Date	Av. price per qr.	Date	Av. price per qr.	Date	Av. price per qr.	Date	Av. price per qr.
1663	s. d.	1663–64	s. d.	1664	s. d.	1664	s. d.
S 26 Sept.	22/0	S 20 Feb.	24/6	S 16 July	N	W 14 Dec.	19/6
W 30 "	N	W 24 "	24/6	W 20 "	N	S 17 "	19/10
S 3 Oct.	22/8	S 27 "	24/6	S 23 "	20/0	W 21 "	19/8
W 7 "	23/2	W 2 Mar.	24/0	W 27 "	21/0	S 24 "	20/10
S 10 "	23/6	S 5 "	24/0	S 30 "	N	W 28 "	19/6
W 14 "	23/6	W 9 "	24/0	W 3 Aug.	N	S 31 "	20/0
S 17 "	23/0	S 12 "	24/3	S 6 "	N	1664–65	
W 21 "	24/0	W 16 "	24/6	W 10 "	N	W 4 Jan.	20/0
S 24 "	24/3	S 19 "	24/6	S 15 "	N	S 7 "	20/0
W 28 "	24/4	W 23 "	24/4	W 17 "	21/0	W 11 "	19/8
S 31 "	24/4	1664		S 20 "	N	S 14 "	19/6
W 4 Nov.	24/4	S 26 "	24/6	W 24 "	21/0	W 18 "	19/6
S 7 "	24/4	W 30 "	24/8	S 27 "	21/0	S 21 "	19/6
W 11 "	24/2	S 2 Apr.	24/10	W 31 "	20/0	W 25 "	19/8
S 14 "	24/6	W 6 "	24/8	S 3 Sept.	20/0	S 28 "	19/6
W 18 "	24/6	S 9 "	24/8	W 7 "	20/6	W 1 Feb.	19/6
S 21 "	24/0	W 13 "	24/8	S 10 "	20/2	S 4 "	19/2
W 25 "	24/0	S 16 "	25/0	W 14 "	20/2	W 8 "	19/8
S 28 "	24/0	W 20 "	24/10	S 17 "	18/6	S 11 "	19/6
W 2 Dec.	23/6	S 23 "	25/0	W 21 "	18/4	W 15 "	20/0
S 5 "	23/6	W 27 "	25/0	S 24 "	18/6	S 18 "	20/0
W 9 "	23/8	S 30 "	25/0	W 28 "	18/10	W 22 "	19/6
S 12 "	24/0	W 4 May	25/6	S 1 Oct.	19/0	S 25 "	20/0
W 16 "	23/8	S 7 "	24/8	W 5 "	20/0	W 1 Mar.	20/6
S 19 "	24/0	W 11 "	24/8	S 8 "	21/0	S 4 "	20/8
W 23 "	24/2	S 14 "	24/8	W 12 "	20/6	W 8 "	21/0
S 26 "	——	W 18 "	24/0	S 15 "	20/6	S 11 "	21/4
W 30 "	24/4	S 21 "	24/0	W 19 "	20/4	W 15 "	21/8
1663–64		W 25 "	24/0	S 22 "	21/0	S 18 "	21/8
S 2 Jan.	24/0	S 28 "	23/8	W 26 "	20/0	W 22 "	21/4
W 6 "	24/0	W 1 June	23/6	S 29 "	20/0	1665	
S 9 "	25/0	S 4 "	22/6	W 2 Nov.	20/0	S 25 "	21/0
W 13 "	25/0	W 8 "	23/4	S 5 "	20/4	W 29 "	21/0
S 16 "	25/0	S 11 "	23/6	W 9 "	20/2	S 1 Apr.	21/0
W 20 "	25/4	W 15 "	23/6	S 12 "	20/0	F 4 "	21/0
S 23 "	25/0	S 18 "	23/6	W 16 "	20/4	S 8 "	20/6
W 27 "	25/0	W 22 "	23/6	S 19 "	20/0	W 12 "	20/6
S 30 "	25/0	S 25 "	22/6	W 23 "	19/10	S 15 "	20/0
W 3 Feb.	24/6	W 29 "	22/6	S 26 "	——	W 19 "	20/3
S 6 "	24/6	S 2 July	22/0	W 30 "	20/0	S 22 "	19/6
W 10 "	24/6	W 6 "	——	S 3 Dec.	19/6	W 26 "	20/0
S 13 "	24/8	S 9 "	N	W 7 "	19/6	S 29 "	20/0
W 17 "	24/5	W 13 "	N	S 10 "	19/8	W 3 May	20/3

Prices of Barley, 1663–69 (*continued*)

Date	Av. price per qr.
1665	s. d.
S 6 May	21/0
W 10 "	21/6
S 13 "	22/0
W 17 "	22/0
S 20 "	22/10
W 24 "	23/0
S 27 "	23/0
W 31 "	23/6
S 3 June	23/6
W 7 "	23/6
S 10 "	24/0
W 14 "	24/6
S 17 "	24/6
W 21 "	23/6
S 24 "	23/6
W 28 "	N
S 1 July	23/6
W 5 "	N
S 8 "	N
W 12 "	N
S 15 "	23/4
W 19 "	23/6
S 22 "	23/0
W 26 "	N
S 29 "	22/0
F 2 Aug.	N
S 5 "	N
W 9 "	——
S 12 "	N
W 16 "	N
S 19 "	N
W 23 "	N
S 26 "	N
W 30 "	N
S 2 Sept.	N
F 5 "	N
S 9 "	19/0
W 13 "	19/0
S 16 "	19/4
W 20 "	20/0
S 23 "	19/0
W 27 "	20/0
S 30 "	19/6
F 3 Oct.	20/0
S 7 "	20/0
W 11 "	19/2
S 14 "	20/0
W 18 "	20/0
S 21 "	20/0
W 25 "	20/0
S 28 "	21/6
W 1 Nov.	21/0
S 4 "	21/9
F 7 "	21/6
S 11 Nov.	21/10
W 15 "	22/10
S 18 "	23/6
W 22 "	23/6
S 25 "	23/8
W 29 "	23/6
S 2 Dec.	22/6
F 5 "	22/0
S 9 "	22/3
W 13 "	21/0
S 16 "	21/6
W 20 "	22/0
S 23 "	21/0
W 27 "	20/0
S 30 "	21/0
1665–66	
F 2 Jan.	21/6
S 6 "	21/6
W 10 "	21/0
S 13 "	21/6
W 17 "	21/2
S 20 "	21/3
W 24 "	21/0
S 27 "	21/4
W 31 "	21/2
S 3 Feb.	21/6
F 6 "	21/2
S 10 "	21/0
W 14 "	21/0
S 17 "	21/0
W 21 "	21/0
S 24 "	22/0
W 28 "	21/6
S 3 Mar.	20/6
W 7 "	19/0
S 10 "	20/0
W 14 "	20/0
S 17 "	19/6
W 21 "	19/6
S 24 "	20/0
1666	
W 28 Mar.	19/4
S 31 "	19/6
F 3 Apr.	19/0
S 7 "	18/6
W 11 "	18/0
S 14 "	17/8
W 18 "	17/8
S 21 "	17/6
W 25 "	17/4
S 28 "	16/6
F 1 May	16/0
S 5 "	16/6
W 9 "	17/7
W 12 May	17/9
S 16 "	17/4
W 19 "	17/6
S 23 "	17/9
W 26 "	17/6
S 30 "	18/0
W 2 June	17/0
F 5 "	17/0
S 9 "	17/0
W 13 "	16/4
S 16 "	——
W 20 "	N
S 23 "	16/8
W 27 "	N
S 30 "	16/8
F 3 July	N
S 7 "	15/0
W 11 "	N
S 14 "	N
W 18 "	N
S 21 "	N
W 25 "	N
S 28 "	N
F 31 "	N
S 4 Aug.	N
W 8 "	N
S 11 "	N
W 15 "	N
S 18 "	15/0
W 22 "	——
S 25 "	14/0
W 29 "	14/0
S 1 Sept.	14/0
F 4 "	N
S 8 "	12/6
W 12 "	12/2
S 15 "	13/0
W 19 "	13/0
S 20 "	13/6
W 26 "	13/4
S 29 "	13/8
W 2 Oct.	——
S 6 "	14/0
F 9 "	14/10
S 13 "	15/4
W 17 "	15/6
S 20 "	15/6
W 24 "	15/2
S 27 "	15/0
W 31 "	15/0
S 3 Nov.	15/6
F 6 "	15/8
S 10 "	15/8
W 14 "	15/6
S 17 Nov.	15/8
W 21 "	15/8
S 24 "	15/8
W 28 "	15/8
S 1 Dec.	15/9
F 4 "	15/6
S 8 "	15/9
W 12 "	15/9
S 15 "	15/9
W 19 "	15/9
S 22 "	15/8
W 27 "	——
S 29 "	15/8
1666–67	
W 2 Jan.	15/7
S 5 "	15/6
W 9 "	15/8
S 12 "	15/8
W 16 "	15/6
S 19 "	15/6
W 23 "	15/3
S 26 "	15/3
F 29 "	15/4
S 2 Feb.	15/1
W 6 "	15/6
S 9 "	15/6
W 13 "	15/4
S 16 "	15/6
W 20 "	15/8
S 23 "	16/0
W 27 "	16/2
S 2 Mar.	16/4
W 6 "	16/4
S 9 "	16/4
W 13 "	16/6
S 16 "	16/10
W 20 "	17/2
S 23 "	17/4
1667	
W 27 "	17/6
S 30 "	17/6
W 3 Apr.	17/6
S 6 "	17/0
W 10 "	17/5
S 13 "	16/8
W 17 "	17/0
S 20 "	17/0
W 24 "	17/0
S 27 "	16/10
W 1 May	17/6
S 4 "	17/10
W 8 "	18/6
S 11 "	18/6
W 15 "	18/9

PRICES OF BARLEY, 1663–69 (*continued*)

Date	Av. price per qr.	Date	Av. price per qr.	Date	Av. price per qr.	Date	Av. price per qr.
1667	s. d.	1667	s. d.	1668	s. d.	1668	s. d.
S 18 May	18/6	W 23 Oct.	19/6	S 4 Apr.	21/0	W 23 Sept.	19/6
W 22 "	18/4	S 26 "	19/6	W 8 "	20/8	S 26 "	20/0
S 25 "	18/0	W 30 "	19/4	S 11 "	21/0	W 30 "	19/0
F 28 "	17/8	S 2 Nov.	19/0	W 15 "	20/6	S 3 Oct.	20/0
S 1 June	17/11	W 6 "	18/4	S 18 "	20/6	W 7 "	20/0
W 5 "	18/0	S 9 "	18/0	W 22 "	20/0	S 10 "	20/6
S 8 "	17/6	W 13 "	18/6	S 25 "	20/1	W 14 "	20/0
W 12 "	17/6	S 16 "	18/6	W 29 "	20/0	S 17 "	20/6
S 15 "	16/0	W 20 "	18/8	S 2 May	20/4	W 21 "	20/8
W 19 "	16/6	S 23 "	19/0	W 6 "	20/0	S 24 "	20/10
S 22 "	16/0	W 27 "	19/0	S 9 "	20/0	W 28 "	20/8
W 26 "	15/0	S 30 "	19/0	W 13 "	19/10	S 31 "	20/6
S 29 "	16/0	W 4 Dec.	19/4	S 16 "	19/10	W 4 Nov.	20/8
W 19 "	16/6	S 7 "	19/0	W 20 "	20/0	S 7 "	21/0
S 22 "	16/0	W 11 "	19/6	S 23 "	20/4	W 11 "	21/4
W 26 "	15/0	S 14 "	19/6	W 27 "	20/0	S 14 "	21/6
S 29 "	16/0	W 18 "	19/2	S 30 "	20/0	W 18 "	21/6
W 3 July	15/0	S 21 "	19/2	W 3 June	20/4	S 21 "	22/2
S 6 "	N	F 24 "	19/2	S 6 "	20/3	W 25 "	22/6
W 10 "	N	S 28 "	19/0	W 10 "	20/10	S 28 "	23/0
S 13 "	N	F 31 "	19/0	S 13 "	20/8	W 2 Dec.	22/8
W 17 "	N	1667–68		W 17 "	20/4	S 5 "	23/4
S 20 "	N	S 4 Jan.	19/0	S 20 "	20/6	W 9 "	23/0
W 24 "	N	W 8 "	19/10	W 24 "	20/6	S 12 "	23/6
S 27 "	——	S 11 "	19/8	S 27 "	20/4	W 16 "	23/6
W 31 "	——	W 15 "	19/4	W 1 July	20/4	S 19 "	23/9
S 3 Aug.	N	S 18 "	19/6	S 4 "	——	W 23 "	24/2
W 7 "	N	W 22 "	19/0	W 8 "	20/2	S 26 "	N
S 10 "	N	S 25 "	19/0	S 11 "	N	W 30 "	24/3
W 14 "	N	W 29 "	19/0	W 15 "	——	1668–69	
S 17 "	N	S 1 Feb.	19/2	S 18 "	N	S 2 Jan.	24/6
W 21 "	17/8	W 5 "	19/6	W 22 "	N	W 6 "	24/2
S 24 "	18/6	S 8 "	19/2	S 25 "	N	S 9 "	24/8
W 28 "	18/6	W 12 "	19/4	W 29 "	N	W 13 "	24/6
S 31 "	20/0	S 15 "	19/4	S 1 Aug.	N	S 16 "	24/6
W 4 Sept.	20/0	W 19 "	19/0	W 5 "	N	W 20 "	24/6
S 7 "	19/6	S 22 "	19/8	S 8 "	N	S 23 "	24/6
W 11 "	19/5	W 26 "	19/10	W 12 "	N	W 27 "	24/3
S 14 "	19/8	S 29 "	20/4	S 15 "	N	F 29 "	24/4
W 18 "	19/6	W 4 Mar.	20/6	W 19 "	N	W 3 Feb.	24/3
S 21 "	19/8	S 7 "	21/0	S 22 "	20/0	S 6 "	24/2
W 25 "	19/8	W 11 "	21/0	W 26 "	N	W 10 "	24/0
S 28 "	20/0	S 14 "	21/0	S 29 "	——	S 13 "	23/10
W 2 Oct.	19/6	W 18 "	20/8	W 3 Sept.	19/6	W 17 "	23/6
S 5 "	19/6	S 21 "	21/0	S 5 "	20/0	S 20 "	23/10
W 9 "	19/6	1668		W 9 "	20/0	W 24 "	23/8
S 12 "	19/6	W 25 "	20/8	S 12 "	20/8	S 27 "	24/6
W 16 "	19/4	S 28 "	21/0	W 16 "	20/8	W 3 Mar.	24/2
S 19 "	19/6	W 1 Apr.	21/0	S 19 "	20/6		

APPENDIX G

Statistics of Corn Bounty Debentures, 1674–98[1]

Ports	1674–75	1675–76	1676–77	1677–78	1678–79	1679–80	1680–81	Totals
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
London	130 8 9	19,424 8 6	14,955 1 1½	8,007 6 1½	4 0 0	153 11 3	0 0 0	[42,674 15 9]
Outports:								
Barnstaple	0 0 0	0 0 0	7 1 3	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	[7 1 3]
Beaumaris	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	.....	.....	0 0 0	[0 0 0]
Berwick	.....	47 5 0	38 15 0	0 0 0	.....	.....	.....	[86 0 0]
Biddeford	0 0 0	267 2 9¾	264 10 0	1 18 9	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	[533 11 6¾]
Boston	44 12 6	1,900 2 9	1,086 2 0	145 7 6	.....	.....	.....	[3,176 4 9]
Bridgewater	0 0 0	348 11 3	85 18 9	0 0 0	.....	.....	.....	[434 10 0]
Bristol	0 0 0	290 5 0	186 3 10½	95 9 4	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	[571 18 2½]
Chester	0 0 0	0 0 0	39 15 7½	0 0 0	0 0 0	.....	0 0 0	[39 15 7½]
Chichester	88 12 6	318 10 0	4,904 7 9	353 8 11	45 17 6	.....	.....	[5,710 16 8]
Colchester	0 0 0	872 13 6	1,370 0 0	906 10 6	.....	.....	0 0 0	[3,149 4 0]
Cowes	31 17 6	917 1 0	883 6 7½	443 15 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	[2,276 0 1½]
Dartmouth	0 0 0	649 10 6	0 0 0	53 3 9	0 0 0	.....	0 0 0	[702 14 3]
Dover	138 11 3	4,343 10 9	4,055 10 0	427 15 3	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	[8,965 7 3]
Exeter	0 0 0	3,053 19 5½	867 4 4½	42 13 10	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	[3,963 17 7¾]
Falmouth	11 0 0	705 7 3½	143 13 6	32 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	[892 0 9½]
Faversham	96 5 0	337 10 5½	150 8 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	[584 4 2¼]
Fowey	0 0 0	135 5 0	39 5 0	0 0 0	.....	0 0 0	0 0 0	[174 10 0]
Hull	0 0 0	6,734 11 9	1,346 0 3	1,927 12 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	[10,008 4 6]
Ipswich	108 3 9	1,767 12 6½	863 14 3	1,119 18 5	532 5 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	[4,391 14 5½]
Lancaster	.....	.....	35 17 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	[35 17 6]
Liverpool	0 0 0	0 0 0	59 4 0¾	254 7 6	0 0 0	.....	0 0 0	[313 11 6¾]
Looe	0 0 0	194 17 6	.....	28 8 1½	.....	.....	.....	[323 5 7½]

Lyme	0	0	0	254	12	10¼	70	16	10½	5	18	1½	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[331 7 10½]
Lynn	428	12	0	5,582	2	6	4,659	19	6	3,186	15	6	2,724	14	0	7,480	1	6	1,863	1	6	[25,979 6 6]
Milford	34	5	2	217	5	2½	55	18	6	168	13	7½	305	1	9¾	94	8	0¾	93	15	4½	[969 7 9]
Minehead	.....			294	3	8	35	14	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.....			[329 18 5]
Newcastle	0	0	0	981	9	0	449	16	2¼	638	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[2,069 12 2¼]
Newhaven	.....			176	17	6	596	17	6	230	7	6	.....			.....			.....			[1,004 2 6]
Padstow	.....			3	16	3	37	10	0	.....			0	0	0	.....			.....			[41 6 3]
Penryn	.....			.....			.....			3	17	6	.....			0	0	0	.....			[3 17 6]
Penzance	0	0	0	237	7	6	6	2	6	26	5	0	.....			.....			0	0	0	[269 15 0]
Plymouth	0	0	0	718	18	9	192	12	2	7	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[919 0 11]
Poole	0	0	0	1,046	6	0	334	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[1,380 9 4]
Poulton	.....			19	18	9	84	4	0½	44	16	3	.....			0	0	0	.....			[148 19 0½]
Rye	0	0	0	233	0	0	248	5	0	117	2	1	.....			.....			0	0	0	[598 7 1]
Sandwich	33	10	0	216	17	6	.....			0	0	0	0	0	0	.....			0	0	0	[250 7 6]
Southampton	25	15	0	2,384	3	3½	3,339	11	4½	212	12	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[5,962 2 2]
Stockton	.....			439	6	11¾	1,097	12	6	1,123	15	0	238	10	0	0	0	0	.....			[2,899 4 5¾]
Sunderland	.....			50	13	0	.....			.....			.....			.....			.....			[50 13 0]
Swansea	.....			58	6	3	80	7	6	0	0	0	.....			.....			.....			[138 13 9]
Truro	.....			609	1	10½	10	[0 0?]		.....			.....			.....			.....			[619 1 10½]
Weymouth	0	0	0	46	12	6	119	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[165 17 6]
Whitby	23	15	0	7	10	0	.....			3	12	6	.....			0	0	0	.....			[34 17 6]
Yarmouth	516	5	6	5,281	13	0½	5,864	8	0	1,458	12	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[13,120 18 10½]
Total	1,635	5	2	41,780	1	5¼	45,410	3	3½	13,060	14	3½	3,846	8	9¾	*7,825*	*12*	*11¾*	1,956	16	10½	[103,527 16 11½]
Totals:	.....			[41,743	18	11½]	[33,710	3	3½]	.....			.....			[7,574	9	6¾]	.....			.....	
London and Outports	*1,765*	*13*	*11*	*61,204*	*9*	*10¾*	*60,365*	*4*	*4¾*	*21,068*	*0*	*5*	*3,850*	*8*	*9¾*	*7,979*	*4*	*2¾*	*1,956*	*16*	*10½*	*158,189 16 6½*

[1] The source of these figures is the Declared Accounts, Audit, except those in italics which are from Harl., 6838, fol. 28.

The results in brackets are not from the sources, but are the totals of the figures as they stand here. They indicate either errors or omissions in the particulars given by the Declared Accounts.

Corn Bounty Debentures, 1689–98[1]

Year	Outports £	s.	d.	London £	s.	d.	Total £	s.	d.
1689	217	4	4½	481	17	2	699	1	6½
1690	7,041	10	3½	2,272	17	0½	9,314	7	4
1691	16,376	16	9½	2,472	7	9	18,849	4	6¼
1692	20,136	14	4	924	18	2½	21,061	12	6½
1693	12,451	11	2¾	2,339	17	3	14,791	8	5¾
1694	4,318	11	11	73	16	10½	4,392	8	9½
1695	13,882	0	7	6,401	14	8½	20,283	15	3½
1696	7,313	17	11½	7,142	18	5½	14,456	16	5
1697	11,094	4	2¾	2,099	18	11	13,194	3	1¾
1698	4,479	10	9	520	8	6½	4,999	19	3½
1689–1698	[97,312	2	5½]	[24,730	14	11]	122,042	17	4¼

Bounties Paid, 1697–1765[2]

Periods	Total £	s.	d.
1697–1705	289,670	14	0
1706–1725	1,371,032	4	0
1726–1745	1,769,756	4	2
1746–1765	2,628,503	4	7
1697–1765	6,058,962	6	9

[1] MS., Br. M., Harl., 6838, fol. 28.

[2] Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present*, p. 452.

APPENDIX H

Statistics of Assignments of Money and Corn to be Provided by the London Companies, 1520–1662

Money to be levied from the London companies for the purchase of a common supply of corn.

Companies	1520[1]			1546[2]			1566[3]			1574[4]		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Mercers	80	0	0	150	0	0	200	0	0	500	0	0
Grocers	80	0	0	150	0	0	175	0	0	500	0	0
Drapers	80	0	0	150	0	0	150	0	0	373	0	0
Fishmongers, Stockfishmongers	80	0	0	100	0	0	150	0	0	250	0	0
Goldsmiths	80	0	0	100	0	0	150	0	0	375	0	0
Skinners	60	0	0	100	0	0	75	0	0	200	0	0
Merchant-tailors	80	0	0	150	0	0	175	0	0	431	0	0
Haberdashers	70	0	0	100	0	0	125	0	0	315	0	0
Vintners	20	0	0	60	0	0	33	6	8	181	10	0
Ironmongers	40	0	0	66	0	0	75	0	0	181	10	0
Salters	16	0	0	100	0	0	75	0	0	181	10	0
Clothworkers	.....			100	0	0	150	0	0	275	0	0
Dyers	10	0	0	30	0	0	20	0	0	62	10	0
Leathersellers, Pouchmakers	30	0	0	66	13	4	95	0	0	162	10	0
Cutlers, Bladesmiths	10	0	0	15	0	0	10	0	0	37	10	0
Armourers	10	0	0	15	0	0	5	0	0	12	10	0
Waxchandlers	20	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Tallowchandlers	12	0	0	30	0	0	20	0	0	62	10	0
Shearmen	40	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Pewterers	20	0	0	45	0	0	25	0	0	56	5	0
Fullers	10	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Saddlers	10	0	0	45	0	0	15	0	0	62	10	0
Brewers	40	0	0	40	0	0	33	6	8	125	0	0
Scriveners	10	0	0	.....			10	0	0	50	0	0
Butchers	10	0	0	.....			10	0	0	21	0	0
Bakers	20	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Poulterers	5	0	0	.....			.....			12	10	0
Inn-holders, "Corsers"	30	0	0	30	0	0	15	0	0	37	10	0
Girdlers	10	0	0	30	0	0	25	0	0	50	0	0
Barber-surgeons	20	0	0	30	0	0	10	0	0	25	0	0
Founders	5	0	0	.....			5	0	0	.....		

[1] See above, p. 82. [2] See above, p. 83. [3] See below, p. 449. [4] See above, p. 83, n. 4.

STATISTICS OF MONEY AND CORN, 1520–1662 (*continued*)

Companies	1520			1546			1566			1574		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Braiderers	10	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Bowyers	10	0	0	15	0	0	5	0	0	7	5	0
Fletchers	10	0	0	15	0	0	5	0	0	6	5	0
Cordwainers	5	0	0	30	0	0	10	0	0	62	10	0
Painter-stainers	10	0	0	.....			5	0	0	12	10	0
Masons	10	0	0	.....			5	0	0	12	10	0
Plumbers	5	0	0	.....			.....			12	10	0
Upholsterers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Carpenters	10	0	0	.....			5	0	0	37	10	0
Joiners	10	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Coopers	10	0	0	.....			20	0	0	62	10	0
Linen-drapers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Curriers	20	0	0	30	0	0	.....			15	0	0
Woodmongers	10	0	0	.....			.....			12	10	0
Tilers	10	0	0	.....			5	0	0	12	10	0
Weavers	5	0	0	.....			.....			12	10	0
Lorimers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Blacksmiths	5	0	0	.....			.....			12	10	0
Spurriers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Farriers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Wiresellers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Fruiterers	5	0	0	.....			5	0	0	12	10	0
Pastelers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Turners	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Marblers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Plasterers	5	0	0	.....			.....			10	0	0
Stationers	5	0	0	.....			20	0	0	62	10	0
Glaziers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Lapicers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Cheesemongers	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Surgeons	5	0	0	.....			.....			.....		
Woolpackers	.....			30	0	0	5	0	0	6	5	0
Cooks	.....			.....			.....			37	10	0

"Money lent by the Companies in London for the provision of Corn in two payments," [1573].[1]

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Haberdashers	525	0	0	Vinters	262	0	0
Mercers	625	4	0	Ironmongers	262	10	0
Grocers	700	0	0	Salters	262	0	0
Drapers	525	0	0	Skinners	280	0	0
Fishmongers	350	0	0	Clothworkers	365	0	0
Goldsmiths	525	0	0		"5,293	14	0"
Merchant-tailors	612	0	0				

"More lent the same tyme by the inferior Companies at two payments."

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Dyers	87	10	0	Blacksmiths	17	10	0
Brewers	175	0	0	Fruiterers	17	10	0
Leathersellers	200	0	0	Stationers	87	10	0
Tallowchandlers	87	10	0	Woolmen	8	15	0
Pewterers	78	15	0	Barber-surgeons	35	0	0
Saddlers	87	10	0	Girdlers	70	0	0
Freemasons	17	10	0	Curriers	21	0	0
Scriveners	66	10	8	Cordwainers	87	0	0
Woodmongers	17	10	0	Innholders	52	10	0
Plasterers	14	10	0	Armourers	17	10	0
Bowyers	2	10	0	Poulterers	15	0	0
Fletchers	8	15	0	Cooks	52	10	0
Coopers	87	10	0	Bricklayers	17	10	0
Plumbers	17	10	0	Cutlers	52	10	0
Carpenters	52	10	0	Weavers	17	10	0
Painters	17	10	0	Total	"1,622	15	8"
Butchers	35	0	0				

"Som' totalis of all lent as well by the 12 Companies as by the inferior Companies amounts to as apperes to" ..... "6,916 19 8"

"Money Receaved by the 12 Companies for the use of themselves and the inferior Companies in A° dm' 1580 precedinge of the sale of the Corne provided for them which is to be devided to eiche Companie after the rate of 10 s the pound:"

12 companies	2,636	15	0
Inferior companies	906	5	0
	3,543	0	0

[1] *Journals of the Common Council*, xxii, fols. 70 f.

"For the furnishing of 6000 quarters of graine whereof there must be 4000 quarters of wheate and 2000 quarters of Rye. For provision of this Citie of London," 2 Dec., 1590.[1]

	qrs.		qrs.
Fishmongers	339	Dyers	60
Mercers	492	Brewers	120
Grocers	525	Leathersellers	120
Drapers	461	Pewterers	36
Goldsmiths	486	Cutlers	27
Merchant-tailors	562	Whitebakers	72
Skinners	332	Waxchandlers	12
Haberdashers	435	Tallowchandlers	48
Salters	309	Armourers	6
Ironmongers	276	Girdlers	42
Vintners	312	Butchers	18
Clothworkers	339	Saddlers	54
	"4,868"		"615"

Carpenters	30	Tilers and bricklayers	12
Cordwainers	42	Blacksmiths	10
Barber-surgeons	30	Joiners	25
Painter-stainers	6	Weavers	15
Curriers	6	Woodmongers	15
Masons	15	Scriveners	42
Plumbers	12	Fruiterers	9
Innholders	30	Plasterers	6
Founders	9		"134"
Poulterers	12		
Cooks	30		
Coopers	42		
	"264"		

Brownbakers	18	Upholsterers	7
Stationers	63	Turners	11
Embroiderers	20		"119"

Total "6000 quarters."

"Theise 6 poore Companies we have thought necessary not to charge with any provision viz."

Bowyers	3	Basketmakers	4
Fletchers	3	Glaziers	4
Woolmen	3		"20 quarters"
Minstrels	3		

[1] *Journals of the Common Council*, xxii, fols. 434–435.

Amounts of Corn to be Provided by the London Companies

Companies	1587[1] and 1599[2]	1610[3]	1639[4]
	qrs.	qrs.	qrs.
Mercers	820	620	650
Grocers	874	1,000	900
Drapers	768	768	750
Fishmongers	565	565	620
Goldsmiths	809	730	700
Skinners	553	470	420
Merchant-tailors	936	1,050	1,000
Haberdashers	724	800	770
Salters	514	480	480
Ironmongers	440	358	340
Vintners	520	520	500
Clothworkers	565	565	550
Dyers	100	160	140
Brewers	200	100	138
Leathersellers	200	250	280
Pewterers	60	60	70
Cutlers	45	60	100
Whitebakers	120	120	60
Waxchandlers	20	20	25
Tallowchandlers	80	60	130
Armourers	10	10	25
Girdlers	70	100	140
Butchers	30	40	50
Saddlers	90	100	80
Carpenters	50	50	80
Cordwainers	70	60	..
Barber-surgeons	50	60	..
Apothecaries	..	60	60
Painter-stainers	11	11	15
Curriers	11	11	15
Masons	25	25	30
Plumbers	20	20	25
Innholders	50	50	60
Founders	15	15	10
Poulterers	20	20	15
Cooks	50	50	4c
Coopers	70	70	70
Tilers and bricklayers	20	20	25
Bowyers	5	5	5
Fletchers	5	5	5
Blacksmiths	16	16	20
Joiners	41	41	30
Weavers	25	25	35
Woolmen	5	5	5
Woodmongers	20	60	80
Scriveners	70	100	80
Fruiterers	16	16	10

[1] *Journals of the Common Council*, xxii, fol. 130.
[2] *Letter Book*, BB, fol. 14.
[3] *Journals of the Common Council*, xxviii, fols. 113 f.
[4] *Ibid.*, xxxviii, fol. 160.

Amounts of Corn (*continued*)

Companies	1587 and 1599	1610	1639
	qrs.	qrs.	qrs.
Plasterers	10	10	10
Brownbakers	30	20	15
Stationers	100	140	100
Embroiderers	33	40	40
Upholsterers	11	11	11
Musicians	5	5	8
Turners	17	17	17
Basketmakers	8	8	8
Glaziers	8	8	8

Companies Ordered to Supply the London Markets with Corn, 25 Feb., 1661–62[1]

Fifty-six companies were ordered to furnish the poor with 101½ quarters of meal each week for ten weeks at 6 s. 8 d. a bushel.

Companies	Amounts			Companies	Amounts		
	qrs.	bushs.	pks.		qrs.	bushs.	pks.
Grocers	9	0	0	Dyers	1	3	0
Mercers	6	4	0	Vintners	5	0	0
Drapers	7	4	0	Leathersellers	2	6	0
Fishmongers	7	0	0	Plumbers	0	2	0
Goldsmiths	7	0	0	Clothworkers	5	4	0
Skinners	4	4	0	Saddlers	1	2	0
Merchant-tailors	10	0	0	Butchers	0	2	2
Haberdashers	8	0	0	Apothecaries	0	3	0
Salters	5	0	0	Weavers	0	3	0
Cutlers	1	0	0	Coopers	0	6	0
Stationers	1	0	0	Masons	0	2	2
Upholsterers	0	1	0	Painters	0	1	0
Plasterers	0	0	2	Curriers	0	1	0
Fruiterers	0	0	2	Poulterers	0	1	0
Founders	0	0	2	Pewterers	0	6	0
Bowyers, Fletchers	0	0	2	Waxchandlers	0	2	0
				Armourers	0	2	0
Tallowchandlers	1	2	0	Carpenters	0	4	0
Musicians, Basketmakers, Glaziers	0	1	0	Embroiderers	0	4	0
				Cooks	0	3	3
				Woolmen	0	0	1
Girdlers	1	2	0	Innholders	0	5	0
Cordwainers	0	6	0	Joiners	0	3	0
Barber-surgeons	0	6	0	Scriveners	0	6	0
Tilers, Bricklayers	0	2	0	Brownbakers	0	1	0
				Turners	0	1	0
Ironmongers	3	4	3	Brewers	1	3	0
Woodmongers	0	7	0	Whitebakers	0	5	0
Blacksmiths	0	2	0				

[1] *Repertory*, lxviii, fols. 61 f.

APPENDIX I

STATISTICS OF CORN PROVISION BY GROCERS AND MERCERS, 1617–74

Mercers' Provision

(Source — MS., Mercers' Hall, Second Warden's Accounts, vols. 1617–29, etc.)

Year	Remaining	Bought	Sold
	qrs.	qrs.	qrs.
1617–18...	20	143	26
1618–19...	131	100	6
1619–20...	223⅛	170	0
1620–21...	393⅝	0	127⅝
1621–22...	259½	0	63
1622–23...	186⅞	180	204¼
1623–24...	162¼	100	8½
1624–25...	220⅜	50	103
1625–26...	152⅞	0	103
1626–27...	43¼	211⅛	3
1627–28...	243	207	0
1628–29...	445	0	3
1629–30...	437	0	216
1630–31...	194⅝	343	411½
1631–32...	120¾	322½	160
1632–33...	276	168¾	235½
1633–34...	186⅞	192⅛	180½
1634–35...	195¼	378¼	342¼
1635–36...	230	300¼	230
1636–37...	294⅛	0	0
1637–38...	293¼	150	210
1638–39...	233	0	0
1639–40...	233	135	0
1640–41...	372	0	0
1641–42...	368¼	506	248½
1642–43...	639	0	0
1643–44...	632¾	0	0
1644–45...	632¾	43¾	0
1645–46...	668⅜	0	0
1646–47...	668⅜	0	0
1647–48...	668⅜	0	250½
1648–49...	427⅛	0	7
1649–50...	419	0	413
1650–51...	6	0	0
1651–52...	6	0	2
1652–53...	4	257	0
1653–54...	261	0	0
1654–55...	261	300	0
1655–56...	561	0	0
1656–57...	561	0	0
1657–58...	561	0	261
1658–59...	300	0	0
1659–66...	Hiatus in accounts.		
1666–73...	60 [1]	0	0
1673–74...	60	0	60
1674–90...	No corn accounts found.		

[1] All that remained of the 100 qrs. at Bridewell, 40 qrs. having been destroyed by "the late fire."

Grocers' Provision

(Source — MS., Grocers' Hall, No. 571, The Booke for the Corne Accompte.)

Year (July–July)	Remaining	Bought	Sold
	qrs.	qrs.	qrs.
1622–23...	0	180	116
1623–24...	13	82	13
1624–25...	82	168	[47½]
1625–26...	102¾	50	132
1626–27...	19	30	5
1627–28...	43	38¼	0
1628–29...	65	0	0
1629–30...	62¾	0	23
1630–31...	38⅝	604⅛	301¾
1631–32...	310⅛	287½	164
1632–33...	277¼	417¼	284
1633–34...	330¾	475¼	345
1634–35...	364⅛	100	159
1635–36...	239⅜	239¾	316
1636–37...	151⅛	0	0
1637–38...	148⅞	183¼	130
1638–39...	198½	91	0
1639–40...	287	61	0
1640–41...	347	0	0
1541–42...	344½	281¾	0
1642–43...	526¼	0	0
1643–44	516¼	93¾	0
1644–45...	609⅞	0	0
1645–46...	609⅞	0	0
1646–47...	609⅞	0	0
1647–48...	608⅞	0	327
1648–49...	205⅜	0	5
1649–50...	200⅜	0	50
1650–51...	146⅞	0	146⅞
1651–52...	0	0	0
1652–53...	0	0	0
1653–54...	0	0	0
1654–55...	0	49½	0

APPENDIX J

"A SPECIALL DIRECTION FOR DIVERS TRADES"

Written apparently by a West Country merchant, in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth.

MS. is in the Record Office — State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. 255, No. 56.

A speciall direction for divers trades of merchaundize to be used for soundrie placis upon adverticemente aswell for the chusinge of the time and wares for every of those placis most Beneficiall for those that use the trade of marchandize.

All the yeare with *Wheate*.[1]

Item for all the parts of Galicia course cloth and Bridgwaters northern halfe clothes & manchester cottons hides cal[f]skines shepeskines dressed brecknocks bristowe frisis and tymbye fryses wexe flaninge and wedmoles of Wales *wheate* Butter chease hyhe cotton fryses of carmarthen in sowthe wales.

Comodities retorned from Hience.

Item the comodities thence ar wynes of Rubadavye and Orenges and Lemons and Tymber and Boordes of chesnutts and wallnuts where of the[re] is greate store and goode cheape espesially in villia viziosa here you must take hede that you gree with the customers for your custome before you land your wares for they will gree with you for two in the hundert otherwyse they will make you paye viii or x in the hondert you must also take hede that you bringe no flaunders wares upon englishe bottomes for yt is defended.

All the winter with wheate [&] with clothe in the somer.

Item for san Jhoande luz in Fraunce all kinds of course wares wexe and tallowe butter and chease wheate Rye and Beanes byskye so that it be brought thither at christmas or shortly after to sarve the newefoundland men also candells shepe skines hides and cal[f]skines Irrishe fryses this porte sarves when we have A Restrainte betweene Spaine and us.

Comodities retorned from thence.

Item the comodities of this countrye is Piche and Rossen to be bowght best cheape and fethers the best in all Fraunce Navarr Ieron white wynes of challose to be Laden against somer here also you must

[1] This rubric and those following are in the margin and in another hand.

agree for your custome before you discharge comonly we paye three in the hundert.

All the sommer for Isse.

Item for nerve and Rye and Revell all kindes of course clothes corrupt wynes & conyskines dressed and undressed Salte some aquavitye: here take hede you trust none of the countrye (with owte) payinge reddye monnye for they ar very false people and will denye bothe the bargaine and the Reseite of your wares yf yowe deliver it withoute monnye.

Comodities from thence.

Item here wee Lade flexe and hempe piche and tarr tallowe and wexe and all kindes of Furrs this place was usid before we had our trade with Sainte Nicholas in Russie but our cables and all our good ropes come from Danskes in pollande and also greate store of *wheate* and *Rye* yf it be skante in england.

This also all the sommer for Isse.

Item for the wardehowse we use a trade of Fyshinge for the wiche you muste [put] in to your shipp good store of salte for every tone of salte will but preserve one thousande of fishe.

Begine not this viadge but after sainte James tide.

Item for the fishinge of the owte Ilandes of skotland you must prepare your Shipp that she maye be redie to be there shortlie After sainte Jamestide for the best fyshinge of code and Linge is at mighellmas you must Lade for every thousand fishe aweye of salte or rather more.

The comodities from hence [are] samon code and Linge.

Item of this trade of the owt Ilands of Scotland and also for the northe of Ireland called Lawgfolie and Lowgfully where the samone fyshinge is/ yow shall sell all sortes of corrupt wynes but you must take hede of the people becawse they ar false and full of trechery therefore you must kepe good wache by night and be upon your owne kepinge.

All the yeare in Smale barckes of Lime.

Item for Roane and murlace and S mallowse Led is well sold fyne white denshire kersies and fyne newberry kerseys and hamshire kersyes fyne clothes of all newe collors stamell Redes and Lustie gallants greate store of Tynne all sortes of sheredes and hornes and northeren halfe clothe so they be fyne and mingled colors.

Comodities retorned from thence.

Item here at murlace and Roane we Lade all our Lynine clothe dewlas Locker and Normandye canvas and all other canvas and all

other smale wares as cordes pines paintes Boltes of blacke threde and a momber [sic] of other smale wares for mercers / this viadge ys to be made in 3 wekes yf winde and wether sarve.

For Levante from michelmas to aprill for feare of gallies.

Item for Levante the best marchaundize is Led very fyne clothes as pewkes Skarletts newberry kersyes and hamshire kersyes hides and calfskynes a small quantitie drye newe Land fyshe pilchars and Red herringe wrought tin in any wyse your clothes must be the fynest you cane gett for they esteme before any velvett or other silkes the most comone frequented places be ligorne mallyorca and mynorca and Barcelona Sivita veipa and venice.

The comodities from thence.

Item frome these places we have oyles of mayorca when we have restraynte with Spayne likewyse all kindes of silkes gawles and cotton muskatells of candye and malmseyes corraunts allem Sipers chests and divers other comodities the fynest earthen dishes called purcelanes.

All the yeare in greate shippes.

Item for Barbary very fyne clothes, sade blewes of xxx li the clothe and the Redd cappes for marriners and all kinde of greate ordinaunce and other artellyrye Ashe timber for Oares Armorr of all sorts but yf the spanyerds take you trading with them you dye for it.

Comodities retorned from thence.

Item owte of this contrye we Lade frome the porte of Santa cruse barbary Sugers bothe fyne and course Salte peter greate aboundance and the Best. also dates melasses and cuete barbary carpetts cotton you must have safe coundight for the gallyes otherwise the trade is dangerous.

All the yeare accordinge to your adverticements.

Item for sowthe spaine called andolozia hides and cal[f]skines fyne white kersyes Redinge kersyes and newberry kersyes led and tyne pipe staves and hoghed staves coper and Bell mettell fyne holland clothe and cambricke there must no course wares be brought hither all kinde of virr planck and masts [and ?] clapborde.

Comodities retorned from thence.

Item owte of this countrye wee have all our wynes called secks and all our wolle oyles and swete oyles and the wynes called teyntes hullocks Resonnes of three or fower sortes greate store of salte quchiniella [?] and anyele of the Indews cordovan skines shewmake and all sowinge silkes of all collors in grayne or otherwyse Sivill sope. the

custome here in sainte Lucars is 2 duckets and halfe in the honderte and in cales yt is 7 and 8 in the hundert.

Wheate all the winter.

Item Lisborne in portingall Butter chese fyne clothes of Bristowe and somersett shire of the price of xx^{tie} marckes the fynest and theyr sortinge of Aeght pounds the clothe and the must these collors sorted tene clothes in a packe to gether. you must have light skye collors to make light grenes very sadd blewes fyne Redes and stamells fyne Azars and fyne yallows Led Led [sic] and tinne hides and cal[f]skines here you must take hede that you make your bargaine with your marchaunte he to paye the custome becawse it is xx^{ti} in the hondert.

Comodities from thence.

Item here hence we Lade some tinnes oyles frome a place called santarene Salte of portingall Sope callicowe clothe all kinde of spices Sinamone cloves masses and nuttmegs peper great aboundance bothe greate and smale yndews cobbard clothes called paintagos and all other Indews wares whate soever that cometh frome the est yndews.

At mighelmas and Easter becaus of the martes.

Item for Bayona in galizia and for the porte of portingall the very same comodities that yowe use for Lisborne saving onlye tymby fryses that be made in sowthe wales bothe blacke and greye lowe cottons brigwaters taunton halfe clothes Bristowe frizes fyne and sortinge manchester cotton halfe northeren clothe *wheate.*

Comodities from thence.

Item owte of this place there is nothinge to Lade but Orrendges lemonns and greate ynnions that be xii or xiiii ynches abowte they use this place to make monnye twyse a yeare at mighellmas and after / and the greatest byers be marchaunts of a towne called the port of portingall theyr custome is 3 in the hundert frome this place they transporte theyr monnyes for lisborne andolozia and the ylands to Lade theyr shippes.

Wheate from alhallontide untill maye.

Item for the yllandes of Sainte mighells and tercera all kinde of course clothe called bridgwaters all sortes of northeren halfe clothes savinge manchester cottons tauntone halfe clothes made in somersett shire frizes of Bristowe and tymbye and Brecknocks of southe wales *wheate* all the wynter untill maye Reding kersyes and a fewe cal[f]-skines here theyr custome is xx^{ti} in the hondert as far as I cane remember here you shall sell nothinge for reddy monnye but yowe must trucke your wares for grene woade.

Comodities from thence.

Item in all the Ilandes there is no other marchandize to Lade but grene woade where of here is greate aboundaunce some allem of the ylande and Sydar chestes like wyse pikero and Lancerota and viall theyr trade standes upon woade and the same englishe comodities that sarvethe for the one sarveth for the other.

All the Sommer for Sugars and Wines.

Item for the Ilandes of the canaryas and matheras drye newland-fishe pilchars of englande and pilchars of galicia led and Red herrings all kindes of course clothe onlye excepted manchester cottons as yow use to bringe to the Ilandes of the Assores these Ilandes muste be used all the somer for in the wynter the stormes ar so greate that there [are] no harbors for shippinge.

All the Sommer for Sugars and Wines.

Item here we use to Lade mathero wynes called whit malmseyes and Bethonyas, and wynes of the canaryes but the matheros in the more milder wyne and this yland called the matherose we Lade the Best Sugars and the fynest made and refyned in the Iland their cowstome is a[s] muche as it is in the other Ilands.

All the Sommer for avoidinge of Isse.

Item for Sainte nicholas in Russye all wynes that is corrupte and Refues wynes of spaine fraunce and of the ylands and all swete wines that ar corrupt with the wiche they use to by manye tones of sidar puting in to yt three or fower gallons of Bastard they will also be sold for wynes salte is here good marchaundize and our course suffe clothes.

Comodities from thence.

Item from this countrye we Lade the greatest Quantatye of wexe becawse they have greate aboundaunce so muche as they ar able to sarve england and Flaunders and greate store of stages skines and skines and hides of Buffano the best in christendom and the greatest Quantitie all sortes of Riche furres.

All the yeare accordinge to your adverticements.

Item for Bilbao in Biskaye hides and cal[f]skines in greate boundance be here dispached and Somersetshire clothes of a toune called Sheptone mallet who clothe with the wolles of the Isle of wight in every tenne clothes you muste have II light popengaye grenes II light violetts II light skye collers II azars and II Blewes and some fyne stamell Redds in grayene Bridgwaters and tanton halfe clothes led and tinne the like for Saint sabastians in Byskaye. savinge the clothes must be

sad grenes sadd violetts sadd blewes theyr lists kept blewe. all these muste be fyne clothes fyne lustye gallants and fyne stamell reds.

Comodities from thence.

Item frome twoe portes we Lade Ierone of the best sorte in all spayne whale oyles that come from newfound Land piche and Rossome fyne Serches. Bugg of Tolosa in navar and Rendrye Ierone and navar Ierone greate store of Lickerische crosbowes sworde Blades frome hence we convey all our monnyes bothe silver and gold in to Fraunce for the Lading of our shippes in Burdeous for the wiche we Rone graete and dangerows adventures theyr customes is called a alcavala that is x in the hondert then they have sixe in the hondert.

At mighelmas and Easter because of the two free faires.

Item for Burdows in gaskonie blacke Bristowe frizes and medleye fryses some fyne and some sortinge that ar to be bought for 30 shillings a peace and the fyne at seven nobles also led and manchester cottons and some of your courser sort of Bristowe clothes but for this place you muste devise to have all the newe collars that you cane fynde in england for those ar sonnest monnye. all sorts of cast Ierone peases but here dowtting that they shall not sell there fore our marchaunts transporte greate store of our englishe gold over frenche gold and portingall gold and spaineshe gold of best and those that be weight.

Comodities from thence.

Item frome thes place we Lade all our right gaskone wynes white clarett and Redd and tallowse woade yf you will by 100 Balletts of woad together they will assewre it to be good but yf you by under you shall bye it at your owne adventure here also we by smale pruens and damaske pruens and fethers and divers other comodities and for the bennefyt of the marchaunts you have II fayers in the yeare that yowe be free of all custome bothe inwardes and owtwardes the one beginethe in marche and the other in October.

All the yeare in greate shippes for feare of piratts.

Item for the trade of Rochell all englyshe comodities as ledd tinne hides cal[f]skines tallowe clothe fyne and course salte Irrishe hides bristow frizes and tymbye fryses any kinde of victualls *wheat* only except becawse they have greate store of theyr owne. here you maye sell all sorts of greate and smale ordinance. all sortes of newe collored clothes.

Comodities from thence.

Item here you shall bye greate store of salte poldavize piche and tarr divers other kinde of marchaundize for here all the pirats of

Fraunce doe discharge here you shall have manye thinges of the Indews of portingall Better cheape then in portingall but you muste take hede yowe goe thether in a good shippe or ells yowe ar like to be Robbed by the waye ether outwards or homewardes.

Also withe greate shipps.

Item for the trade of the west Indews belonginge to spaine all these wares Followinge ar very good. oyles ar very well sold expecially swete oyle lookinge glasses of christall and others. knyfes of all sortes very well sold taylors sheres and Sissars for barbors linine clothe of divers sort dowlas Lockerame hollandes. some Quantitie of wyne but yt must be singular good. also pines pointes and suche other like smale wares. he that goethe one this viadge muste be very carefull of their olde Ennemyes the spainerds otherwyse they maye be taken upon assudaine.

Comodities from thence.

Item from this countrye is greate Riches to be had of gold and Silver and very Riche pearells very Orient and very Bigg withal here the spanyerdes have a myntehowse called the castell of mexico where they stampp all the rialls of plate of the pillars wiche is the fynest silver of all and here they stampp all their silver that is Refyned in to barrs where with they knowe it is parfett good and of the best sorte. the rialls of plate that is Quened at mexico *I have sene in spaine* the popes factors for the collection of his monye in that kingdome they will give one or twoe in the houndert to chainge the other rialls of plate for these.

This viadge also muste be used withe greate shippe.

Also for the trade of Brasile most of the wares that sarvethe for the West Indews will sarve there and also some of our course clothes we maye sell here in trucke of Course sugers and mellasos and kute that we us[e] in england and flaunders for divers purposes: here you have the best Brasill and blocke wood otherwyse called campeche.

Comodities from thence.

Item in this countrie we Lade homwardes sugars melasses and cutes and Brasill and blockewood wiche we use in england for some of our collors but this blocke wood makethe a very desietfull vadinge collor and therefore not estemed and is almost fallen owt of request.

This places of the weste of Irland for seckes and gasconie wines.

Item yf yowe will trade the west partes of Ireland your best comodyties is Secks of andolozia and Gaskone wines alitell woade som Allem but not greate Quantitie. some rawe silke of divers collers and some

Brasill but of wynes you shall dispache greate store and they will complye their bargaines very well and ar men of more Sivillitie then those of the northe parts.

Comodities from thence.

Item for hence we lade in our shippinge greate store of Salte hides tallowe Salte Beffe in hogheds. Irishe coverletts mantells and greate store of Irishe frises bothe highe cottons and lowe cottons linine yarone and heringe and Salte samon when time of the yeare sarveth all wich we transporte ether to Rochell or newhaven and Roane and some times in to Flaunders.

The abuses of the frenche spanierd and skotte.

Item in this trade of Ireland the Frenche spanierde and skott usithe greate villanye for in time of peace they furnishe all those countryes and people that is ylle affected towards her ma[jes]tie / they furnishe them wythe calivers powder and shotte wiche they sell for the said salt hide they also farnishe them with matche or any thinge ells that is nedefull for the warrs / wiche your honor maye nowe prevent cawsing the Serchers there to serche every shipp that shall there arive putting a forfeyture upon the shipp and goods.

In these placis it is most nedefull to have always a gally.

And here yf I might specke my knowledge under corection I would all wayes have her ma[jes]tie to maynteyne a gallye in the northe partes of Ireland for the stoppinge of the intercorse of the Scotts wiche would be furnished in short time with the condempned men in england and Ireland with the wiche you shall kepe those parts quyett.

The hole trade of the marchaunts standith upon diligent advertice-ment.

Item take this for agennerall Rule in all kinde of marchaundize that yt is not sufficient for yow to knowe all this unles you allwayes doe procuer to have adverticements owt of all placis (otherwyse) you maye be prevented by other men ether before or After And commonlye there can be nothinge well sold when you shalbe bounde to Lade the same shipp barcke againe within xxv or thirttie dayes therefore when you thincke to gaine your lose therefore adverticement is good and the principall thinge that belongethe to A merchaumte.

The trade sarvethe to this place all the yeare.

Item for our trade to Flaunders Hemden and Hamborghe the marchaunt adventurers Lade our woolles and clothes unwroght in greate aboundaunce because theyr woolles beinge of so course a staple that

it will not come in threde unles they mingle our woolles with all / also greate store of our *englishe bere* is here uttered bothe in time of peace and warrs frome hence we use to Lade all kinde of smale wares for grocers and greate store of hopes holland clothe all other wares made of coper and brasse and many other thinges.

This viadge muste be used from mighelmas untill Easter for fere of the more gallies.

The marchandize that they transporte for trypola Isurria that is most usuall is Newberry and Redinge kersyes of all sorts and all collors. also they use some very fyne clothes of highe prises of fortie or fyftie poundes the clothe very muche tyne wroght and unwroght some Ledd wiche they sell by the waye in many portes.

The comodities from thence.

Item the comodities that they bringe from tripola Isurria they use to Lade there greate store of corraunts good store of gales and very muche cottons wiche we call in england boumbaste also swheete oyle of grece and divers other thinges.

The prises of all the spannishe wares comonlie used to be Laden.

	li.	s.	d.
Woode the houndrethe		13	4
Ierone the tone	12		
Fethers the hondert	1	8	
Oyle the tone	28		
Traine the tone	14		
Rendrye Ierone the ton	10		
Wett newland fishe the C	1		
Drye fishe the honderte	0	10	
Lyver traine of fishe the ton	9		
Romishe allem the C	1	8	
Shewmake the C		13	
Gaskone wynes the tone	12		
Nants wynes the tone	11		
Rochell wynes the ton	8		
Prwens the honderte		14	
Tollows woode the ballett	2	13	4
Polldavis the peace	2	3	
Salt the tone	1	10	
Spanishe salte	2		
White sope the hondert	2	13	4
Lickerishe the houndert	0	13	4
Tollosa bugge the dossen	0	6	
Serches of Byskey the pese	0	2	6
Pepper the hondert	14		
Sugar the hondert	13	8	

	li.	s.
Kwchaniella the houndert	74	13
Mases the hondert	60	
Cloves the hondert	44	16
Nuttmedge the hondert	44	16
Sinnamone the hondert	30	
Ginger the hondert	18	13

The prises of all the englishe wares comonlie used to be Laden owte of england.

	li.	s.	d.
Bristowe sortinge clothes the peace	9		
Fyne clothes the peace	13		
Bridgwaters the peace	2		
Manchester cottons the skore	18		
Course northeren dossen	1	6	
Fyne northeren dossens the pece	3		
Brecknocks the peace	2	6	
Tymbye frisses the peace	2		
Highe cottone Frises the peace	1	18	
Ledd the tone	8	10	
Tyne the hondert weight	3		
Tyne wrought the pounde	0	0	10
Butter the barrell	2		
The kinderkine of Butter	1		
The *weye of wheate*	4	13	
Bell mettell the hondrett	1	8	
Tallowe the hondert	1	6	8
Tawnton halfe clothes the pese	9	10	
Devonshire kersye the coursses[t]	1	10	
White cottons the pease	1		
Pilchars the hoghed	1		
Drye hake the hondert	1	10	
Candells the hondert weight	1	6	8
Irrishe frise the hondert yardes	4		
Pipe staves the thowsande	2	5	
Hoghed staves the thowsande	1	6	8
Caste Ierone peaces the C	0	14	
Wexe the hondreth weight	5		
Lists the hondreth yards	0	8	4
A kinde of white Lininge of 1 dossen yardes the pease	1	10	
Smythe coles the ton	0	6	

Item these and all other wares doe Ripe and fall accordinge to the time as for example Salte beinge worthe but 1 li 10 s the tone and fortye shillings continually is nowe worthe sixe pounds the ton and so yt is with all other merchaundize.

	li.	s.	d.
Item lingavitye the C	2	6	8
Item ginger the C	4	10	
Item hides of sant domingos			
Item Rubyes of the indews as they be of bignes their prices highe or lowe			
Item saxifrage the C	45		

Some times fower times as muche.

And because that wieght and mesure doth differ in manye realmes and in manye places of one realme the first thinge that a marchante or factor dowth after his cominge to any towne of trade to informe hime sealfe of their weights and mesures and so like wise of the cowstoms and all other dewties or wether the same is to be charged upon the byer or the seller aswell owtuards as inwards this being done he may rise or fall his price accordinglye and so [?] many inconveniences wiche the unskillfull fall in to and afterwards cane remedye with all you muste take hede of Bringinge to a straunge countrye the thinge that is prohibited and circimspectly deale with suche things as are prohibited to carye owte for by this manye are undone by the officir called the Judge of . . . [1]

[1] The manuscript is here cut off close.

APPENDIX K

PREFACE TO THE BOOK OF RATES, 1608

The source is a printed volume in the London customs house, "The Rates of Marchandizes," pp. 1–21.

James by the Grace of God, King . . . To our right trustie and right well beloved Cosin and Councellor, Robert Earle of Salisburie, our High Treasurer of England: Greeting.

Whereas by our Letters Patents under our great Seale of England, directed unto you, bearing date the eight and twentieth day of July, in the sixth yere of our Raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the one and fortieth, for the causes and considerations in the said Letters Patents expressed, and for divers other good causes to us and our Counsell well knowne: We did for us, our heires and successors, appoint, ordaine, and command, that from and after the nine and twentieth day of September then next ensuing after the date of the said Letters Patents, there should be levied, taken, and received, by way of Imposition then newly set, over and besides the Customes, Subsidies, and other duties formerly due and payable unto us, upon all Marchandizes of whatsoever kinde, nature or qualitie, which from and after the said nine and twentieth day of September, should either be brought from any parts beyond the Seas into this our Realme of England, dominion of Wales, and Port or towne of Barwick; or into any of them, or which should be transported and carried forth of this our Realme of England, dominion of Wales, and Towne or Port of Barwick, or out of any of them to any forraigne parts, by any person or persons whatsoever, as well our naturall borne Subiects, as Denizons and Strangers, equally so much for the said new Imposition, as had been formerly answered and paid unto us, for Subsidie of the said Marchandizes, and neither more nor lesse, excepting such Marchandizes onely, as in a Scedule annexed unto the said Letters Patents, were either to be altogether free from paiment of any of the said new Impositions, or else were appointed to pay the same in such other proportions, as in the said Scedule was expressed.

And although we had such great care and respect in the laying of the said Impositions, to avoid the least inconvenience that might thereby arise to our people or Subiects: as that we not onely directed divers of our Counsell to conferre with the principall Marchants of

our Kingdome, for the more orderly laying and levying of the same, but also gave speciall charge and commandement to exempt and forbeare all such Marchandizes Inwards, as were either requisite for the foode and sustenance of our people (as Wheate, Rye, Barley, Mault, Oates, Beanes, Pease, Butter, Cheese, Lings, Codfish, Colfish, Herrings, Sprots, Hadocks, Newlandfish, all sorts of Salts, and all sorts of fowles) or which concerne matter of Munition necessarie for the defence and maintenance of our Kingdomes (as Cables, Halsers, and all sorts of Cordage, Masts, Oares, Pitch, Tarre, Traine oyle, Pipeboards, Barrell-boards, Bow-staves Pikes, Halberds, Muskets, Callivers, Corslets, Curats, Head-pieces, Murrians, Harnesse plates, Flaskes Touch-boxes, Match, Gunpowder, Saltpeter, Horses and Mares) or such as were passable commodities, which serve for maintenance of trade and Navigation, being Marchandizes not usually vented and spent within the Kingdome, but brought in with purpose to be transported out againe (as Wax, Caviare, Muscovie hides, and Tallow, Barbarie hides, Guinia and India hides, and Goate skinnes) or such Marchandizes as serve for the setting the people of our kingdome on worke (as Cotton wooll, Cotton yearne, raw Silke, and rough Hempe) or such as serve for the inriching of our Kingdome (as Gold and Silver in bullion or plate, and all sorts of Jewels and Pearles) or such Marchandizes as were overvalued in our booke of Rates for Subsidie (as Levant Taffaties, China Taffaties, China Sattens, Gold and Silver threed, Bustians, Brizell Ticks, unwatred Chamblets, Dozen Corke, Bomespars, Cantspars, Capravens, Barlings, Firpoles, Firbaulkes, Nest-boxes, blacke Conyskinnes, Haire-buttons, greene Copperas, Oker and read earth).

Yet notwithstanding all our said care, (by reason of the generall and large extent of some words in our said Letters Patents) some commodities were made liable to the said Impositions, which were found to be very inconvenient and burthensome; in regard whereof, divers of our Subiects became petitioners, to have them freed from paiment of the said Impositions. Now to the end that it may appeare how readie wee have been, and ever will be, not onely to hearken to the complaints of our loving Subiects, but also to give them such satisfaction, as shall be answerable to their reasonable and just requests: We have therefore by sundry of our privie Seales heretofore directed unto you, not only abated the Impositions upon divers commodities imported (which were thought to be charged over high) (as Vitterie, Canvas, Muscavados suger, and all sorts of Reisins;) but also cheerely

acquited and freed divers other commodities both imported and exported, (which were thought unfit to be charged,) from paiment of any manner of the Impositions, which by our said Letters Patents were laid upon them; as all sorts of Deale-boards, Clapboards, rough Flax, Rice, Iron, Irish yearne, and Geneva Velvets, (being Marchandizes imported) And likewise all sorts of graine, (when it may lawfully be transported) and all the Manufactures of this Kingdome, (excepting only Bayes and Pewter) being Marchandizes exported. And although we have thus farre given way unto their desires, and yeelded to their request; yet some of those whom reason cannot satisfie, are apt to continue their complaints for further favour and ease in this matter. That it may further appeare that none shall be more readie to discover any inconvenience then we will be to reforme it, or to make any humble or honest complaint then wee to heare and ease them; wee are pleased, and doe by these presents for us, our heires and successors, will and command, that from and after the feast of S. Michael the Archangel now next ensuing the date hereof, no manner of Impositions shall be required or paid by force of the Letters Patents before mentioned, upon any Marchandizes which shall be shipped and transported out of this our Kingdome, of what kind or nature soever, excepting only upon Bayes, Lead, Tinne and Pewter: and of Bayes also, we have (by our privie Seale alreadie directed unto you) given order that the single Bayes of Barstable in our Countie of Devon, shall be likewise freed from paiment of any Impost, and so our pleasure is they shall stand. But concerning the Marchandizes which are brought into this our Kingdome, for asmuch as they are of divers kinds and natures, some being manufactures of other nations, which if they were brought in unwrought in their simple materials, the people of our Kingdome might thereby be set on worke; others being such Marchandizes as are rather tending to superfluitie, then for the necessarie use of our Subiects, or any waies for the inriching of our Kingdomes: and others are so much undervalued in our Rates for Subsidie, as we are thereby much shortned of that which is due unto us by our lawes: Therefore although we have been pleased to acquit and free all the aforementioned commodies Inwards and Outwards, as aforesaid: and are now also further resolved to abate and lessen the Impositions of some commodities, and to acquit and free divers other commodities Inwards; yet are we neither so improvident of the good estate of our Subiects, nor so insensible of our owne losse, as to free all the commodities of these kindes and

natures from paiment of the Impositions alreadie yet and imposed upon them. For, if it be agreeable to the rule of nature to preferre our oune people before strangers, then it is much more reasonable that the manufactures of other nations should bee charged with Impositions, then that the people of our oune Kingdome should not be set on worke, and that vaine, unprofitable and unnecessarie Marchandizes should by Impositions be kept out of our Kingdome, then that the good, substantiall and staple commodities of our owne nation should bee given for them, whereby our people are much deceived, and our Countrey more impoverished. And concerning the Marchandizes undervalued (of which kinde are the most of them that shall remaine charged) it likewise behoves us (in regard of our necessities and great occasions) to take care that we be not overmuch wronged of that which is our due.

Therefore our will and pleasure is, and we doe by these presents give authoritie and power, and also charge and command you, that forthwith upon the receipt hereof you give order, direction and commandement, that our booke of Rates for our Customes, Subsidies and Impositions be presently reprinted: And that in the said booke of Rates Inwards, these Marchandizes here expressed doe still remaine and stand charged with the Impositions, which by our aforesaid Letters Patents were set upon them, viz. Cloth of Gold and Silver, Cloth of Tissue, Sattens, Taffaties, Velvets, Sarcenets, Coffaes, Callimancoes, Catalophaes, Chamblets, Grograines, Damaske, Silke Curles, Tabines, Sipers, Fustians, Boratoes Bumbasins, Buffins, Mocadoes, Miscelanes, Perpetuanos, Botanos, Rashes, Sayes, Arras, Tapestrie, Beaver-hats, Silke-stockings, and all sorts of sowing Silkes, Cambricks, Lawnes, Damaske, Diaper, Holland-Cloth, Brabant cloth, Flemish cloth, Freeze cloth, Gentish cloth, Isingham cloth, Hambro cloth, broad Sletia cloth, Canvas stript with threed, silke and copper: Cloves, Mace, Ginger, Nutmegs, Pepper, Sinamon, Almonds, Dates, Currants, Figs, Pannelles, S. Thomas Sugar, Sugar Candie, Succads, Pasta Ieane, Licoris, Olives, Oringes and Limons, Castle and Venis Soope, Soape ashes, Rape and Linseed oile of France and the Low Countries, Sallet and Turkie Oile, Shumack, Cuchanele, Cullen and Steele hemp, drest Flax, Beaver skins, Kid skinnes, red hides, Feathers for beds, Candleweeke, Milstones, Spruce yearne, Sturgeon, Vineger, Wainskots, Copper, Battarie, blacke and shaven Latten, blacke and white plates, Steele, Frying and dripping pans, Were of all sorts, Pins, Crystall looking Glasses, Caddas Ribeu, Mocadoe ends, Incle, Threed

of all sorts, (except Sisters threed) Brunswick and Norembrow Carpets, Turnall Tikes, browne and cap Paper, Royall and demie Paper, Onion-seed, Agarick, Aloes succotrina, Beniamin, Bezoar stone, Ireos, Casia fistula, Mastick white, Opidum, Sarsaperilla, Scamonie, Turmerick, Vermilion, Wormeseed, Hawkes, Estrige feathers, playing Cards, Tobacco, and all the Wines charged in the said Letters Patents which shall be brought into the Port of London, and all forraigne manufactures, not rated in our said booke of Rates, made of linnen, woollen, threed, and silke mixed, or any of them.

And that these Marchandizes Outwards, viz. Lead, Tinne, Pewter and Bayes (other than the single Bayes of Barnstaple aforesaid) doe likewise stand and remaine charged in our said booke of Rates with the Impositions, which by our aforesaid Letters Patents were set upon them.

And our will and pleasure further is, and we do by these presents charge and command that these Marchandizes hereafter expressed, shall stand charged (in our said booke of Rates) to pay the Impositions (by way of poundage) according to their severall rates and values here expressed, and not after, nor according to such rates as by our aforesaid Letters Patents were set upon them, viz Aneile of Barbary after the rate of nine pence the pound, Anisseeds the hundred waight twentie shillings, . . . Musconado Sugars the hundred waight fiftie shillings.

And touching al other Marchandizes of whatsoever kinde, nature or qualitie both Inwards and Outwards, which in these presents are not nominated and expressed to stand and remaine charged; Our will and pleasure is, and for us, our heires and successors, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, we do by these presents will and command, that the same and every of them shall for ever stand and be altogether acquit, freed and discharged from paiment of any manner of the Impositions which by our aforesaid Letters Patents were set and laid upon them, and from paiment of any other duty then was formerly due upon the same Marchandizes, before the first laying and levying of the said Impositions. . . .

And for the better maintenance of Trade and Commerce in all forraigne Commodities, we are further pleased, that every Marchant naturally borne subiect, Denizon or Stranger, which shall shippe and transport to the parts beyond the Seas, either by Cocquet as Marchandizes paying the Subsidie, or by Certificate as Marchandizes freed from paiment of Subsidie, by vertue of our Letters of Privie Seale,

bearing date the foure and twentieth day of September, in the second yeere of our raigne of England . . . any forraigne Commodities, which have formerly bin brought into our Realme and Dominions, and the Impost set and due for the same, being first paied and answered Inwardes, either by himselfe, or any other Marchant, he shall have repaid unto him by the Collector of the said Impost Inwards, al such summe and summes of money, as were formerly paied for the Impost of the said Marchandizes, at or before the first landing of the same, upon due proofe first made, by the said Marchant by himselfe or others, both of the true paiment of the said Imposts Inwards, and also of the true shipping and transporting of the said Marchandizes Outwards:

And whereas an Impost of tenne shillings of lawfull money of England was heretofore by other our Letters Patents under our great seale of England, bearing date the first day of July in the sixth yeere of our Raigne of England, . . . by us commanded to be levied upon every hundred waight of Logwood, Blackwood, Campechia wood, S. Martins wood, French Brasill, and all other such like false and deceivable dying woods, by which our Letters Patents wee did in no sort tolerate the bringing in or use of any of the said woods within our kingdome, nor dispense with any of the penalties which the lawes of this Realme did and doe inflict upon such persons as bring in or use the same: but only in regard that the said lawes were not put in due execution, did intend by levying of the said Impost, so much the better to suppresse and hinder both the bringing in and use thereof within this Realme in such great abundance, as had been formerly and then was accustomed. For so much as we are informed that by the over great and plentifull use of the said woods in dying, the Cloathes and other woollen Commodities and Manufactures of this Realme, are disgraced in forraigne parts, and that our people and subiects at home may be much hindred and deceived in the use and wearing of the said Cloathes and wollen Commodities, by reason of the false dyes and deceivable colours set upon the same. . . . from and after the said feast of S. Michael the Archangel next ensuing, all our said Letters Patents, given and granted for the levying of the said Imposition of tenne shillings upon everie hundred waight of the said deceivable dying woods, aforenamed, shall bee by vertue hereof revoked and recalled, and the said Imposition formerly set upon the same wholly and absolutely released and taken away: and also that you our said Treasurer doe cause present orders to be taken with all and singular the Officers of all and every the Ports of this kingdome, and the Farmers of our

Customes within the same, that none of them . . . presume to take or make entrie or entries of any of the said false and deceiveable dying woods in any of their Custome bookes, or otherwise, suffer the same woods, or any of them to be laid on land,

And for the better incouragement of Marchants in their trades of marchandizing, we are farther pleased that every Marchant, whether he be naturall borne subiect, Denizon or Stranger, that shall enter any Marchandizes Inwards in any our Ports whatsoever, shall have allowed unto him in his said entrie all such allowance and allowances of five in the hundred, or otherwise, in the said Impositions, as have bin formerly made and allowed by the Farmers of our Customes and Subsidies in our Port of London, and as in a Table of Fees hanging in the Custome house of the said Port shal be expressed. And we are also further pleased, that all such fees and duties as have been and now are by the Marchants paid unto our Officers, shall still be continued unto them. . . . Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the fifth day of September, in the eighth yeere of our Raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the four and fortieth.

APPENDIX L

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS, 1482–1650

Royal Proclamation Concerning the Scarcity of Wheat and Other Grains, 21 November, 1482 [1]

[The king] Consideryng the grete scarsitee and *Darth of Corne* within his saide Realme by his oppen proclamacons in all the Shires of the same of late strectly charged and commannded that *no manner of man Whatsoever he were shuld carye or make to be caried any Whete or other graynes oute of his said Realme* uppon certeyn paynes in the same proclamacons limited and expressed. Neverthelesse his highness consideryng the grete scarsitee of Whete and other graynes within his Citee of london Where is the Concourse and Repaire of the Nobles and other his true liege men and Subgetts of this his Realme of England And also of Straungers of diverse other londs. Wille and graunteth that all his Subgettes Whatsoever thei be shall mowe bye and provide and be at libertie to brynge to the Citee aforesaid Whete malt Rie benes peses and otes and all other manner graynes for vitaillyng of the same Citee in all the Shires of this his Realme of England And the graynes so purveied and bought unto the saide Citee of london and to none other place aswell by londe as by See and fressh watir sende lede carye or make to be sent ledd or caried without takyng of the same graynes or any parcell thereof by his purviours or takers for his moste honorable household or for any other cause whatsoever it be or any empediment trouble arrest vexacion or grief of his Subgetts any Acte Restreynt proclamacon or Commandement to the contrary made notwithstandyng provided alway that every of our said soveraign lords Subgetts Which shall bryng any Whete Rie Malt or other graynes aforereherced unto the said Citee of london by See oute of this his Countie of Sussex shippe or do to be shipped the same Whete or other graynes in the ports of Wynchelsee and Chechester and in none other place of this Countie Findyng to the Customers there Suertie by Endenture testifiyng the quantite of the said graynes and what thei be. And that thei shall brynge carye and convey the same graynes to the said Citee of london And to none other place. Of which Indenture one part shall Remayne with the Customers in the said Ports of Wynchelsee and chechester and the other part to be delyvered And Abide with the Customers in the port of our said Citee of london.

[1] MS., Guildhall, *Letter Book*, vol. L, fols. 181–182.

[Similar instructions to:
Cornwall and ports of Plymouth and Fowey.
Devon and ports of Dartmouth and Exmouth.
Hampshire and port of Southampton.
Somerset and Dorset and ports of Poole and Weymouth.
Kent and port of Sandwich.
Norfolk & Suffolk.
Lincolnshire and port of Boston.
Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.
Hertfordshire.
Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire.
Oxfordshire and Berkshire.
Essex.]

Articles Providing for the Restraint of Grain, 15 October, 1556[1]

Artykles drawen owte of the Quenes majesties letters concernyng the restraynte of grayne.

(1) In primis that the Justycs of the peace and the Shyre to assemble themselvs togyther.

(2) Item to alotte your selfs in to dyverse lymytts of the Shire.

(3) Item to repaire to all persons fermours and others as have Corne within the Shire and to vieu and pervise all ther barnes and stakks of Corne and to take perfight noote and partyculer declaracion of the same in wrytyng.

(4) Item to considre howe moche corne remaynyng in iche persons hands may be sufficient aswelle for his seede corne as for the mayntenennce of his howse.

(5) Item to gyve commaundment in the king and quenes majesties name that the residue of the corne remayning in every of ther hands over and above ther porcyon that shalbe thought fytt to be allowed for ther owne use be by them from tyme to tyme sent to merkett in soche quantyteis as havyng regard to ther hole porcyon maye serve to furnyshe the marketts from tyme to tyme thorought out the yere.

(6) Item that two of the Justics or on at the lest be at the merkett Toune within his lymyt every markett daye.

(7) Item if any of the Justics have any fermes in ther hands that the vyeu and ordre shalbe taken of ther corne by the rest of the Justycs as it is of others.

[1] MS., Br. M., Stowe, 152, fol. 21.

(8) Item if they fynde any lett for the going thorough of the king and quenes majesties determynacion to advertyse ther majesties or the pryvie counsell of the same.

(9) Item to have a vigilant Eye to the customers comptrollers and the Serchers of the Shire that they permyt no corne to be transported out of the realme.

(10) Item if any fault be founde in any of the said customers comptrollers and Serchers to advertyse the lords of the King and quenes majesties moste honorable pryvie counsell thereof.

"A Precept for the Provision of Corne," 14 February, 1565–66[1]

Forasmuch as we at this presente beinge very carefull and myndeful accordinge to our dewties to provide in tyme convenyent for the commen weale comoditie and profitt . . . and considering also the greate and excessive prices of wheate and of all other Kindes & sorts of corne & grayne mete and necessary for mannes sustenaunce whiche of late hath bene sene and felt and willinge therefore to eschewe the daunger & perill throughe the gredy averousnes and covetous myndes of the people owners and possessors of the same grayne that haply within short tyme might ensue have thought good and expedyent for the avoidinge and eschewinge of such perills and inconvenience as might ensue by the occasions above recyted to take upe and make with all convenyent spede of the companies and fellowshipps of the said Cytty a verrey good and substanciall masse & some of money to provide and buy Corne withall aswell beyonde the Seas as on this side (yf nede shalbe for thuse and commen provision of the said Cittye) towardes the payment and makinge upe of which masse and some of money, We have assessed and taxed your said companye, etc.[2]

Letters of the Privy Council sent into the Counties of Hants, Norfolk, Essex, Suffolk, Kent, Lincoln, York, and Sussex for the Provision of Wheat for London, 27 September, 1573[3]

The Cytie of London havinge bene accustomed to make provision of corne especiallye of wheate, that the multitude of people resortinge thyther, shoulde not lack bread, hath requyred at this tyme the ayde

[1] *Letter Book*, vol. V, fol. 16b.

[2] See above, pp. 421–422.

[3] *Letter Book*, vol. X, fols. 242–243.

of our letters in their factors, that they might buy of reasonable pryces, and in cuntreys lyenge nere the sea syde, for the better transportacon to the Cytie, because the Cuntrey aboute them dothe not bringe corne to the market, there, in suche plentye as they were wonte, and as will suffise the Cytie, We thinckinge their request reasonable, have thought good to require you [local officials] to ayde them.

[Prices are not to be raised and there is to be no exportation abroad.]

[There must] be no disturbance or hynderance to her Majesties people of that shyre, whereby any just grudge, defalt, or dearth of corne, may follow there, or any collusion or deceipt used under the Cullor therof.

The Articles of 23 March, 1573–74[1]

Articles to be answered by the Lord Maior of the cytie of london & his brethren.

(1) First what grayne have you of the provision of the Citie or brought of all sorts & what quantitie of every sorte & in what garners & where is the same bestowed.

(2) What quantitie will your Garneres kepe.

(3) What Quantitie hath bene usually for the most parte kepte in your Garneres.

(4) What provision of Corne have you made synce mychaellmas & from whence have you made the said provision & when do you expecte the Arryvall thereof at the Citie.

(5) What severall prices have you paied for the said Corne particulerlie in every place & severally of every sorte & in what shyres within this realme & from whence out of this Realme is the same bought.

(6) What quantitie of your provision is spent & what quantitie is to come.

(7) What mediam have you made of the price of the severall sorte of the said corne & what assise have you sett to the bakers & brewers in that behalf howe doth the Assise that nowe is in the moneth of marche vary from that which was in decembre or January.

(8) What Quantitie of breadcorne for bread & of malte for drink is weekly spent in the terme tymes & out of the terme tymes.

(9) What nombre of Corn bakers & brewers are in the Citie & howe many of them have Any store of there owne.

(10) To understand from suche as keepe comon ovens howe muche weekely is baked by pryvate persons of their own provisions.

[1] *Repertory*, vol. xviii, fols. 182b–186a. Cf. *Letter Book*, vol. X, fols. 289 f.

(11) That the maior do declare what entension they have hereafter to amende this error in lack of provision of breadcorne.

(12) That it be enquyred what quantitie of breadcorne & meale hath come to the citie synce michaellmas howe muche by lande and howe moche by water howe moche of the Cities provision & how moche by others.

Thanswere of the L. Maior & his brethren unto tharticles delivered by your honors.

(1) We say for Answere that in the bridgehouse there is nowe in wheate 1212 quarters in Rye 231 quarters in barley 521 quarters in otes 10 quarters in malt 6 quarters in toto — 2034 quarters.

In the white bakers hands in wheate & meale in there houses 2174 quarters.

In the brown bakers hands in mestelyn 251 quarters.

In the brewers hands in malt & drink corne 3519 quarters & in wheate 148 quarters.

(2) We say there is the bridge house which will kepe the Corne beinge dry & perfecte 6000 quarters & beinge not perfectlye Inned skant 4000 quarters. Also bridwell aptely may kepe 2000 quarters in toto.

(3) We saw there hath bene kept comenlie in the garneres of bridghous of the Cities provision some yeres 1200 & some yeres 1500 quarters and at this whitsontide last past there was in provision there 1500 quarters which was converted into meale to serve and furnyshe the markets.

(4) We say we have made provision of all sorts of grayn synce michaelmas last 2903 quarters aswell the place where the same was made & bought as the severall kinds of grayne by the masters of the bridghouse his booke reddy to be shewed at large dothe appere of which some there is yet to come not received 869 quarters the Aryvall wherof we dailie expecte four and above 500 quarters of wheat provided & paied for in the countie of Sussex & there remayneth the transportacon whereof we are denyed.

More the whyte bakers have bought & provided synce michaelmas last 31861 quarters of wheate whereof spente 28600 now Remaynynge in the hands 2174 & more they have to receive which they have bargayned for 1087 quarters.

More the brown bakers have bought & provided synce michaelmas last of mastlyn 2637 quarters whereof spent 2262 quarters remayninge in there garneres 251 quarters more they have to receyve which they have bargayned for 124 quarters.

More the poor housholders have baked in their comon ovens synce mychaelmas last 7956 quarters.

More synce michaelmas last spent by the cooke & bought in the meale markets 416 quarter.

More synce michaelmas last bought & provided by the brewers 62548 quarters of all sorts of grayne whereof spent in brewinge synce michaelmas last in malt 52000 quarters more in wheate to brewe stronge beare 5200 quarters remayninge in there garneres of malt 3519 quarters bargayned for to be rec[eived] in malt 1681 quarters wheate remaynyng in there garners to brewe the said stronge beare 148 quarters.

(5) We say the particular price of all sorts of grayne & where they were bought do at large appere in the bridgehouse book in the white bakers booke in the brown bakers booke & in the brewers booke which bookes are redy to be shewed.

The provision of the cookes of the most parte hath bene bought in the meale markets at uncerteyn price & also the provisions bakers in the comon ovens synce michaelmas last was bought in the meale markets at uncerten price out of the Realme the price beinge so high & the tyme so pressynge we could not make provision.

(6) We say that this is fully Answered in the 4th article.

(7) We say that this shall fully appere in the bridghouse booke & in the bakers bookes & the Assise given to the bakers was at Simon & Jude day last 13 the bakers not able so to live upon there complaynte & upon dewe tryall made by us we suffred them to bake at 14 13 & 12 s the penny lest the price of the barrell of beare was ys yet 4s not raysinge the same because we thought good to Avoyde an evell custome the Assise of bread in decembre then was & now is all one.

(8) We say that there is spente in the terme tyme wekelie in breadcorne 2571 quarters & out of the terme 1409 quarters.

Be it remembred that we thinke somewhat more ys spent baked in mens own private houses whereof we cannot set down any certenty.

The brewers do spend wekely for there stronge bere 200 quarters of whete & in malt 2000 quarters at the least.

(9) We say that the nombre of white bakers within the Citie & liberties are 62 & the nombre of broun bakers are 36.

And the nombre of Aile brewers are 58 & the nombre of beare-brewers are 33 in toto.

(10) We say that there is baked wekely in Comon ovens by private persons bought in the meale markets 306 quarters.

(11) We say that the Citie hath bene cheiflie furnished with all kinds of grayne for provision of the same from the shires lyinge westward from the Citie & Aptlye conveied to the Citie as well by land as by the river of Tames as also from Kent Sussex Dorsetshire Hampshier Essex Suff. & Norff. & not out of any forreyn parte but upon a sudden & mere extremytie & for the better furneshinge of the Citie hereafter havinge your honors favor & licence to make provision in Convenient shiers within the realme we have determyned to have contynually in the store houses & garners of this Citie 4000 quarters of wheat & Rye beinge by 2 partes more then heretofore have be[en] accustomed to furnishe & stay the meale markets within this Citie at reasonable price as we have done synce mydsommer last & so presently do contynewe.

(12) We say we cannot set doune certenly what quantity be of breadcorne & meale hath come to the Citie synce michaelmas last but suer we are theese parcels followinge have come to the Citie viz to the bridge house 2903 quarters to the white bakers 26761 quarters to the broun bakers & comon ovens 10593 quarters to the Cookes 416 quarters to the Brewers in wheate consumed in brewinge of stronge drink 5200 quarters to the rest of this Article (because of the comynge of corne to the Citie by land is uncerten) we cannot make any certen Answere unto.

Corne bought & provided for the Cities necessitie at Danske reddy now to be shipped 8000 quarters whereof is in wheate 6000 quarters & in Rye 2000 quarters which will stand the Citie in all charge the wheate 26s the quarter at the least & the Rye 21s the quarter at the least which we trust in god will come in saftie.

Whereas your honors latelie declared unto us the great mystykinge of the quenes majestys in the government of this Citie of london for the sellinge & utteringe of musty & unholsome breade within the said Citie it is no litle greif unto us that her highnes or your honors should have any Just cause to take offence with us trustinge that fault will not be found to be Comytted within the liberties of the Citie of london we having purposely made diligent examynacon & searche cannot fynd any suche fault comytted within our liberties we have not delivered any of our provision of corne out of the bridghouse unto the bakers this yere past True it is we lately had a smale quantitie of wheate taken into the bridghouse, which had taken some heate abord in one of our shipps, beinge not uttered into the markets for breade & corne which we have done & do use to sell to the brewers, so that our bakers have not, nor have had any wheate of us musty or unkindly

whereby any suche faults shuld happen for us unto the quenes Majeste to have good likinge of the government of the state of her highnes citie & we dutiefuly withall delygence will endevour ourselves to our uttermost of our powers to do our dueties for the maynten[e]nce of good orders & punyshment of offence within this Citie which we trust shalbe to her Majeste good lykinge & your honors good contentacon.

Orders Concerning the Provision of Corn, 4 November, 1578[1]

(1) [5000 qrs. to be laid up in the Bridgehouse]

(2) Item because they perceive that the former provisions have not onelye bene troublesome to my L. Maior for the tyme beinge and his worshippful bretheren thaldermen whoe are otherwise muche occupied with manifolde greate affaieres but also have bene manye waies incomodious to the hole estate of the Cyttye For remedie whereof if it may be liked by my L. Maior and Aldermen and Comen Counsell they thinke good that this provision be made by the XII companies proportionablie in Forme followinge

(3)

(4) Item that after the proportion of the Laste Loane all the inferior Companies be so united and distributed, to the XII Companies as that thereby there somes lent may be made Equalle into XII parts or as nighe as maye be.

(5) [Bridgehouse to be divided into 12 equal parts and allotted to the companies].

(6) Item that sufficient Licence, and Authoritie be given to the saide Companies that they . . . maye provide and bringe to London, theire rate of provision aforesaid without staie or impediment

(7), (8),

(9) [Weekly view of corn of the companies by the City].

(10) Item that my L. Maior and Aldermen doe not at anie tyme order that anye parte of the saide provision be solde better Cheape then the same shall Coste with all Losses and Charges thereof nor above II d. or IIII d. in a Bushel under the price in the markett of like corne then beinge excepte it be by consent of the Companies or Comen Counsell and that for everie suche sale the same to be made of everye Companies wheate in equall parte.

(11), (12),

[1] *Letter Book*, vol. Y, fols. 272–273.

(13) [None of these companies are to be further charged with the provision of corn].

Burghley's Orders for the Commissioners of the Transportation of Victuals, 8 March, 1580[1]

Orders taken by the right honourable William Lorde Burghley Lorde high Treasorer of England, to be observed touchinge grayne victuells & fewell to be laden on the coasts to be brought to london by water etc.

That the commissioners for transportacon of Victuells from tyme to tyme as shalbe nedefull assemble toggther and set downe in wrytinge, such proportion of everye kynde of grayne and victuells wythin their commission as may be conveniently spared out of that cuntrey for london, and delyver that wrytinge to the Customers of the ports of that Cuntrey.

That the Customers suffer all persones to skippe such grayne and victuells for *London* wythout travailinge for particular warrants till the said quantytie be runne out, takinge allway good bonds for the aryvall at London accordinge to the order.

That when such quantytie ys allmost passed, the Commissioners shalbe advertised thereof by the officers of the Custome howse, and shalbe requyred to assemble agayne, and to make lyke newe warrant as the Cuntrey may spare yt, which ys verye reasonable to be done by the Commissioners.

That the Customers kepe a true note of these warrants, and what quantyties passe thereby, and at all tymes requyred do shewe the same to the Commissioners.

. . . . . .

That the bonds hearafter for such grayne victuell and fuell for London, be made wyth condycon to bringe certificate both from thofficers of the Custome house of London to whom it appertenyeth, and from the Lorde Maior, and that the bondes be not discharged without certificate from both.

[1] *Letter Book*, vol. Z, fols. 45–46.

The Petition of the Loaders of Enfield and Aldenham Concerning their Losses through the Carriage of Grain to London by Water, 15 October, 1581 [1]

(1) Many thousandes of her Majesties subjects within the counties of Hertforde Midl. Cambridge Bedforde and Essex whiche lyved by the carrynge of corne and other graine to the citie of London by Lande, are nowe utterlye decaied by the transportinge of corne and other grayne to the saide citie by the water of Lee.

(2) The trade of carrynge of corne and grayne by the water of Lee is in the handes of X or XII persons onlye, and suche as weare able well to lyve by theire trade before that tyme.

(3) The private gaine whiche comethe by the saide transportacion of grayne by water to London is to fower or fyve brewers onlie and those for the most parte strangers.

(4) The citie of London is not thereby better served neither is beere or ale or other graine the cheaper or better brewed.

(5) The contrie is not able to doo unto her Majestie that service in her carriages as heretofore they weare wonte to doo.

(6) Tyllage is thereby muche decayed.

(7) Her Majestie is hyndered in her subsedye and other taxes and tallages.

(8) The contrie not able to set forthe and furnishe as many able men in her Majesties service as heretofore they have done.

(9) The makinge of the saide Ryver of Lee Navigable hathe bene and is a greate and contynuall charge to the contrye, and morever suche as dwell by the saide ryver of Lee, have dailie greate losses and hynderaunce by the bargemen whych passe by the saide Ryver.

Lord Mayor's Orders Concerning the Dearth in the Growing Metropolis, 18 August, 1596 [2]

Whearas it hath pleased the right Ho[norable] the Lordes and others of her Majesties most ho[norable] privye Councell to signifie unto me her highness most princelie care and gracious endevours aswell for the reliefe of the poorer sorte of her lovinge subiects in this tyme of dearth as also for the redresse and prevencon of all such abuses and inconveyences. Whereby the prizes of Corne and other victuall are raysed and increased to such highe and excessive rates. And whereas

[1] MS., Br. M., Lansd., 32, No. 40. [2] *Letter Book*, vol. AA, fol. 67b.

also theire Lo[rdshi]ppes in theire grave wisdom doe houlde and accompte that the tolleratinge of Inmates and excesse of diett used in and aboute this Cittie (are amongeste other) two speciall causes of this presente dearthe within the same Cittie suburbes and Countreyes neare adioyninge and doe therefore thinke it verie Conveniente that suche lawes and orders as have bene heretofore made and taken for the avoydinge and punyshement of Inmates and such as shall harbor and entertaygne them shoulde be more carefullie executed, and likewise some better course taken That Cittizens (especiallie during the tyme of dearthe) should from hencefourthe abstayne greate feastinge and superfluous fare, and use more moderate and spare dyett, and to forebeare Suppers one Wensdaies & Fridaies, and other fastinge daies, and that which shalbe saved therebye to be charitablye ymployed to the releeffe of the poorer sorte. Wheareupon wee have thought good to publishe and make knowen her highenes most godlye and gracious care, and the good pleasure of the right honourable Lo[rd] in this behalfe. And do hearebye in her Majesties name straightlie chardge and commaunde all such Inmates as be nowe remaininge within this Cittie or the liberties thereof that fourthwith they do departe and withdrawe themselves into theire severall countreyes and places of usuall aboade or wheare they weare borne, etc.

The Lord Mayor's Precept Concerning the Baking of Bread by some of the City Companies, 26 July, 1608[1]

Where I and my brethern the Aldermen have resolved aswell for the abating of the prices of Corne as for meanes for the utteraunce and sale of such quantitie of Corne and graine as the *merchaunts of this Cittie* have at their great adventure & charge & the good of this Cittie and Commonwealth brought into this port of London to be sold that all the severall Companies of this Cittie shall bake certayne quarters of Wheate every Weeke into bread to be sold to such as will buy the same In accomplishment whereof these shalbe to charge and command you [" the Master and Wardens of the company of " ——] in his Majesties name that you take p[rese]nte order that from thenceforth your company doe cause the quantity of —— quarters of wheate parcell of your owne store and provision to be ground into meale and baked into Whete and Wheaten bread and the wheaten to certayne XI ounces the penny wheaten loffe and the three halfe penny White-

[1] *Journals of the Common Council*, vol. xxvii, fol. 261.

loves after the same rate of II d. in every shillinge and to sell the same in Cheapeside or leadenhall or elsewhere within this Cittie to such as will buy the same And that you doe notwithstanding this order still continnue your servinge of the marketts with such quantitie of meale as by order from me you were formerly required Whereof see you faile not at your perill Guildhall this xxvi th of July 1608.

These precepts were directed to the XII principall Companies for six quarters apeice and the like precepts to XII of the inferior companies for three quarters a peice whose names hereafter followeth That is to say:

Mercers	6 qrs.	Dyers	3 qrs.
Merchant tailors		Brewers	
Haberdashers		Leathersellers	
Grocers		Pewterers	
Drapers		Cutlers	
Fishmongers		Whitebakers	
Goldsmiths		Waxchandlers	
Skinners		Girdlers	
Salters		Sadlers	
Ironmongers		Cordwainers	
Vintners		Scriveners	
Clothworkers		Stationers	

"Order for a Magazine of 30000 quarters of corne", 28 July, 1631[1]

Whereas the Lord Maior of the Citty of London had received notice that her Majestye expected an Accompt from him of the course which had byn taken for the furnishinge of the Granaryes of the said Cittye with sufficyent provision of Corne the neglect whereof hath *caused* the late dearth and disorders And that he was to attend the Boarde of this Sittinge and to make particuler answeare to such points as were heretofore recomended unto him for that purpose Hee did accordingly present himselfe beinge attended by the Sheriffes and divers Aldermen And in answeare to the aforesaid Points did then exhibite a Memoriall contayninge his opinion howe many ounces of Bread may serve one person a day, and consequently how many poundes a moneth. Likewise how many Granaryes are in the Citty, and how many Quarters each of them will holde lastly what quantity of Corne

[1] *Journals of the Common Council*, vol. xxxv, fols. 347–348.

he conceived wilbe sufficyent for a Magazine to serve the Marketts weekely and to be supplyed monethly vizt Twenty Thousand quarters, therein comprehendinge the ordinary provisions of the Halls for the poor But their Lordships havinge taken the matter into serious deliberacon did find that this proporcon comes farre too shorte, and did likewise declare that the provision meant by his Maiestie must be wholly distincte and seperate from the usuall quantity provided by the halls which must still continue and be ordered and disposed accordinge to the annycent manner whereas that which is nowe meant is to be a publique Magazine for the generall furnishinge of the Cittye in tyme of scarcity and the Corne provided and layed uppe there (under the chardge and disposinge of the lord Maior and Aldermen) to be sould not as that of the halls (which is intended for the Reliefe and ease of the poore) but the best advantage accordinge to the prices of the Markett. And for their better encouradgement to the undertakinge of soe good a worke their lordships did further declare that if it shall happen at any tyme that the Corne so provided shall lye on their handes, His Maiestie shalbe moved to graunt them permission to export it although the price be then above the limittacon set downe in the statute (vicesimo primo Jacobi) soe that they need not have any apprehension or feare of any losse or detriment Now their lordships consideringe the multitude of Inhabitants within the said Citty and the libertyes did resolve uppon a proporcon of Thirty Thousand quarters which accordinge to the estimate that was then made may serve for fower moneths to be furnished as farre as may be out of the growth of the kingdome and accordingly supplyed as need shall require For the layinge and keepinge of which quantity It is not to be doubted but that in soe great a Cittye wherein are soe many great howses and some standinge voyde a sufficyent place may be found at a reasonable Rent soe that there shalbe no necessity of buildinge a place of purpose Finally the Lord Maior and Aldermen were willed to observe well what had byn declared unto them which being throughly considered might make it appeare that this Course beinge well entred into wold soe sufficyently appeare itselfe both in respecte of the generall good of the Citty and of the particuler benifitte of those that are to contribute touards it that it should need no further encourdgment And they were likewise required to take due notice of his Majesties gratious favor and Royall care of the Welfare of the said Cittye which they did humbly acknowledge and promised to use their best endeavors accordinge to the present order and direccons of the Board.

[A commission was appointed to consider the proposition, to accept, to draw up a petition to the Privy Council to drop the scheme, or to compromise regarding it.]

"A Proclamacon to Restraine the Transportaton of Corne Wool Woll-fells Fullers Earth and Lether," 30 September, 1632[1]

The kings most excellent Majestie taking into Consideracon the manifold evill Practizes which for private gaine are too often put in use as well by Cornmasters and Hoorders of Corne as by Marchants and others to in [sic] Inhance the Prices of Corne and graine to the generall prejudice of all other his Majesties subiects especially laboring men and those of the Poorer sorte which hath appeared not onely in the time of the late dearth but in the yere now past when by the goodness of God there was such plentie & abundance of Corne as seldome hath byn greater and yet the rates & prises of Corne in manie parts of this Kingdome especially in the Cittie of London and the Parts neere adioyning were kept up at farre higher prices then was fitt to be in a time of so great and generall plentie And that howsoever by the Provident and Constant Care of his Majestie and his Privie Councell transport[a]con of Corne was restrained even in that plentiful yere yet in manie parts of the kingdome false Rumors were and are spred and devulged of great Transportacon of Corne lycensed and authorised to the great dishonour of his Majestie and the State and of a wicked purpose to keep up Corne and graine at moderate Prices His Maiestie with the advice of his Privie Councell doth hereby publishe and declare That all the said Rumors were false . . .

And albeit his majestie is well satisfyed that the remainyng store of the last yere & by the increase of this present yere there is verie ample and good provision of Corne sufficient to supplie the whole kingdome at easie and reasonables prices yet considering the want of Corne in divers other parts beyond the Seas might occasion a transportacon thereof from hence which would necessarily draw on an Inhancement of Prices if it should be permitted. Therefore his majestie holding it necessarie to provide that his owne Subiects in generall may enioy the good blessing of Plentie which God hath vouchsafed to this Realme and that the same be not turned to the inriching onlie of a few greedie cormorants doth by like advice of his Privie Councell prohibite and

[1] *Journals of the Common Council*, vol. xxxv, fols. 518–520.

forbid that from henceforth for the space of one yere next ensuing and from that yere untill his majestie shall declare his pleasure to the Contrarie no Corne or graine be transported or carried out of this his Majesties Realme, . . .

And because his Majestie is informed that in divers Counties of this Realme neere the Seacoast it hath byn Practised to buy and provide great quantitie of Corne and bring the same unto or neere the Seacoast readie for Transportacon and then in some one or two marketts to sell some small quantity thereof or of other Corne at lower Prices then the same were bought and upon some faint and partiall Certificate from some Justises of Peace or other Officers that Corne in hose marketts was sold under the rates limited by the Statute have provided the same to be transported beyond the Seas His Majestie requireth by like advice of his Privie Councell that those and all other fraudulent Practises unduly to procure transportacon of Corne heretofore Comitted or hereafter to be Comitted be strictly and diligently inquired & looked into. And whereas his Majestie is informed that sundrie marchants Strangers and aliens of Forreigne Countries in Amitie with his Majestie have accustomed to bring their Shyppes and Vessells into some of the Ports havens or Creekes of this Realme unvictualled of purpose that under Colour of taking in a supplie of fresh Victuales for their necessities the[y] might victuall themselves and their Ship-Companie from hence for their voyages whereby the[y] Carrie away much Corne Geese and other victualls and Prohibited Comodities which is an evill mischeife with Transportacon His Majestie doth hereby declare and comand that the same be not hereafter suffered to be done.

And his Majestie being likewise informed that great and manifold abuses have been Comitted in times past as well by the Corrupcon or negligence in the inferior Officers and ministers of his Majesties Customs as well in permitting Wooll wooll-fells and Fullers earth to be transported As also towching transportacon of Corne Lether and rawehides in permitting the same to passe either without anie lycence or in greater quantitie then hath byn lycenced Or in suffering the same to passe beyond the Seas under Color of Transportacon from Port to Port within the Realme His Majestie doth in like manner will and Comand that all abuses in that behalfe . . . be strictly and diligently found out and punished.

A Report to the Lord Mayor on the Subject of London Corn Dealers, 4 February, 1646–47 [1]

[A committee makes the following report in answer to the complaints of mealmen against corn chandlers, both sides having been given a hearing.]

That it is not fitt that the Corne chaundlers or any others should use the selling of Meale and Flower of wheate in their houses, or shopps (that being noe part of the Trade of Corne Chaundlers) and that all Meale brought to the Citie of London to bee sould, be sould and put to sale in the publique and Common Marketts undressed and not in private houses and shopps whereby

First the Country Mealemen, and Badger, (allowed according to the lawe and) who heretofore furnished the Citie and places adiacent shall bee encouraged to furnish the Marketts as formerly.

The Meale marketts mayntayned for the Common use of the Inhabitants of the Citie.

The Lord Maior and Aldermen may from tyme to tyme have notice what store of Meale is brought to the Citie by the Clarkes of the severall Marketts upon their Oathes as formerly which now as the same is carryed by the Corne Chaundlers and others cannot bee donn.

The much deceite in weights and measures, mingled and conjured stuffe may bee avoyded.

The Forestallinge of the Marketts neere London and the much ingrossing of the finest wheate prevented.

Meane persons who will not bee contented but with the finest wilbe then contented to use the same as it comes ground from the mill.

That the multitude of meale sellers in private houses and shoppes out of the common and publique Marketts (a Trade not warranted by lawe) and their taking of many apprentices may be prevented.

But wee doe not hereby intend that any Corne Chaundler who may furnish the Marketts shalbe restrayned hereby to make his house or shopps a storehouse to keep meale for fornishing the Marketts, Soe as they sell not any in their private shopps or houses, but in the open Marketts.

We further conceive it good for the Commonwealth that Boalting Mills in generall were suppressed by some Ordinance of Parliament, All which neverthelesse we leave to the grave Judgment of the honorable Court. The sixth day of January 1646.

[1] *Repertory*, vol. lviii, fols. 54–55.

THE SALE OF CORN IN THE SUBURBS OF LONDON, 5 DECEMBER, 1650[1]

Answer of the Lord Maior and Aldermen of this Citty to the proposalls of the justices of peace of Midd[lesex] Concerning the selling of Meale in publique places in the suburbs . . . To be presented to the Councell of Trade appointed by Parliament. . . .

If the marketts proposed to bee neere the Citty should bee yeilded unto, the Marketts of this Citty would bee thereby forestalled, and by that meanes would inevitablie ensue an Inhancement of the price of Meale and a Scarcity of that and other provisions. . . .

And as to the inconveniences pretended if the new Marketts desired should not bee erected [in the suburbs], . . . And whereas they [of the suburbs] pretended they were formerly furnished by the Meale shopps. It is Answered.

It is but of very late yeares that there have bene Any Considerable number of Meal shopps either in the Citty or Suburbes, the Inhabitants thereof being till then, as now, Supplyed by publique Marketts of this Citty only without Complaynt of any inconvenience.

The generallity of the poore aswell as others usually furnish themselves from the Bakers which Live amongst them.

[London intends to extend her system of markets to the suburbs].

[Those coming within the walls for corn usually have other goods to purchase].

As to the pretended dearenesse of Meale since the late Act It is answered, that upon examination it is found, that red Wheat is Cheaper since, then before, and though white Wheate bee somewhat dearer yet that the Same is Cheifly occasioned by the usinge of the Meale thereof instead of flower, [as well as by floods].

[1] *Repertory*, vol. lxi, fols. 27 f.

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Particular attention is here called to three documents or sets of documents: the Corn Book at the Guildhall, the accounts of the various City Companies, and the Customs Accounts and Port Books at the Record Office.

The Corn Book is a paper folio, leather bound, in good condition, in the keeping of the Bridgehouse committee of the Comptroller's Department, Guildhall, London. The date covered is 9 April, 1568 to 1 July, 1581. The title reads thus: "This Booke made for all suche Corne as shalbe Bowghte By Roberte Essington and Thomas Bates for the Cittis accoumpte and Layed up into the Brindge Howse." It contains a record of grain sold by the City to bakers, brewers, private persons and especially to the poor upon the open markets, and gives such further particulars of sale as date, amount, kind of grain, price per quarter, and the total amount received from each sale.

The corn accounts of the City companies contain similarly detailed information. Many companies, such as the Vintners, lost their records in the Great Fire, others, such as the Fishmongers and Stationers, have but fragments now remaining, but, on the other hand, a few companies have very voluminous, though not complete accounts, such as the Merchant Tailors and Drapers. Particular mention should be made of the Wheat Books at the Bakers' Hall, Nos. 62 (1537–68), and 63 (1582–1631).

Special attention is, however, called to the K. R. Customs Accounts and the K. R. Port Books at the Record Office, which, more than any other single set of manuscripts, have been the basis of this work. The former series extends from 1275 to 1565, the latter from 1565 to nearly 1800. Both contain detailed information concerning the shipment of corn at the various ports, coastwise, export and import, and give such particulars as date, ship, shipper and amount, kind and price of grain. The Customs Accounts are described in Scargill-Bird's *Guide*, but of the Port Books (as well as Coast Bonds) very little is known since the series has only lately been made accessible.

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